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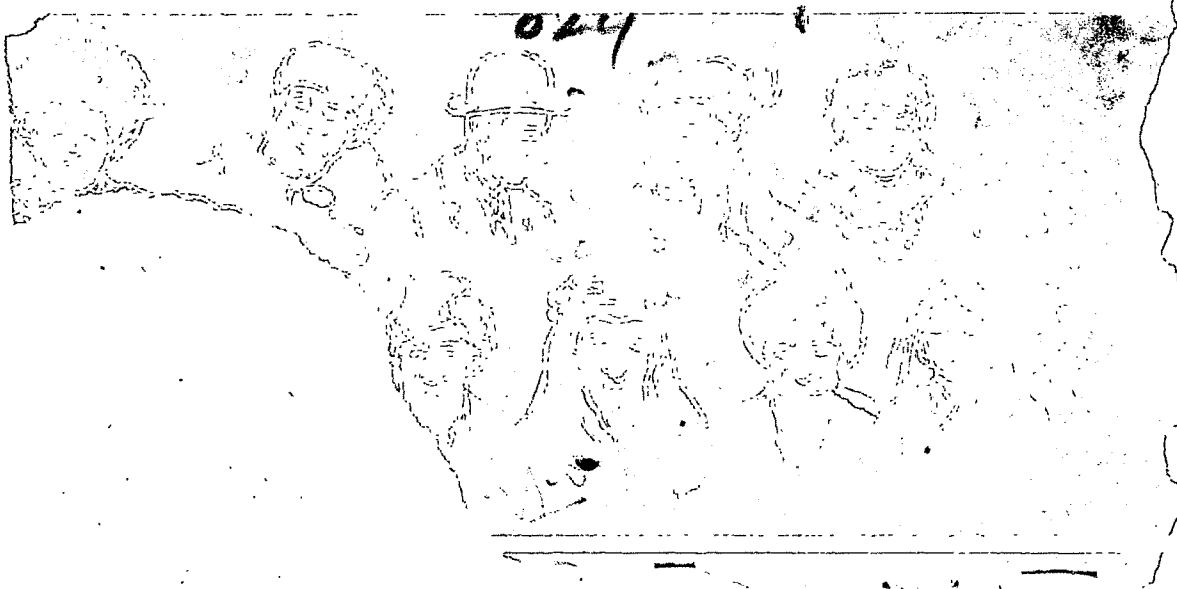
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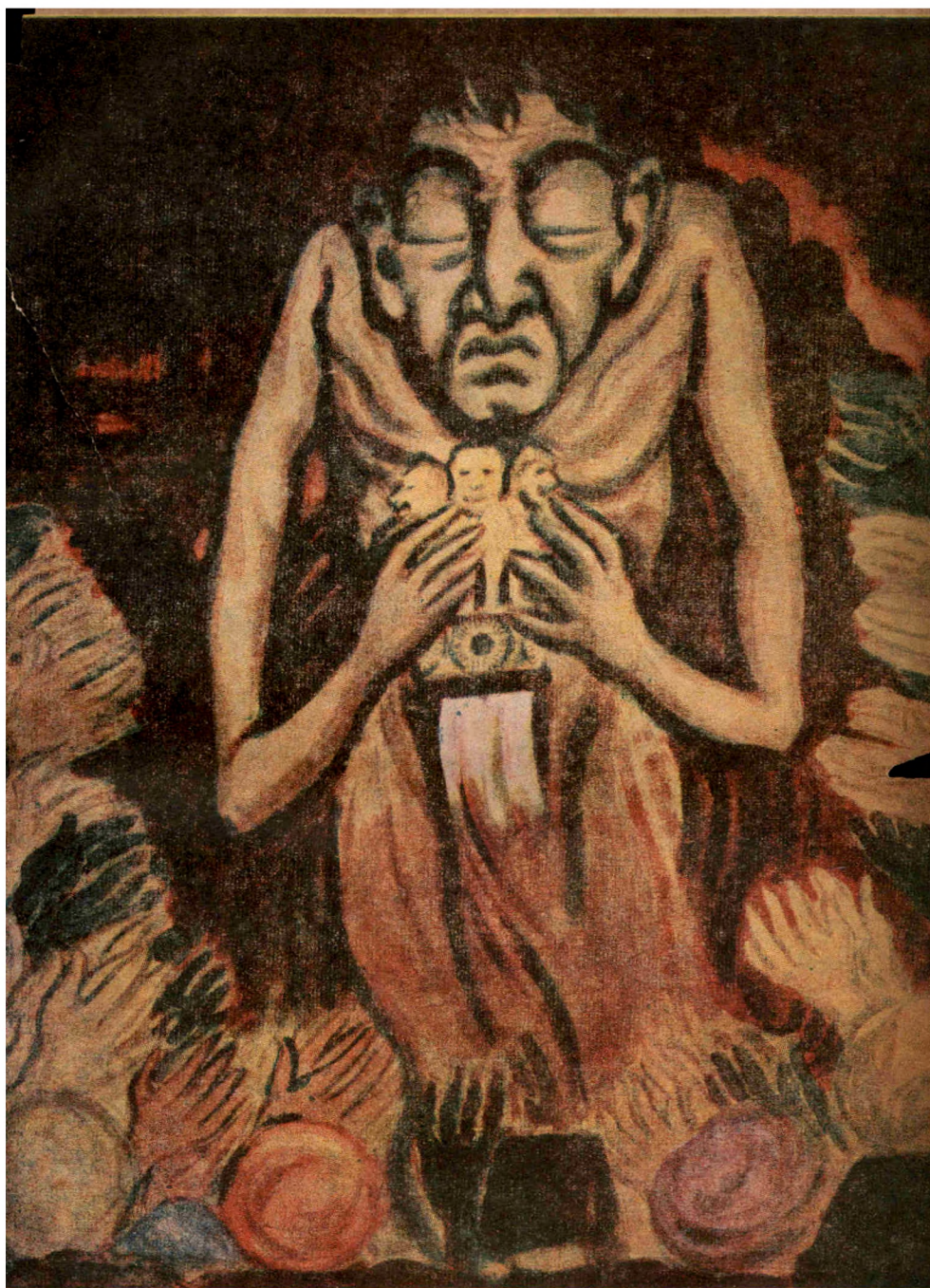
THE MODERN REVIEW

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Cutting Our Losses

When people engaged in any enterprise for the production of goods and services for sale at a profit discovered after some-time, that their business was not proving to be gainful in the manner expected they reconsidered all material details of the set up and, thereafter, closed down all establishments which were found incapable of running at a profit. Businessmen who persisted in running losing concerns usually went insolvent totally. And then compulsion would replace self determination and the resulting discredit would be complete. Governments, unlike business houses do not usually engage in the production of goods and services for sale at a profit. When they do so they also have to take stock of their affairs in the manner of businessmen and decide the minimum level ~~at which~~ at which such establishments should

If in some cases governments more fundamental economic

advantages for continuing operations even at a loss; such basic nationally necessary utilities should be clearly and openly discussed to create confidence in the governments' actions in the public mind. If such advantages do not exist governments should close down their losing economic ventures after full enquiries were carried out. In many cases where governments engaged in the production of goods and services for sale at a profit in competition with private entrepreneurs with the idea of supplying the products at a cheaper than market price to the consumers; governments should prove to the public that they were not making the public pay some of the costs or overheads indirectly out of the tax-payers contributions to the revenues; or balancing off losses in some competitively run ventures by over charging the public for goods and services supplied to them by state owned monopolies. Those goods and services which are supplied by governments not for profit but for reasons

of public utility also have their economics. That is, governments must look into the costs of maintaining law and order, providing justice, arranging for public health, education, social security, the defence of the motherland, etc., etc., in order to be sure that public funds were not being wasted or misused in the name of running the administration. The general progress of the country and its people is another objective which attracts expenditure of public funds. How much progress was being made at what cost, and whether that much progress was worth achieving at that cost, could be examined as an economic problem by competent persons and wasteful methods or the engagement of unnecessary sinecure job holders, discontinued, in order to assure the expenditure of public funds only where the social returns secured from such expenditure would be justifiable. In other words, there are ways of checking up the values produced by expenses incurred, even where no one buys or sells anything and only the lands and their peoples gain or lose as a whole from such expenses. Just as a man spends his money and energy to achieve something and finds his activities of advantage to himself or not, as the case may be; so can a nation devote its economic energies and resources in a manner which enquiry proves to be wasteful. In such cases the nation should cut its losses and change over to new methods, new personnel and new objectives.

In any economy that is not comprehensively developed there are always many gaps and a wide and complex variety of things that nation-builders can attempt to do. But nation building requires a greater degree of caution, precision, organisation, selection of men and materials and accurate calculations than other types of construction work. In nation building patriotic emotions carry away the persons who engage in such work and

they usually make the mistake of attempting too many things and too much of them too at the same time. So that their own ability falls short of what is required and the resources are soon discovered to be inadequate. Vast schemes and large-scale plans demand many workers and in a general hustle for employing personnel inferior types are put in charge of important jobs which they cannot do properly. Suppliers, contractors and others who come into the picture to help and to assist on business basis, turn out to be not so reliable and things begin to go wrong. The foundations of things are weakened and the super structures have to be modified to fit in with what cannot be remedied. Many things are found useless and others become less useful by reason of their dependence on badly set up auxiliaries. Props and buttresses are created for the protection of the generally shaky structure and everything adds to the total of losses or lack of productivity. Megalomania is a disease akin to inordinate greed and both can destroy the sanity of quite highly talented persons. When that happens to large bodies of persons who have authority and the nations' confidence, great evil can befall nations that are guided and controlled by such people.

If therefore it was found that a nation was going deeper and yet deeper into economic commitments, to its own nationals as well as to foreigners; and that the nation's economic ventures were proving to be an increasing source of loss; then the leaders of the nation should stop being emotionally guided in matters which can be judged only by the cold logic of economics. For if they persisted in being lavish in their attempted realisation of economic ideals on borrowed money, they would face consequences which could be very unpleasant for them as well as for the nation.

Economic Dimensions in India

The Indian nation is supposed to have a total annual income of about 18,000 crores of rupees. Certain proportions of this would be purely theoretical income in terms of money and without any values to show against them. Goods and services which are and can be bought or sold would perhaps total upto about 15,000 crores of rupees. Out of this total income the central government raises a revenue of about 2,000 crores and the State Governments and other statutory bodies another 2,000 crores of rupees. The payers of taxes most likely pay out about 25% of their incomes against statutory demands. The expenses of economic planning work out to about 4,000 crores per annum including private sector investments. So that out of 18,000 crores about 8,000 crores are not made available for meeting the expenses of living of the peoples of India. That is about 50 crores of persons maintain a standard of living of a sort by spending 10,000 crores of rupees annually. That is about Rs. 200/- per capita per annum, or about 57.5 paise per capita per day. This amount when expressed in terms of rice will be about 600 grams. In terms of wheat this daily income is equal to 1,000 grams. It can also buy 400 grams of sugar, 100 grams of fish or meat, 500 grams of vegetables, 50 grams of ghee or 150 grams of oil. The rationing system introduced by the government will not permit anyone to buy more than 150 grams of rice and 150 grams of wheat, although 300 grams of cereals cannot maintain life unless one ate fish, meat, vegetables, etc., also in fair quantities. 150 grams of rice would cost about 15 paise. 150 grams of wheat about 8.5 paise. The usual practice among poor people is to buy extra quantities of rice and wheat in the blackmarket at a higher price. This exhausts their whole income usually. The following prices of certain minimum

quantities of other important food materials will show the difficulties of having a proper diet in India. 50 grams of sugar 8 paise, 50 grams of dal 7 paise, 50 grams of fish or meat 28 paise, 50 grams of ghee 55 paise, 50 grams of vegetables 5 paise, 50 grams of oil 20 paise, $\frac{1}{10}$ litre of milk 10 paise, 50 grams of butter 45 paise, one mango 50 paise, one orange 33 paise, one banana 15 paise, one egg 25 paise, one slice of bread 8 paise. With a daily spending income of 58 paise per capita out of which more than half will be spent to buy a bare minimum of cereals and sugar the people of India are facing starvation right round the year. They can barely get enough rice, wheat dal and vegetables to keep them alive. The calories consumed perhaps remain below 700 per day at all times. If India did not tax her people directly, indirectly and in all kinds of complex manners; and let them live freely and 50% better, the nation could then be more productive and the national income increase to at least 25,000 crores per annum. That much national income might, at a future date, permit a higher rate of investment without destroying the health, morale and sense of free existence of the people.

When one examines the standard of living of the politicians of India against the sombre penury of the masses, one feels that feudal grandeur was no less offensive when compared to the life of the rack rented peasantry. The Indian Politicians live in palaces, at State cost and are granted allowances which are quite often a hundred times more than the average per capita income of the tax paying Indian. In no country in the world perhaps are so many houses built for the near free accommodation of numerous members of parliament, ministers, deputy ministers and officials. This is called a pattern of socialism by our politicians who live like lords compared to the miserable people

over whom they rule in the name of equality, fraternity and liberty. And large chunks are taken out of the miserable earnings of these poverty-stricken people to build the nation's economy. That economy erodes as it is built. The builders are no doubt suffering from a mania but it does not interfere with their own good living or with the employment of their nominees in the newly put up departments, factories or other organisations. It is a cleverly conceived scheme of exploitation.

Words and Deeds

The people of India pay a lot of money for the pleasure of listening to the broadcasts by the All India Radio. This organisation is becoming more and more of a machine for official propaganda and people are feeling bored when they have to listen to the same catch phrases and messages of hope from different ministers speaking at different times at different places. Our ministers cannot and do not amuse us. And many of us do not like to listen to empty words. The A. I. R. also fails to be interesting when they engage professional speakers, singers and others to entertain or instruct the people of India. The announcers quite often suffer from an Indian language bias and the listeners cannot clearly make out what is being said. This is however beside the point. What we wish to emphasise is that reports of ministers' speeches must not be thrust upon the listeners every time they switch on their radios. These speeches are normally not worth listening to.

China, Vietnam, U. S. A. and India

We have every sympathy with the Vietnamese, who have got involved in an undeclared Sino-American war. Vietnam is now a battlefield and we do not know whether the North Vietnamese are the tools

of China or the South Vietnamese these of America; but it is a great human tragedy that large numbers of innocent men, women and children are being blasted out of their homes, getting maimed or killed and reduced to utter poverty just because the ambitions of their leaders and of other nations clash. This has happened because the politicians of Vietnam, North and South, allowed China and America to come into their political life in the hope that such borrowed might will help them to subdue their local opponents. But they soon found out that where great forces are lined up for a show down, weaker groups have to give way and act as camp followers or weapon carriers. The Chinese are now shouting louder than others, forgetting that they have not been the accredited liberators of humanity since they forcibly occupied Tibet and also bits of Indian territory. They have also not been true to their declared friends and they may quite easily leave the North Vietnamese to fend for themselves if they found that to their advantage. The Chinese are also moving into Pakistan and the Pakistanis are not realising the folly of allowing treacherous people access into their territory. Whether India can now declare that she would no longer respect her obligations under the act of partition of 1947, which did not certainly permit Pakistan to claim further Indian territory and to distribute some of it to other nations or form dangerous alliances requiring her to approve of the military adventures of other nations against India; is a question of International Law which the Indian Government may explore. Not that we expect the present Government of India to do anything so sensible when they can appease their sense of self importance by making uncalled for statements on matters which do not concern them. In short the Vietnamese war proves, all the more, the wisdom of keeping clear

of international involvements. Foreign relations must be clear cut and not of a kind which may allow foreigners a place within the territories of weaker nations. A treacherous nation like China should be kept out by all nations which love freedom and liberty. And if a nation got more intimate with China than can be explained away by reasons of trade or cultural cooperation, such unnecessary friendship should not be tolerated by the free nations of the world. The Americans and the British do not follow any clearly understandable policy about China. For it suits them to pamper China where she has anti-Russian feelings. It is therefore not wise for any nation to be Pro-American or Pro-British either in a free and whole-hearted manner.

Reorganisation of States

When the Congress Party decided to organise independent India as a federal state with a number of tax raising and revenue spending units constituting the sovereign body; the idea behind it was to give power and position to groups of congressmen all over India who had been the soldiers of that non-violent army which negotiated India's independence with the British by surrendering two large slices of the country which the British converted to Pakistan. This led to very unfortunate and degrading developments. The Congress leaders of various parts of the country began to coerce the All India Congress Committee to make changes in the boundaries of the various states for linguistic reasons so that more states could be created or minority bodies in certain states could join up with majority bodies in some other states. There were good enough reasons too in favour of such demands. For in many cases, the majority linguistic group in a state made the position of minorities quite humiliating by imposing the majority

group language upon the minority groups and by reserving the best jobs in the state organisation for majority group people. Other economic advantages also accrued to the majority groups. This is still happening in the Bengali speaking areas of certain states in which the majorities speak other languages.

Maharashtra and Gujrat split up into two states on linguistic grounds. Punjab is being divided into two states too on the assumption that certain Punjabis speak Hindi and not Punjabi. Some people say that in the case of Punjab the reason for further division is sectarian and not linguistic. It is for the Punjabis to explain the true reasons for this division. The recent upheaval in the Maharashtra-Mysore area is a fresh manifestation of the old disease. There are chances that some parts of Mysore will be detached from the present body of that state and joined to Maharashtra. After that all minority groups in All States will agitate for reunion with their "parent" states; and if one supported the idea of linguistic states, one would have to agree with the justice of such demands.

But on grounds of Indian unity and the economic, administrative and other disadvantages of creating too many divisions within one sovereign state; we have to condemn this idea of carving India up into many pieces. Just as India has many languages; so should all states have more than one language without allowing any victimisation of linguistic minorities. If justice and fair play could be assured to the smallest of minorities there would be no demands for breaking up multilingual states. Those Congressmen who talk of *Sadachar* should first teach their fellow idealists to give everyone his rightful share of the advantages of being a national of India, no matter where he lived.

Policy of Foreign Powers

We hear quite often that the policy of America, U. K., France or any other power relating to India has not undergone any change. The suggestion behind such statements, whether made by Indians or by foreigners, is that the maintenance of *status quo* in regard to policy is a guarantee of other peoples' good-will towards India. That would be so, if the assumption that other nations had good-will towards India were true. In fact one has only to study a little of current history in order to discover what policy other nations had towards India. Maintenance of that policy would be worth rejoicing over, only if that policy had been good for us in the past.

The British, to begin with, always had a desire to keep India down and their policy had never been one which would make India strong and powerful. The British Policy, therefore, would be of little advantage to us, if it remained unchanged. The American Policy had been Pro-Pakistani and of advantage to India only when India's interests did not clash with those of Pakistan. Here again an unchanged American Policy could be of not much use to India. Russian Policy towards all nations including India had been, philosophically speaking, highly pragmatic. That means the Russians occasionally proved helpful to India when it suited their usually unexpressed desires. One cannot compose a song of joy on this. China had been inimical to India and still remains so. That exhausts the big powers and the others do not matter. The Indian people should not be lulled into a sense of security when things are not so good for them.

Foreign Loans

There is nothing wrong with a loan, excepting that one has to repay it as well as pay interest on it. So that the natural

conclusion about the taking of loans that a wise man should arrive at would be to spend the loan in a manner which would increase the earning power of the borrower and his ability to pay interest and instalments for liquidating the principal. If however the loan is utilised for purchasing millions of top hats, machinery which will be idle and rust or will be operated at a loss; the loan should not be negotiated. Let us say we purchased 10000000 Cash Register machines by borrowing the cost thereof from a foreign nation. Let us say we have to repay the cost, Rs. 500 crores at current rate of exchange by instalment in ten years without interest. That is Rs. 50 crores annually. The shops which will instal these machines therefore must be able to earn profits and pay back Rs. 50 crores annually. And there must be 1 crore shops each with one Cash Register in it or a lesser number with more than one machine in use. In any case, all the shops together must be able to pay Rs. 50 crores every year for ten years. This example will prove that foreign loans which are earmarked for the purchase of foreign machinery must be, necessarily, utilised for supplying the machinery to factories which will use them productively. If the machinery stay partly or fully idle, then the foreign loans will have been raised and used unwisely. The Government of India make purchases of machinery and equipment quite often in order to satisfy their desire to be up to date and the equal of modern nations in window dressing. These prestige purchases have now piled up to a great height and weight and the Government cannot carry the loans with which the very modern equipment had been acquired. This is one of the greatest weaknesses of the public sector. The people who borrow and spend the capital for the public sector run no personal risk for repayment of the debts incurred. Public money

whether raised by taxes or loans is for ever *Para Hasta Gata Dhanam*. "Wealth entrusted to others." That is why Public money is used unwisely, uneconomically, non-productively and sometimes, dishonestly. In any case there should be no eagerness to borrow money from foreign nations when our record of past borrowings has not been economically sound and profitable. At least no foreign loans should be raised for use in our habitually easy going manner. Loans raised should be capitalised in industry by issue of debentures held by the Government. The rest of the capital must be guaranteed personally by individuals who may pay the money for shares or undertake personal liability for the rupee funds provided by the Government.

Our Ministers Go Abroad

When Mr. Sachindra Nath Chaudhuri, Finance Minister of India went abroad, the purpose of his visit was quite clear and there were no attempts made to prove that he was visiting other countries for establishing World Peace or for assuring to humanity their fundamental rights of liberty, equality and good living. It was a straightforward mission for making financial arrangements with other nations. When other ministers visit foreign countries they occasionally give out the true reasons for their Tours abroad. Sometimes they do not say why they are going for diplomatic reasons. But they keep silent! At other times our leading politicians go to other lands for a national purpose, like raising funds, but they like the world to think that they were trying to solve a great human problem by going from place to place. But the world does not really swallow such propaganda. So that, it is neither useful nor in keeping with our national prestige to appear to take upon ourselves greater human duties than humanity would vest in us. It is of course one of the irresponsible and misguiding mannerisms of politicians to cover

up their lesser aspirations by very high level discussions. But, there is a risk that one may be carried away by one's assumed role and get involved in matters beyond one's capacity.

The Managed Currencies of the World

All currencies of the major trading countries of the world are managed and controlled by the national authorities in the sense that the internal and external purchasing power and the exchange value of currencies have to be carefully watched over by the supreme authorities of the various nations. This may just mean linking the currencies to certain quantities of gold or silver or fixing their exchange values in terms of other currencies and maintaining those exchange rates by official support given to the exchange market. In Great Britain theoretically the £ is linked to a certain weight of gold, though, in fact, 7.98805 gms. of gold of 0.916 $\frac{2}{3}$ fineness cannot be obtained for £1. The pound sterling was linked to the \$ at the ratio £1=\$ 4.8666 in 1925. After the Second World War the pound-dollar ratio was 1 : 4.03 which was devalued down to 1 : 2.80 in 1949. The mainstay of the value of the pound has however been its backing of gold and convertible currencies amounting to £ 827 m. against which the fiduciary note issue was £ 2800 m. in 1964.

Compared to the pound sterling the position of the rupee, as far as one can understand the figures published by the Government of India, is quite unstable. In 1951 the total currency with the Public (including Hali Sicca currency) was 1,239.9 crores. Then followed a rise in the quantum of currency and the totals for succeeding years were as shown below :

1956, 1551.6 crores ; 1959, 2246.3 crores ; 1963, 2475.8 crores ; and 1954, 2659.0 crores.

That is the total rise in currency in circulation increased by much more than 100% during these 13 years. As against this note issue the backing of gold, foreign currencies and securities did not increase; rather the post-war foreign money assets were drawn upon extensively in order to fix the heavy adverse balance of Trade created by very large imports of foreign goods. India has printed off more paper money, since 1964 and her stock of gold or foreign assets has not increased since then.

The U. S. Dollar contained upto 1934 25.3 grains or 1.6718 gms. of 0.900 fine gold. In 1934 this quantum was reduced to $15\frac{5}{16}$ grains of gold of same fineness that is the gold value of the Dollar was reduced to about $\frac{3}{5}$. The gold reserves of the U.S.A. cannot fall below 25% of the note circulation. At this rate India should keep a gold reserve in the vaults of the Reserve Bank of India of the value of nearly 750 crores of rupees. The silver Dollar has 371.25 grs. or 24.0566 gms. of silver of 0.900 fineness. The U.S.A. therefore has a currency based on the precious metals.

Belgium has a money system with the franc containing 0.01777 gms. of fine gold as the limit of currency. No gold coins now circulate or are minted but since 1948 new silver coins have been issued. The French "heavy franc" replaced the old "light franc" at the rate 1 New Franc for 100 old franc. This new currency has been revalued at £ 1 = 13.824 NF and \$ 1 = 4.937 NF. The French currency therefore is no longer free to expand indefinitely. In Germany (West) the old Reichsmark was replaced by the new Deutschmark in June 1948 at the rate of 1 : 1 upto 60 RM and for all higher amounts @ 100 RM : 6.5 DM. Reichsmark

liabilities were revalued at 10 RM to 1 DM. The following figures relating to currency as published by the Deutsche Bundesbank in July 1964 are revealing.

Assets

Gold	16,224.8 (m. Dm)
Foreign Money assets	11,605.6 (m. Dm)
Foreign Notes etc.	474.0 " "
Loans to International institutions etc.	2,088.2 " "
Domestic Bills etc.	3,032.3 " "
Equalization Claims	4,071.7 " "

Liabilities

Bank notes in circulation	27,631.2 " "
Deposits	15,862.9 " "

The German currency is therefore firmly established in its internal-external value.

In Italy, under the law of 28 Jan., 1960 the gold reserves of the Banca d' Italia are now revalued 703,297.396 lire per kg. of fine gold equal to \$ 1 : 625 lire. The gold standard lira is therefore = 0.00142187 gm of gold. In Japan the old Yen was equal to 29 cents U. S. On 25 April 1949, the \$ - Yen rate was fixed at \$ 1 = 360 Yen. The total currency in circulation in Japan was about \$ 5000 m. worth in 1962. The total gold and foreign currency holding of Japan was about \$ 1841 m. at that time. This solid backing is indeed remarkably good.

With all these revaluations all over the world and a general movement towards basing currencies upon a solid backing of gold and foreign cash securities, the condition of the Indian currency is pitiable. No amount of talking or borrowing can fix the value of a national currency in its own or in the foreign market. The ways and means of revaluation of currencies are well-known to all persons who deal with currencies.

ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL

Mr. Justice PHANI BHUSAN CHAKRABARTI

THE middle of the 19th century saw a great efflorescence of the genius of Bengal when there appeared, one closely following another, a large succession of very remarkable men who were destined to transform the whole intellectual and spiritual climate of the country and bring about a splendid renaissance. Of those remarkable men, one of the most remarkable was Brajendra Nath Seal. He was not a politician or a religious reformer or a literary artist. He was only a scholar and a teacher and yet even his mere existence among his people was elevating for them to a degree, because, as an intellectual, he attained a stature of such eminence that, according to the testimony of even European scholars, he was, in point of the range and depth of his learning and the originality of his mind, unequalled by any other man of his time, either in the East or in the West. Those are the exact words of Sir Michael Sadler. While he lived, many, struck with amazement by the immensity of his scholarship and the transcendence of his intellect, compared him to Aristotle. Now, perhaps, only 26 years after his death, he has become a somewhat remote figure ; but that such a man was born amongst us is a matter for national pride and for reverent remembrance, particularly on the day of the centenary of his birth.

The external details of his life are simple. He received all his education locally and so was entirely 'made in India'. Nor was his career exceptional in any way, though it was

distinguished. After taking his M.A. degree with a First in the First Class in Philosophy, he chose teaching as his vocation and served successively as a Professor at two Colleges and as the Principal of another two, the last being the College at Cooch Behar. In 1911, he was brought over to take up the George Professorship of Philosophy at the University of Calcutta. In 1921, he went to Mysore as the Vice-Chancellor of the University there, but while in that State, he also served as the Chairman of Committees on Constitutional Reforms and State Aid to Industries and, for a time, as an Additional Member of the Executive Council. He returned from Mysore in 1930 with his health greatly impaired by over-work and during the eight further years that he lived, held no other assignments, though his intellectual activities never ceased.

This bare outline of his career would give no idea of the pre-eminence he enjoyed in the world of learning and culture, but I might give a few details which would, perhaps, do so to a certain extent. Now-a-days, it is common enough for an Indian scholar to receive an invitation to attend a learned Conference in the West, but in Dr. Seal's days, such invitations were very exceptional and would come to a person only if he enjoyed an international reputation as a scholar and thinker. Twice did Dr. Seal receive an invitation, nominally to attend an International Conference, but to inaugurate it, which was an unusually high honour. In 1899, he inaugurated the International Conference of

Orientalists held in Rome and in 1911, he inaugurated the International Race Congress held in London. In his own country, Rabindranath Tagore invited him in 1921 to inaugurate the Visva-Bharati and in 1936, he presided over the Parliament of Religions held in connection with the centenary of the birth-day of Sree Ramkrishna Paramhansa. As to academic awards and titles, the Calcutta University conferred on him a Doctorate of Science, *honoris causa*, in 1915, the British Government knighted him in 1925 and the Mysore Darbar conferred on him the title of *Rajatantraprabhin* in 1930.

Even these distinctions, I am afraid, give no idea of the true greatness of Dr. Seal and the altitude of the position he occupied as a scholar of an almost incredible versatility and a sagely patriarch to whom all might turn and did turn for inspiration and enlightenment. Of the prodigious character of his learning, I shall speak in a moment, but first I would make a brief reference to his place among the people of his time and the way in which they drew upon his wisdom and learning. We learn from an account left by himself that he had among his contemporaries at college Narendranath Datta, the famous Swami Vivekananda of later days, and that racked by the spiritual turmoil in his soul, Narendranath would regularly lay before him the obstinate questions agitating his mind and ask for his help in solving them. We learn also that at last, when nothing could calm the restlessness of Narendranath, the two together went one day to Dakshineswar to meet the saint of whom they had heard a great deal and see if he could give Narendranath the solace he was seeking. In later life, Dr. Seal became not only the mentor of academic scholars, but also the

friend, philosopher and guide of the intellectuals of the time. His association with men like Rabindranath Tagore, J. C. Bose and P. C. Ray is well-known, but what is not so well-known is that he was also drawn into contact with politicians who turned to him for counsel at moments of need and received open or anonymous assistance. Quite recently, we were told by Shri A. N. Seal, a son of Dr. Seal, that when Bepin Chandra Pal was prosecuted for refusing to give evidence in a case started against Aurobindo Ghosh and he decided that he would not plead before a British Court but would only file a statement, explaining his reasons for not pleading, he sought the assistance of Dr. Seal for materials for his statement and received from him elaborate notes. Of Dr. Seal's guidance of generations of scholars, pursuing their specialised studies, often in recondite subjects, it is hardly necessary to make particular mention. For them, he was a path-finder, often in regions unexplored before. Verily, for about three decades, he functioned as a power-house from which intellectual current was supplied to the intelligentsia of the country for energising their projects, whether scholastic or social or educational or even political.

To what was this unique position due? It was due in part, though not primarily, to the immensity of his learning which seemed to encompass the whole field of human knowledge. That a single mind could be in full possession of the latest knowledge on practically all subjects, whether relating to the Humanities or to the Sciences, was indeed a marvel. It was a common experience to see him, when discoursing before inquirers assembled at his house and answering their diverse questions, pass with the greatest

ease from one subject to another and subjects so wholly dissimilar as Philosophy and Philology, Mathematics and History, Economics and Fine Arts and so on. I myself had the supreme privilege of attending those discourses for about a year and a half and I have unforgettable memories of the experience. As I sat listening to his talk and witnessing the unceasing flow of wisdom and learning, I often found myself thinking that it was perhaps thus that Socrates had discoursed before disciples and disputants in ancient Greece and I felt disconsolate that there was no Plato to record the dialogues of this Indian Socrates. Had there been one, we would undoubtedly have got another monumental work like the Dialogues of Plato, another gold mine of knowledge, wisdom and insight.

But even his learning, phenomenal as it was, did not represent the whole of Dr. Seal's mind and does not account for the uniqueness of his personality. For, mere learning is only a stockpile of knowledge which other people have acquired and a merely learned man can never be an intellectual force. What made Dr. Seal unique was not so much his learning as the soaring quality of his mind which, rising from its base of knowledge, could ascend to great heights and see therefrom visions of new vistas of thought opening up before it. To a view of those visions he called everyone and what he revealed was that the universe we lived in was a universe of co-relation and harmony. Because the whole body of human knowledge was known to him, he could co-relate its diverse stands and put all the acquired data of knowledge in their synthetic relation to the one Truth. And so, whether the subject was Philosophy or Literature or History or Religion or

some branch of Science or even Politics, he would make his approach to it from a standpoint of totality and would, upon an examination of it in relation to other subjects, point the way to a fuller understanding of its place in the world's scheme of things. His exposition was indeed an illumination and its peculiar quality was that it always stimulated new adventures of thought. Himself on an eternal quest for the ultimate Truth, he inspired others to follow him in that quest.

It is a matter for infinite regret that the literary output of this master-mind is slender and gives no idea of either its profundity or the range and sweep of its explorations. The works of Dr. Seal reveal only a small fraction of his Protean mind. The reason for this inadequacy, as given by himself, is as interesting as it is characteristic of the man. He was imbued, he told his friends, with a passion for flawless perfection and knowing that knowledge was ever growing from more to more and that at no stage could it be said that there was nothing further to be known, his mind recoiled from composing a treatise on any subject, for, by doing so, he would be drawing a line at his then date of knowledge which it would be wrong and presumptuous to do. And so his published works include only one major work, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, which is undoubtedly a masterpiece, but which contains only his discoveries of what the ancient Hindus had done. Apart from that one major work and apart from an unpublished autobiographical record, Dr. Seal has left only a number of addresses, occasional essays and magazine articles. Their number is not large, nor is the size of any one of them considerable, but it must be said at once that they all bear the

hall-mark of his extraordinary genius and are packed with germinal thoughts, out of each one of which if nurtured by competent hands, some lasting contribution to human knowledge might grow. But again there is a difficulty: not one of the works is now available and so their author is slowly sliding into obscurity.

On the occasion of the centenary of Dr. Seal's birth, there can be only one thought in our minds. In his case, there can be no question of our honouring his memory by continuing in our lives the work in which he was engaged, for, to do what he did, one requires to be another Brajendra Nath Seal. But we may

at least, and we ought to, try to see that his works are soon published and their publication is followed by intense and sustained work on their far-reaching implications, so that the true stature of this extraordinary man may be revealed to the world. And meanwhile, on the centenary of his birth-day, let us all contemplate reverently the image of his Olympian figure as one contemplates a mountain-peak and offer our salutations to his memory.

Reproduction of a broadcast talk given at the Calcutta Station of All India Radio on September 3, 1964.

The Imperial Conference

Where is Great Britain's empire? The only accurate answer to the question is, "In India." For the self-governing colonies are practically independent nations and may become independent also in name when they have created their own navies and armies. Yet, in the Imperial Conference which is now in session, India has no place. That is because Indians are looked upon not as persons, as citizens, but as possessions.

It is far better, incomparably better, to be a dull clod of earth with a soul to call one's own than to be the brightest *inanimate* jewel in a crown.

Ramananda Chatterjee
in The Modern Review, June, 1911, p. 646

NATURE IN 'CHITRA'

D. V. S. R. MURTY

In 'Chitra' Tagore has rewritten Kalidasa's 'Kumara Sambhava'. It is his 'loveliest drama'. In the words of Thompson it is 'a lyrical feast.' "All my plays", says Tagore, "except 'Chitra' were written in the winter. In that season lyrical fervour is apt to grow cold, and one gets the leisure to write a drama". 'Chitra' is written in the spring season when Nature is luxuriant with flowers and fragrance and when people are exuberant with love and joy. Its perfect unity, conception and expression stand no comparison to its profound thought content that comprehends the whole universe. In it Tagore, like Kalidasa, gives expression to the eternal in wedded love, a union between the spirits of Reality and Goodness. Such a union generates good forces and brings happiness to the world.

Sanskrit Drama

'Chitra' is to be apprehended in the light of the great Sanskrit plays especially those of Kalidasa. To ignore the fact is to misinterpret it as it was done in the past. Some critics think that the play is 'immoral'. A few Indian readers discern 'a glorification of sexual abandonment' in the play. Edward Thompson writes : "It is not Arjuna alone who has wearied of Eros. The poet himself has felt revulsion ; and after 'Chitrangada' he never returned to such a frank handling of passion. "It is no more a frank handling of passion but an honest expression of love. Tagore avows : 'I defy any one to find anything immoral in it. It is sensuous, of course, but then poetry must be that'. The sensuousness forms only a background to the love poem. It is indispensable here to focus light on Tagore's essay 'The Religion of The Forest', where he dilates on the conception of Love.

Tagore writes on Kalidasa's Kumara-Sambhava thus : "It tells of the eternal wedding of love, its wooing and sacrifice, and its fulfilment, for which the gods wait in suspense". Kumara-Sambhava deals with the birth of Kumaraswami from the union of Shiva (the Spirit of Goodness) and Parvati (Sati or the Spirit of Reality). He also writes : "When Sati, the Spirit of Reality, through humiliation, suffering and penance, won the heart of Shiva, the Spirit of Goodness. And thus, from the union of the freedom of the real with the restraint of the Good, was born the heroism that released Paradise from the demon of Lawlessness". It is 'eternal love'.

Truth (Satyam) Goodness (Shivam) Beauty (Sundaram) :

The trinity is the basis for the creation of the whole universe. All creatures embody these three principles and Man is a supreme example. The greatest Sanskrit poets like Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti have given expression to the trinity in their plays. Love forges a link between the three principles and pervades throughout the universe. But all love does not conduce to goodness. It emanates from the admiration of beauty (Sundaram). The beauty may be earthly or divine. Earthly beauty can also bring a pseudo-union between Truth and Reality but it produces chaos. Kalidasa exemplified it in his play 'Malavikagnimitra', where Agnimitra is infatuated by Malavika. The union between Truth and Reality brought about by divine love results in happiness. Kalidasa's 'Kumara-Sambhava' profusely illustrates it. Parvati (Sati) tries to win the love of Shiva with the help of cupid and his attendants. It is earthly beauty. Shiva destroys cupid and goes away. She, then, resorts to sacrifice,

penance and humiliation that transform her earthly love into an eternal one. Shiva, then, seeks her and marries her. It is eternal love, for Shiva (the Spirit of Goodness) shall seek Parvati (the Spirit of Reality) but not vice versa. Such love is only to perpetuate the human race. The Sanskrit texts says :

"Prajayai Gruhamedhinam"

'For progeny remain married'. Kalidasa's 'Shakuntala' and 'Raghuvamsa' harp on the same theme.

Tagore's Theme

Tagore in his preface to the play, points out that 'Chitra' is based on Mahabharata story. In fulfilment of a vow of penance Arjuna goes to Manipur in course of his wanderings. Shiva's boon blesses Chitravahana, the King of Manipur, with a female child, Chitrangada. Arjuna marries her and lives with her for three years. Later he continues his wanderings. She gives birth to a male child, named Babruvahana.

But the story gained a new form and originality like the chronicles in the hands of Shakespeare. Tagore never intends his play to be a mere romance. It is a play that reflects the 'eternal' in wedded love displayed by Kalidasa in his epoch-making dramas. So Arjuna becomes an ascetic. Chitra becomes a seeker. The play begins with Chitra whose heart has been attacked by Madana, the god of Eros, and Vasanta 'Eternal Youth'. Till that moment she is a man in her dress and address. She is skilled in all the arts of a prince. One day he meets Arjuna in the forest and suddenly feels herself a woman.

Earthly Love

The love that sprung in her mind, is born out of her desire for physical pleasure. She discards her boy's dress and puts on herself 'a gown of purple red silk', bracelets and a waist chain. She is a

paragon of beauty. She goes to win the love of Arjuna in the forest temple of Shiva but is disappointed. Arjuna says : 'I have taken a vow of celibacy. I am not fit to be thy husband'. Then Chitra, like Parvati, understands that her physical beauty cannot win his love and decides to win it by making it spiritual. It can be got by suffering, sacrifice and humiliation. She has never liked her 'flower of desire' drop into the dust before it had ripened to fruit. She also says that it is 'the labour of a life-time to make one's true self known and honoured'. She solicits Vasanta to endow her with 'one brief day of perfect beauty'.

Eternal Love

God illumines for us the path of truth and sweeps away our passions, bred of darkness. 'This is God Shiva', says Tagore, 'in whose nature Parvati, the eternal woman, is ever comingled in an ascetic purity of love. The unified being of Shiva and Parvati is the perfect symbol of the eternal in the wedded love of man and woman'. To Tagore the eternal in wedded love is a symbol of unified man and woman.

Chitra begins to sacrifice her comfort and pleasure. She begins to live with Arjuna and serve him. She does penance and undergoes suffering. They purify her body and elevate her mind sweeping away her passions. She likes to reveal her true self to him that is nobler. So Vasanta tells her : "A time will come of itself when the heart-cloyed bloom of the body will droop and Arjuna will gladly accept the abiding fruitful truth in thee." Arjuna rejected her in the temple of Shiva when she came with 'her body loaded with ornaments and finery'. She, now, hates to seek her body and nourish it. She tells him "Take me in your arms, my love", and to take what is abiding and strong in her. Arjuna

also says : 'I cannot touch you and cannot pay you my dues in return for your priceless gifts. Thus my love is incomplete . . . Illusion is the first appearance of Truth. She advances towards her lover in disguise. But a time comes when she throws off her ornaments and veils and stands clothed in naked dignity. 'I grope for that ultimate you that bear simplicity of truth'. He offers himself to her when he found the ultimate truth in her. It is the 'eternal in the wedded love' that 'can last longer than pleasure, that can endure even through suffering'.

Physical Aspect in the Eternal

Tagore does not ignore the physical aspect of the eternal in love and gives supreme importance to it for love becomes complete and final in consummation. The presentation of the physical aspect vividly in the play makes some call it 'immoral' and some 'sensuous'. Pure love is for the perpetuation of the race and it is eternal also. So Chitra says : 'It is better that I should keep spread about me all the dainty playthings of fugitive youth and wait for you in patience. When it pleases you to return, I will smilingly pour out for you the wine of pleasure in the cup of this beauteous body. When you are tired and satiated with this wine, you can go to work or play,... Would it please your heroic soul if the playmate of the night aspired to be the helpmeet of the day, ..' She is a woman, the spirit of Reality. She is Nature or 'Prakriti'. So she asks him not to spare her body and so 'press it dry of honey' lest his beggar's heart should come back with unsated desire. She will entwine him in her arms but if he escapes there is an end of their pleasure, for the goddess of pleasure is fickle and waits for no man. This is the physical aspect that makes life eternal, on the earth.

In the final scene Chitra makes her last sacrifice at his feet. She is ready to offer the heart of a woman where 'love springs up struggling toward immortal life'. She says : 'If the flower service is finished, my master, accept this as your servant for the days to come'. She asks him to 'accept this' not her body. It is her true self. Arjuna delights to say that his 'life is full'.

Names And Nature

The play puts in a nutshell the cosmos. So Tagore has chosen characters that can be human beings and diversities in Nature at one and the same time. The principle of perpetuation is common to both. Arjuna is a hero and the word means white colour (Niranjana) or a state of actionlessness or purity. Chitra is a princess and also means the combination of different colours, i. e., Nature (Prakriti). Madana, the god of Erôs, is only a state of joy. Vasanta, the Eternal youth, means the time when Madana reigns supreme. The names have deeper significance and raise the play to a higher plane.

The play presents the diverse forces in Nature. Nature remains the same at all times but change is its eternal order. The change is brought about by Purush, the state of actionlessness that throbs with action in Vasanta when Madana reigns supreme. And love creates action in actionlessness. As Chitra says Nature (Prakriti) or woman has to wait for the time to receive 'purusha' or Arjuna : 'It is better that I should keep spread about me all the dainty playthings of fugitive youth and wait for you in patience'. This is actually what happens in Nature.

Imagery

The imagery of the play vividly displays the above underlying idea about Nature. The principle that makes life

perpetual, is universal. Indeed, Nature stands as an ideal to him and imparts serenity and peace. So the Sanskrit playwrights make the forest the scene of action of many of their plays. The life in the forest is natural and nearer to reality.

The image of Nature is forced upon us continually by the characters and the descriptions. Vasanta, Madana, Arjuna and Chitra stand for Nature in its bloom or joy that precede fruitage. The forest, the scene of action, symbolises Nature in toto.

In the first scene itself Chitra says : 'The flower of my desire shall never drop into dust before it has ripened to fruit'. She considers herself a flower, the quintessence of Nature and tells Arjuna 'I felt like a flower which have but a few fleeting hours . . . thus ending the short story of a perfect moment that has neither past nor future'. Again the flowers that fell on her body are like 'kisses'. The 'flowering season' gives place to season of fruits. Vasanta says, 'with the advent of autumn the flowering season is over, then comes the triumph of fruitage', and so Arjuna will 'accept the abiding fruitful truth' in her. There is a suggestion of flower again when Chitra asks Arjuna 'to press her body dry of honey' lest his heart should come back like a bee in summer. Vasanta is tired and ready to depart! He tells Chitra that 'the loveliness' of her body will return to the inexhaustible stores of the spring and her soft white glow of the skin 'will be born again in a hundred fragrant Jasmine flowers'. This is the circle in

Nature—flower-fruit-flower ; and it is Nature. The vivid images of the flowers and fruits contribute to form the blissful atmosphere of the play also.

Tagore, like Wordsworth, is nurtured by Nature from his childhood. She is an integrated whole and has an all pervasive influence. Tagore has become a worshipper of Nature perceiving in her the living image of God. He has communed with Him in his blessed moments. The communion has left always in his heart a deep yearning for repetition and complete possession. The yearning and its possession form a dominant theme in his work for some time. As his vision broadened he has come to realise that Nature and Man are synonymous, and God is present in both. 'Chitra' illustrates Tagore's grand conception of Man and Nature as one.

Tagore is one of the greatest forest sages of India in modern times. His self is deeply rooted in Indian soil. He has many affinities with great Sanskrit poets especially with Kalidasa. Tagore himself says, 'I am well aware of Kalidasa's limitations. But he is much the greatest of the old Sanskrit poets.' Edward Thompson admits, 'It was from Kalidasa that Rabindranath's early work inherited a tradition of elaboration to which it is hard for the western critic to do justice, it is so alien from our recognised ways of excellence'. Tagore's ways of excellence are comprehensible in the light of Vedic culture that finds unity in diversity and the Creator even in the meanest flower on earth.

YOGI SHRI KRISHNAPREM

Born : May 10, 1898 ; Sanyasa : October 2, 1928 ; Withdrawn : November 14, 1965

(Reminiscences)

DILIP KUMAR ROY

In 1923, I was invited by Sri Jnanendranath Chakravarti, the Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, to stay for a week or two as his guest within the University precincts. I accepted with alacrity, the more so as Krishnaprem was staying with him at the time. He was known then as Ronald Nixon, the most popular and brilliant Professor of the University.

My bed-room was next to his. Every morning we had breakfast with Sri Chakravarti and his wife Monika Devi, the famous *dame de salon* of fashionable Lucknow beloved by the ultra-moderns. Thereafter I would sing for a half-hour, for my host and hostess loved *bhajans* (devotional songs). Krishnaprem never failed to attend for he too loved my singing, especially my hymns to Krishna. Then, in the afternoon, he would often ask his colleagues and other friends to tea in his large living room where books were scattered all over the place. The professors used to call Nixon's tea-parties *conversazioni*. He was, indeed, a brilliant conversationalist and a redoubtable debater. He loved to discuss and break a lance with sceptics and rationalists even as he loved to whirl round Lucknow on his motor-cycle like a veritable asteroid.

One day a rational friend of ours, Prof. Dhurjati P. Mukherji, started arguing with him about miracles which, he derided, had ceased to happen ever since science had debunked them. Krishnaprem laughed and rejoined that science was born only yesterday whereas miracles were as old as the hills and an infant could hardly debunk so robust an elder who, besides, had refused to age for ages. And then he related a personal experience, which I have heard from him more than once afterwards, too. I will give it in brief though in my own language. I have forgotten a few details but the main story was unforgettable.

He said : "I was a pilot in the First World War as you know, Dhurjati. I had to drop bombs over the enemy trenches. One day, during my flight over enemy territory, I was about to steer to the right, where half-a-dozen fighter planes whirled, thinking that they were English planes. Just then some force simply turned my wrist and made me veer right round to the left. I couldn't understand it at all, as the force was too convincing to be doubted. In a few minutes I came back to land on our own ground when they told me that I had done well to return so promptly as a number of new enemy planes were around, and so would have made an end of me if I had delayed. It was then that I realised with a shock of thankful delight that I had just had a narrow escape ; for had the force not made me steer to the left at the psychological moment, none would have been here to tell you this incredible story. But believe it or not, I am as certain as certain can be that a miracle was wrought by a power beyond our ken. Only the difficulty is, my dear Dhurjati, that though seeing is believing, hearing is not, especially if one's audience luxuriate in pooh-poohing everything that they can't understand with their minds' little lights".

Day after day I sang before my host and hostess in the former's library. Krishnaprem invariably attended. At first I used to just sing on. Then, gradually, I began to notice in Monika Devi something which struck me as rather remarkable. Let me explain this as best as I can.

I have given Monika Devi the epithet of the *dame de salon*, for so she had indeed appeared to us all, that is to say, as a lady with the innate personal charm of a born hostess and social figure. Then I began to notice, little by little, that she responded to devotional songs with an

astonishing warmth, so much so, that tears coursed down her cheeks as I sang with my wonted fervour. I noticed, next, how reverently Krishnaprem gazed at her and prostrated himself before her everytime she greeted him as her son "Gopal". I was no less impressed when I saw that in her presence the robust debater and intellectual of the *conversazione* was miraculously transformed, as it were, into a docile lamb! I had, however, no inkling at the time of his having already accepted her as his Guru, a fact, which I came to know only after a year or so had glided by.

One day, after the *bhajan*, I remarked to Krishnaprem about her being "two personalities" in one and went on to add: "When I see her in a party laughing, smoking and scintillating, 'a cynosure of neighbouring eyes', I do indeed admire her nonchalance and brilliant repartees and her native power to make it go. But then when, next, I sing to her and she looks completely transfigured with her ecstatic tears, I cannot help feeling that she is a denizen of a different world altogether, if you know what I mean."

"I do, Dilip," he returned with a loving pat on my back. "And I am glad that you have learnt the wisdom of not judging by appearances. For many a judge has, as you know, summed her up merely as a brilliant *dame de salon* and nothing more. But she is not a person easy to plumb or decipher. In fact, she has to be seen to be believed. if you know what I mean."

About a year had gone by when Dhurjati wrote to me that Krishnaprem had taken *diksha* from Monika Devi, exchanged his English dress for the sadhu's ochre-coloured habit and turned a strict vegetarian to boot. And then Joy Gopal Mukherji (one of Krishnaprem's devoted friends) wrote to me, a few months later, that Monika Devi had taken complete *sanayas*, changed her name into Yashoda and shaved her head. I was more moved than startled. For had she not been born and bred in the lap of luxury, an aristocrat and progressive to her finger-tips, an ultra-modern who went every two years to England on a holiday trip, a leader of fashion in her set and, above all, a loving mother and wife? Yes, I had to concede, willy-nilly, that she was, indeed, a lady "who had to be seen to be believed. (A few years later Krishnaprem was to divulge to me—in

their sylvan retreat at Almora—that he had accepted her as his Guru because she could talk of the gods and goddesses from intimate personal experience. But about that I will write later, in due course.)

A few months after Krishnaprem had retired to Varanasi as a sadhu under the aegis of his Guru (now known as Yasodha Ma), I invited him to spend a few days with me as my guest in Calcutta in my grandfather's luxurious mansion on Theatre Road. He readily accepted and we had a marvellous time together. I used literally to hang on his words, the more so as he had become a mendicant in the Lord's name, and I started keeping a record of some of his memorable sayings, to be able to quote right and left before non-believers.

He often went out of his way to have a fling at my anglicised friends. He held that India was the only country in Asia which had stayed unconquered by the materialist civilization of the West because we still had our great saints and sages to protect us like an armour. Sometimes, when they bridled and spoke of the sadhus as parasites, he would retort with a smile that if the West had a galaxy of such parasites today, the next World War might be staved off, and said provokingly: "The ones you call parasites I would rather endow with the epithet, *salt of the earth*."

They would sometimes go for him, espousing the cause of the intellect as the best antiseptic to blind faith. He would calmly rejoin: "But the proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof, my friends! If blind faith could initiate us in the *Shivanetra* (the third eye), I would rather be blind to drab chimera and have angel glimpses of the thrilling Reality." And so he went on, undismayed by their concerted attack, like a veritable "Abhimanyu encircled by seven charioteers", as he described himself with a chortle. (And even they had to give him his due, to wit, that he had a masterly grasp of our epics and scriptures). Nevertheless, a firebrand challenged him one day: "But, Mr. Nixon, how can you possibly believe these dangerous superstitions which no wise man should believe?" He reposted instantly: "My friend, when you will grow wiser still you will realise that it is far more dangerous for your soul not to believe what you

should believe than for your mind to believe what should not be believed. For in the latter case you may, indeed, land in a pitfall, but then you can see it as such and so climb out of it to resume your journey. But when you disbelieve what you should believe, you topple over into an abyss and break either your neck or limbs or both."

We never met in Varanasi where, on the bank of the immemorial Ganga, Sri Chakravarti had bought a beautiful house and lived in it for a year or two with Yasodha Ma and Krishnaprem. I was told that it was there Krishnaprem began his Yoga assiduously, or, shall I say; with his native "British doggedness" as Sri Aurobindo once put it. My informant told me that in Varanasi Krishnaprem's very soul seemed to have flowered out under the aegis of his guru, Yashoda Ma. He related a revealing rejoinder of Krishnaprem's:

"What on earth have you found to adore, sir, in this drab city of dust and din?" heckled an ultra-modern when he was giving a discourse on the symbol of Varanasi and Shiva's aura.

Krishnaprem replied with a radiant smile: "Gold-dust my friend, and the music of the Ganga."

I have written already about how I missed Krishnaprem when I visited Lucknow in November 1928, and hinted that Joygopal was instrumental in giving me the blow I needed for my orientation towards my Guru. There I heard from all and sundry about Krishnaprem's begging alms on the streets and cooking his food and sleeping on a bare blanket on the cold heights of the Himalayas 7500 feet above sea-level. My heart sank everytime Joygopal put me abreast of his feats of courage and endurance, and I asked myself again and again in trepidation, whether all these heroic austerities were incumbent on one who yearned desperately to find a haven at his Guru's feet. But I found no answer, and so had to live in a void, as I had no taste left for the fleshpots of the world and even music, my *grande passion*, had begun to fail me.

So, at long last, I confided to my friend one night my deep misgivings and told him that although I felt miserable I could not help vacillating because I just dreaded cloistered monasticism.

But that was not the whole story, as he divined quickly. So, astutely hitting the nail on the head and giving me a quizzical smile, he hazarded bluntly: "Don't hedge, Dilip. I propose buying a ticket for you the first thing tomorrow morning. You just make straight for your Guru's Yoga-ashram at Pondicherry where you belong. Surrender all you have and are to him."

"It's all very well to suggest remedies" I demurred ruefully. "But are you sure of the diagnosis?"

Being a medical man, my friend and host smiled appreciatively and prodded: "What is the trouble?"

"I wish I knew," I answered bitterly. "I only know that I am groping in a maze. You see, it's like this. My Guru, unlike Krishnaprem's, has not given me anything tangible yet. Surely you don't expect me to give up everything for nothing?"

His noble brow clouded.

"Well, Dilip," he sighed. "You have let me down, I cherished you as I have because I thought you were a born Yogi, like Krishnaprem. I see now that I was mistaken. For what you say amounts to this that you can't bring yourself to accept a Guru unless he signs a contract with you and gives you in advance some delightful experiences—something like what they call in law a *consideration*, a *quid pro quo*, a stipulation! Well, if this be your approach—that is, you start with bargaining with the Lord, then you shall never arrive."

The shaft went home The whole night I could not sleep. I was *bargaining* with the Lord, whereas Krishnaprem had taken the plunge, staking everything with just one throw of the dice. Oh, how dare I claim to be his friend after this? A medley of pity and vacillation, aspiration and fear, longing and diffidence drained me of all my strength till I started praying in tears, when the incredible miracle happened.

I got up and, in twenty minutes, took the next available train to Bombay en route for Pondicherry, after despatching a telegram to Gurudev on November 15.

It is God's truth that my destiny was decided in twenty minutes and I had no say in the matter. Wasn't that a miracle of the first water? I reached Pondicherry on November 22, 1928

and left it, on December 12, 1953, after my Guru's passing.

In Pondicherry I often thought of Krishnamparam and of all that I had owed to him. I went on writing to him regularly and he never failed to reply to me answering my questions again and again with all the luminous clarity of his spiritual discernment—or, shall I say, his “mind of sight,” as Sri Aurobindo put it. He once wrote to me deprecating my tribute to him: “You overestimate the effect I had on you.” But I could not admit this. For I owed him too much, and for years, during an unbroken intimacy of four decades. Not only that. I went on contacting him vicariously, as it were, through his friends whom he sent to me even as he received warmly the ones I recommended.

But I must pause here for a little to speak of one other great soul who subsequently endeared himself to me : another English aspirant called J. A. Chadwick. He came to me with a letter of introduction from Krishnaprem. I was charmed by his refinement and sincerity not to mention his keen intelligence and brilliant gifts. He lived for a year in a room next to mine after he had found his Guru in Sri Aurobindo to whom he clung till his death.

I have written elsewhere about the role Sri Aurobindo played in Pondicherry as a poet-maker, by which I mean that he could infuse poetry into many a disciple who had never dalled with the muse before. I was myself an instance in point. Another was Chadwick (whom Gurudev named Arjav afterwards). He had been a distinguished Don of Cambridge and a Fellow of Trinity College. It was always a joy to exchange ideas with him especially about music which he loved. Perhaps that is one of the reasons why, when Sri Aurobindo's magic touch had made him flower out into a beautiful poet, his poems breathed such delectable music. I will quote only a few lines from two of his poems by way of illustration. He wrote about Sri Aurobindo, whose poetry he adored, in a poem :

O puissant heart amidst whose raptured

shrining

A nameless Love is garbed in Name's disguise,

Last metronome to mortal things assigning

A fadeless rhythm wrung from

Dawn's echoing skies.

In another poem the closing verse ran :

Your name is fading music upon my

worship's mouth ;

It spills in languorous fragrance from

lilies of the South ;

It is the odorous night-flower wherewith

your locks are bound,

Or the moon-pale soul of roses caught

in a mesh of sound.

He had been deeply moved by Krishnaprem's earnestness and one-pointed aspiration for Divine Grace, the more so as he also had longed, like him, to seek refuge at the feet of a Guru. Happily for me, he came to be swept off his feet by Sri Aurobindo whom he accepted once and for all as the keeper of his soul, so much so, that once he came to his feet, he never once looked back even though his people in England pressed him again and again to come back home. He did not want to comply as he, too, had lost faith in the materialistic civilization of the West which he branded as the arch-hatcher of the most cruel fratricidal strifes in human history. That was why, as he often said to me with a sigh, he had ceased to believe in the Western gospel of scientific secularism and aimless activism stalking the dreadful path of self-aggrandisement and exploitation of the weak. He came to worship Sri Aurobindo for his message of Life Divine and Synthesis of Yoga.

I have digressed a little deliberately, because I wish to quote a beautiful Foreword Krishnaprem wrote to his poems when Chadwick died in India at the Guru's feet, a Foreword which elicited high praise from Sri Aurobindo. I have decided to do this for a twofold reason: first, because it reveals the deep aspiration of Chadwick for the Guru's lead and secondly, because it reveals (though with an undertone of mystic sadness) Krishnaprem's beautiful and serene attitude vis-a-vis Guruvad and the journey's end.

This is what he wrote in 1939 in his exquisite tribute :

"It must be now twelve years since Chadwick and I sat together on the banks of the Ganges at Benares, talking far into the night of dreams that lay close to our hearts, dreams that had brought us together as they had brought us both to India. Of his past I knew little save that

it included a fellowship at, I think, Trinity College, Cambridge and that a distinguished Cambridge philosopher entertained great hopes from his brilliant abilities in mathematical philosophy of the specifically 'Cambridge' sort. * Somewhere between the chinks of his academic career I surmised an initiation into the Kabalistic tradition and there was that in his eyes which showed unmistakably that it was not for the sake of a professorship in a provincial university that he had left his friends at Cambridge and crossed the seven seas.

"Once more we met in a university bungalow at Lucknow, a background that I think we both felt to be an utter irrelevance, and then we departed, I to the North and he to the South where he had found his Guru in Sri Aurobindo. There, in the Asram at Pondicherry, he lived for the last ten years, shedding at the feet of his Guru the burden of all that the world counts valuable in order to find the hidden treasure for which most men have no eyes.

"Of his life and *sadhana* there under the name of Arjava it is not for me to speak. That it brought about a profound psychic transformation in his nature is clear from the fact that he, whose language had hitherto been limited to the arid propositions of intellectual philosophy, became a poet, and, with the aid of poetry, entered the inner worlds of which, till then, he had but dreamed.

"Traditionalists and those who take a narrow view of *sadhana* will perhaps wonder what poetry has to do with *yoga*. The truth is that the reintegration of the psyche that is brought about by *sadhana* has the effect of releasing unsuspected powers that were lying latent in the heart of the *sadhaka*, as, indeed; they are in the hearts of all. We read in books of *yoga* that 'by meditating on Her who shines in the Root Lotus with the lustre of ten million Suns, a man becomes a Lord of Speech and, pure of heart, by his deep and musical words, serves the greatest of the Gods.' The truth of such words, nowadays too often assumed to be mere empty praise, is witnessed to by these poems left behind by Arjava when, at what seems to us the early age of forty, the Sovereign Dweller of his heart decided to withdraw to inner worlds.

"The mere literary critic will admire the delicate dream-like beauty of these poems, but,

unless his insight is more than merely literary, he will go no deeper, for they deal with the mysteries of the inner life and only he who can read their symbols will be able to penetrate to their heart. For Arjava, as is shown in the poem entitled *Correspondences*, Nature was a shrine in which each form seen in the flickering firelight of the senses was a shadow of realities that lay within, shining in the magical light of the secret Moon which was the Master-Light of all his seeing, the central image of so many poems.

"In the midst of our personal sadness at his early departure let us remember that this Path is the one which leads through many worlds and that, as Sri Krishna said, *nehabhikrama na-hosti*, for him who treads it there can be no less of effort."

I met Krishnaprem next at Allahabad in 1938. He had come down with Yasoda Ma to have her treated by competent doctors. She had been suffering for years from a number of ailments and was all but bed-ridden at the time. But what a peace radiated from her emanated face and what a serene smile! She told me in answer to my anxious enquiry that I should not worry about her health as the Lord had propped her with an ineffable peace which was her constant companion and more than outweighed all her physical pain. "This body, my son," she said, "is truly like a cage. The one who is inside is the real person one should enquire about, the bird whose nest is in the sky. I have seen that this soul, the bird, is not the body, the cage. So what does it matter if the cage goes to pieces?" She often gave this pet smile of hers. Once I could not help but demur: "But Ma, we can't contact you if your cage goes to pieces. So for the sake of such as we at least—not to mention Krishnaprem—you should have the cage repaired". She laughed and said: "But, sometimes, the cage becomes too cramping, my son! And then it may be necessary to leave it." Krishnaprem's eyes darkened with pain whenever she talked in this strain, so much so, that often she had to stop midway and change the topic.

I remember well the first evening when I sang before her and Krishnaprem and a few others at the house of her host, a Kashmiri relation of the Nehrus. I sang a song on Kali

tenths of what he said which inspired me at the time, but, happily for me, I can never forget the unforgettable, to wit, how he used to warm up the moment the talk centred, as it often did, round the cult of the Guru and the mystic truth which ensouled it.

Krishnaprem often said, laughingly, that I was a past master in the wicked art of drawing people out. There may be some truth in his fling as I did succeed in making him speak of what—he told me afterwards—he had never intended to blurt out to anybody. What I did, however, was little more than quoting to him opinions of my enlightened friends who thought that the Guru cult was an anachronism in the world of today, a superstition that did even more harm than the caste system. Upon this Krishnaprem always bridled and once, I remember, he quoted the Bhagavat : that one must always look upon the Guru as Krishna Himself⁴.

I demurred deliberately (to draw him out again) and asked him at a venture : "It is all very well to quote scriptures. But how on earth does one set about identifying cribbed humanity with Divinity ? For when all is said, a human being is human because of his mortal limitations, whereas the Divine is divine because He is free from these."

He gave a reply which I recalled afterwards when reading his most mature work : *The Yoga of the Kathopanishad*. The passage is given on p. 68. Here is an excerpt :

"The Guru is recognised in moments of calm and insight, in such moments as visit the disciple as peaks of inner harmony in which for the time being the distracting voices of desire are lulled to sleep. At such time he is able to hear with his inner ear and to recognise the voice that speaks to him from without as the true echo of the Voice within the heart."

I had often wondered while reading his dicta such as these whether he had really achieved the (to me) seemingly impossible feat of equat-

"Acharyam mam Vijaniyat navamanyeta

karhicit

Na martyabuddhasuyeta sarvadevamayo Guru
(11. 17. 27)

Know the Guru for Krishna, not slight him, taking him for a human being, because all the gods reside in him.

ing his Guru with his *Ishta*, Krishna. But every-time I saw the deep adoration in his eyes, whenever he looked on Yasodha Ma, or the eager alacrity with which he obeyed her injunctions, all my doubts were dispelled *de nouveau* once more, and I felicitated him sincerely. But then he instantly waved it aside and said : "My dear Dilip, it is not so easy as all that. It is true, one can rise to sudden heights in moments of insight or *bhakti*, but it is far from easy to stay there, defying the earth's downpull. It is only when one sets one's teeth, determined to take orders only from one's highest insight disowning one's self-will, that one can successfully maintain one's altitude and laugh at the downpull."

But though he deprecated my congratulations in true humility, his heart was given unreservedly to his Guru. This he wrote about in one of his subsequent letters which I will quote here as a moving instance of his warmth. The letter was dated September 29, 1945 :

"My dear Dilip,

I will tell you what is written in burning letters of Fire in my heart that carry their own guarantee of truth.

Krishna and Guru are one, but if I leave Him, Krishna may leave me—at least He may smile His inscrutable (the *samoham sarva huteshu*) smile and say : 'Well, if you don't care for me then I don't care for you either—at least not more than I care for the louse on a monkey's backside.' But my Guru will never leave me whatever I do. I might leave Her but She would never leave me. I may fall from the Path, return to the flesh-pots and wallow in their filthy slops for five lives or fifty lives, I may blaspheme the Sacred Stone within my heart and die cursing God and men—all this and more I may do, but She will never leave my side. Each separate folly of mine will be a stab of sorrow in the heart of Her who is sorrowless, but She will never turn away Her face nor cease from trying to assuage the pains that I must suffer from my own foolish acts. Never, never will She leave my side nor cease to guide my steps until I stand in that eternal *Braja* where She stands now. God-forsaken and man-forsaken I may be, but Guru-forsaken, never."

He wrote all this not to flourish a rhetorical torch dazzling the eyes of poor mortals. He penned these lines only because he had ex-

perienced, day after marvellous day, that the Guru's spirit is everliving and can never leave his disciples in the lurch. He had hinted at this moving experience explicitly in another letter, dated, 5-12-44 :

"Dear Dilip,

Your affectionate letter came yesterday just as I was preparing to write to give you the sad news that Ma has left her body after a sudden acute attack of her gallstone trouble. The end was utter peace, unspeakable, and the years seemed to fall away from her as, with her vision full of Sri Krishna, she dropped the body. *I know she is ever with us and even nearer than before*, but yet the physical loss is more than I can write of. Yet already I know why Sri Krishna told the wives of the sacrificing Brahmans in Brindavan that it is not by physical proximity that He is attained.* She had told us that the end was very near but I hated to believe it and it came suddenly. You know how much Ma meant to me and how for over twenty years she has been Guru, mother and everything. She was the pivot round which my whole universe revolved. That she still is, but the loss of the physical support is hard to bear."

When he wrote to me that Yashoda Ma was ever with him and even "nearer than before" he did not want to repeat a mere platitude. He had never been one to luxuriate in pious clichés, still less in sectarian shibboleths. And he hated to invoke authorities for stage-effect. Although he was a great lover of books and scriptures he was never overawed by mere erudition. He wrote once :

"The Truth is within us, and books are only useful in so far as they crystallise and make manifest what is, till then, only obscurely known. Such a statement as 'God created the world' is for instance, meaningless unless we have at least some idea of what we mean by 'God' and what by 'created'. It is hardly necessary to say that for most people who use the phrase so

glibly, the words in question have practically no meaning whatever. If such a person is asked about the origin of the world, he will reply 'God created it', and then if asked what he means by 'God' he will say that 'God is the creator of the world.'**

No, he swore, first and last, by loyalty, truthfulness, sincerity and, above all, personal experience. He told me many a time that books, however helpful and revealing, can never be a substitute for simple, direct experience or the insight that accrues to one in rare moments of worship. He said about his Guru's spirit being with him "nearer than before" because he had vividly experienced it all through, or, to be more precise, because she did, when invoked, come to him in his hours of need to give him the guidance he had prayed for. This has happened to many a saint as all know who are versed in hagiography. But I have known—personally—only one person who has told me about it from direct experience and that is Krishnaprem whose testimony has always been unimpeachable as he could never even dream of telling a lie to impress people.

I will close this chapter with an incident which had a rich flavour of the authentic drama.

There was in Allahabad a learned Professor who was rather pugnacious by nature, so much so, that we used to call him an *enfant terrible*. He was, besides, a sceptic-cum-iconoclast. But he loved music and invariably attended my musical soirees after which, as often as not, he would start an animated debate, questioning and challenging everything under the Sun. As on this particular evening his polemics detonated into a veritable drama, I will dub him Mr. Sceptic and will try to put it as dramatically as I can.

On this memorable evening I sang, at the end, Shankaracharya's famous hymn to Guru whose first verse is :

Shariram surupam sada rogamuktam

Yashashcaru citram dhanam merutulyam,

Guror-anghripadme manashcenna lagnam

tatah kim tatah kim tatah kim tatah kim !

Shadangadivedo mukhe shastravidya

kavitvam ca gadyam supadyam karoti *

Guror-anghripadme manashcenna lagnam

tatah kim tatah kim tatah kim tatah kim !

*The first essay in his book, *The Search For Truth* (p. 6).

*Smaranat darshanat dhyanan-mayi

bhavanukirtanat

Na tatha sannikarshena pratiyata tato

grihan (Bhagavat 10.23.33)

Do go back, meditate on me, remember

Me all the time and you'll attain my Grace

And not by curtaining my propinquity.

That is :

Thy body may be beautiful and glow
with flawless health,

Thy fame colossal and thou mayest have
won to fabulous wealth,

But if to the Guru's feet thy heart
untethered still remain,

Then all thou hast achieved on earth
is vain, is vain, is vain.

Thou mayest be deep-versed in all that
scriptures have to tell,

A beacon of light, a master of prose and
verse delectable,

But if to the Guru's feet thy heart
untethered still remain,

Then all thou hast achieved on earth
is vain, is vain, is vain

and so on there were a few more verses.

Mr. Sceptic fidgeted while I sang this song, but Krishnaprem, as usual, went off at once into a mystic ecstasy and sat, like one petrified.

After the music, as it often happened, a seeker humbly asked Krishnaprem how one was to tether one's heart to the Guru's feet.

"By being single-minded," Krishnaprem answered, "and praying constantly for strength and purity."

"Is one to pray to the Guru or the Lord?" he asked.

Krishnaprem smiled. "Either will do. For the two are one."

Now Mr. Sceptic found his opening at last. "But sir," he chimed in, "how can that be? The Lord is divine and unique, *ekamevadwitiyam*, One-without-a-second, whereas Gurus pullulate like mushrooms. So you may have a number of Gurus, as the famous *Tantrasar* says :

*Madhulubdo yatha bhringah pushpat
pushpantaram brajet
Inanalubdho tatha shishyo guro-
gurvantaram brajet.**

* As for sweet honey fares from flower
the eager bee,
So fares from guru to guru the
knowledge-seeker restlessly.

It is quoted in Sir John Woodroff's *Principles of Tantra*. Krishnaprem had read the book from cover to cover and spoke to me of this very couplet many a time with deep disapproval.

4

Krishnaprem flushed. "I know, sir. For I read this twelve years ago in Lucknow in Sir John Woodroff's book. But there are Tantrics and Tantrics, as he himself has stressed many times : hasn't he quoted side by side another couplet which asserts '*Guru tushte Shivas-tushiah*—the Lord is propitiated when the Guru is'."

"But that is beside the point, sir," Mr. Sceptic insisted, "my point being that since a knowledge-seeker may, with impunity, seek guidance from a dozen gurus—"

Krishnaprem held up his hand deprecatingly : "Hold, sir ! I question your very premise.

You have tripped here because you are confounding a teacher with a guru. In fact, words like guru, love, soul, maya et cetera have lent themselves to no end of misinterpretations. Those who equate the guru with a mere teacher and no more, may, indeed, go to any number of gurus for instruction, but those who have met outside the incarnation of his beloved Guru in the heart, cannot even dream of exchanging one guru for another."

Yasodha Ma intervened unexpectedly : "You are right Gopal. For one who has met his real guru doesn't go to a dozen gurus as a knowledge-seeker any more than a wife who has once truly loved her husband doesn't go to a dozen husbands as a love-seeker."

A titter of merriment rippled through the audience which completely upset our doughty antagonist. He rose to his feet and left in a huff, mumbling some expletive.

I relate this at some length because this incident is somewhat typical as well as revealing. In India of today, alas, such aggressive sceptics often come down like a ton of bricks on sincere believers. I have related one such incident in my book on Kumbha—how a sceptic host once went for me gratuitously, even forgetting that I was his guest. But to end with the unforgettable denouement :

Yasodha Ma looked at me, her eyes twinkling. "What did you think of my timely intervention, Dilip?"

I laughed. "You were like—what shall I say—like the beneficent bolt from the blue, Ma ! Oh, how he winced and turned tail ! It's priceless !"

And we all laughed in chorus.

When the guests had departed, Yasodha Ma looked at me tenderly and said: "After your last song on the Guru I feel an urge to tell you something, Dilip, about your doubts which come in your way so often. While you were singing in ecstasy that our hearts must be tethered to the guru's feet, I was reminded, suddenly, of your Gurudev's beautiful letter a copy of which you sent Gopal a fortnight back."

Krishnaprem dittoed.

"Yes, Dilip, it is one of the most moving letters I have read."

Yasodha Ma said: "You have got the letter with you, Gopal, haven't you?"

Krishnaprem nodded.

"Yes, Ma. Because I got it in Brindaban and we came here straight from there. Why do you ask?"

"Because I want Dilip to read it out to me," she said. Then turning to me: "I have a purpose."

Krishnaprem opened his little bag and handed me the letter.

I read aloud in a thick voice:

"I meant that before I met you for the first time, I knew of you and felt at once the contact of one with whom I had that relation which declares itself constantly through many lives and I followed your career with a close sympathy and interest. It is a feeling which is never mistaken and gives the impression of one not only close to one but part of one's existence..... The relation that is so indicated always turns out to be that of those who have been together in the past and were predestined to join again (though the past circumstances may not be known) drawn together by old ties. It was the same recognition—apart even from the deepest spiritual connection—that brought you here. If the outer consciousness does not yet fully realise, it is because of the crust always created by a new physical birth that prevents it. But the soul knows all the while."

Her eyes glistened. She said: "Tonight I will speak my mind frankly, Dilip. You see, what your Gurudev refers to, as the crust, *can* be broken—the obstacle overcome, I mean—if you are set on looking within. You often complain, don't you, that though you adore your guru you cannot look upon him as divine because of his human limitations? I wanted to tell you only

this that the limitations would not have stood in your way at all and you would have recognised him as divine—if only you could open yourself to His Grace and Light."

"I know that Ma," I said. "But how is one to open oneself?"

"That's just what I wanted to suggest to you and that is why I made you read this letter to me. The best and the quickest way to open oneself is to be of some personal service to him, as a servant, a personal attendant—you understand?"

I shook my head ruefully: "But Ma, it's impossible. Gurudev since 1926, has been in complete seclusion."*

"I know," she nodded. "But one who has written to you a letter like that will surely stretch a point in your favour if you implore him to be allowed to serve him personally. You just try."

(But alas, I didn't dare. I was too sensitive by nature and dreaded his refusal. Since his sudden passing, in 1950, however, I have often regretted my misgivings, and wished that I had acted upon Ma's advice and importuned. But that is another story).

I made no reply. She placed both her hands on my head and said: "You know Dilip, I often say I have two sons, Gopal and Dilip. That is why I have insisted like this—because I want you to see in your Guru what Gopal has seen in his. For once you see this, the back of your doubts will be broken—I mean the doubts which hold you up so often."

Before taking leave I prostrated myself at her feet for the first time and said: "Ma, this evening will remain graven in my memory, for ever."

Krishnaprem, to make light of it, said: "Why? Because Mr. Sceptic went away discomfited?"

I laughed away my tears and said: "There is that, of course. But I meant something different: that on this memorable evening Ma went out of her way to give me her advice of love—for the first time."

* This was in the first week of November 1938. Gurudev had an accident on the 24th and since then a few disciples were allowed to attend on him. Only, alas, none but these ever had access to him.

"And it isn't going to be the last," Krishnaprem laughed, "now the ice is broken."

It was in April 1943 that I had the opportunity, at long last, of visiting Yasodha Ma's temple-home in the heart of a beautiful Himalayan forest, in a small village called Mirtola.

The temple itself was a small two-storeyed building. Ma's and Krishnaprem's bedrooms were on the first floor. But Krishnaprem had ceased long since to sleep in his room as Ma needed his help most at night, being all but bed-ridden at the time. So, Krishnaprem slept on a mattress on the floor at the foot of her bedstead.

We talked and talked for hours on end—or, to put it in Krishnaprem's words—"tired the sun with our talking and sent him down the sky", as he wrote to me once apropos of our long debates and discussions in Lucknow two decades ago. This time I kept meticulous notes of our talks which I published subsequently in my Bengali book of travels, *Abar Bhramyaman*. I was, however, on my guard and kept it a secret, as Krishnaprem frowned on publicity of all kinds. In fact, this was the only bone of contention between us, because I, on my part, held that it was my duty to share with others everything that uplifted the soul, and which soul—that is not sparkless or moribund—could fail to respond to Krishnaprem's words of fire or life of dedication? But, as he has abjured me not to "cramp his style" because he could not speak his mind freely once he knew that his words were going to be "broadcast and trumpeted abroad", I could only write the reports at night in my bedroom, under the rose, so that he never had an inkling of the "mischievous" I was about. But before giving an account of our talks in English (for the first time) I must pause for a little and tell in a few words about two other inmates of *Uttar Brindaban*, the name by which Ma's Ashram was known.

There were at the time only three inmates of the Ashram living under the aegis of Ma. The central figure was, of course, Krishnaprem himself, the life and soul of the place. Then there was Motirani, Ma's youngest daughter. She had cut away from her moorings to be initiated by Krishnaprem who, at his Guru's bidding, had given her Krishna-mantra. And last, though not least, there was an old friend of Krishnaprem's, Alec, abbreviated from Alexander. He was an eminent surgeon, who had, at the instance of Krishnaprem, retired early and accepted Ma as his Guru. He had come once to me in Pondicherry, when I had taken an instant liking to him—he was so honest, frank and one-pointed in his aspiration. He had opened a charitable dispensary at Mirtola to be able to treat the poor peasants who all adored his "holy touch" as they said enthusiastically, in their simple, rustic faith.

Motirani was a delightful personality, as vivacious as she was single-minded and as devout as she was fond of laughter. She was always teasing everybody not sparing even her Guru, Krishnaprem, whom she called Ba—abbreviated from "Baba"—father.

By the time I visited the Ashram—in April, 1943—Ma's condition had deteriorated alarmingly. She ate nothing, practically, and could hardly rise from bed. So they were all deeply concerned about her, as can be well imagined. But her pure smile of deep peace which had fascinated me in Allahabad had, if anything, become more heartwarming still. Only, whenever she spoke about her end being near they all protested with one accord. But she would pacify them with her pet bird-in-the-cage simile assuring everybody that death was not a calamity but only a symbol of the pent soul's liberation from its prison-house.

(To be Concluded)

DEVALUED RUPEE AND THE PLAN

Prof. CHITTAPRIYA MUKHERJEE

By not calling a spade a spade, or by not attaching to the Rupee the value that it commands, we merely close our eyes to the hard realities of life. Judging from what had finally emerged out of the short-sighted policy followed since independence, there was hardly any scope to maintain the external value of the Rupee even at the level where it was brought down, some seventeen years back, largely under pressure of the devalued Sterling.

The lengthy note of the Finance Ministry displays no lack of awareness of the chain reaction that an isolated action like devaluation may set in motion; and it hardly needs any wise counsel,—of which however there is no dearth at the moment,—that this step must be followed by a series of stern and perhaps unpalatable measures to keep the internal purchasing power of the Rupee stable at where it is now. The bold admission of the Finance Minister that the price level cannot be brought back to even where it was five years back certainly highlights his pragmatic approach to what he considers to be a dangerous situation. The man in the street resigned much earlier to a situation where 'development through inflation' has been almost axiomatic, would require a lot of courage to believe that, like all others halfway measures of the Government, the present action will not degenerate into a patchwork that would ultimately defeat the very purpose for which it was introduced.

Amongst the various questions that invariably disturb the public mind, there are, of course, some obviously simple questions as the present situation leading to devaluation,—for the second time since independence,—forced on us entirely or primarily by circumstances over which our Government had no control? Was our Government, with its eyes on 'development', ignorant about or indifferent to the dangers of an undefined, loose, price-policy? What will be the balance sheet of possible advantages or disadvantages that would arise out of the present devaluation?

Can the present diminution of the rupee-value, in terms of its external purchasing power, be taken as the last in the series, at least in the foreseeable future?

Taking a leaf out of the history of the stormy years of the war, which gave us the first lessons, so to say, about what later emerged under the grand term 'deficit finance', we might recall that during the years 1939-43, when the general price-index in our country more than made good the slump during 1929-39 and rose from 100 to 236; (increase of 136 per cent as compared to 61 per cent in Britain and 35 per cent in USA) supply of money increased from Rs. 170 crores to 759.8 crores,—an increase of 346 per cent. In spite of rise in population and in production, the disorder that followed after the war-years was strong enough to foster the latent forces that were inherent in the circulation of a much larger number of notes than what the economy could absorb.

With 1939 as the base-year price index stood at 308.2 in 1947-48 and jumped to 385.4 in 1949-50, when India had to add to her liability for import-bills by allowing the external value of the Rupee to depreciate, in terms of Dollar, by about fifty per cent. Much publicized possibility of export-boost due to devaluation of the home currency was soon lost with the cessation of the Korean war-boom, and we had to acquiesce in a situation when ever-increasing imports of a hungry and developing nation had to be paid for (or rather allowed to accumulate to be paid by posterity) in terms of dollars that replaced sterling as the world currency.

But, was our monetary policy during the Plan period so framed as the immediate past or the requirements of the future would call for? Even before 'deficit financing' as a tool for development had been introduced quite extensively, prices never stopped moving upward and relatively more stable and long-term items of expenditure began to adjust themselves to the higher cost-structure. By shifting the base-year from 1939 to 1952-53, the government virtually ad-

mitted,—and quite rightly of course,—the impossibility of reverting to the pre-war price level. But the temporary decline in price after 1952-53 was considered as a prelude to a slump; and, partly due to some hasty steps by the government (some patchwork with 'price-support policy', raising of floor prices of some essential commodities, continued recourse to indirect taxation) and partly due to an unwarranted faith amongst the entrepreneur classes in the efficiency of 'gently rising prices' as 'a lever for higher production', the downward trend of the price level was soon halted and the general price index increased by 34.2 per cent during the decade 1947-48 to 1956-57 (from 308.2 to 414.0). And during the ten years 1951-52 to 1960-61 (covering the First and the Second Five Year Plans), when per capita increase in industrial and agricultural production taken together with due weightage was around 39 per cent, 'gross money supply' (net money plus 'quasi' or 'near' money of all descriptions as classified by the Reserve Bank in its Bulletin of November 1963) per capita increased from Rs. 69 to Rs. 98 (an increase of about 42 per cent). In the absence of adequate steps to mop up a large part of the additional money (more than Rs. 1,370 crores during the decade) by suitable fiscal policies, a considerable part of this 'gross money' in its turn aided credit expansion by banks in spite of all 'credit squeeze' measures, and another part remained practically outside the organized money market to thwart some honest efforts on the part of the Reserve Bank to apply the conventional credit control measures.... In more recent years, as even the 'official' and 'wholesale' price index, ... which has the reputation of remaining much below the actual cost of living index, ... started moving up at an increasingly accelerated rate, the Mid-term Appraisal of the Third Plan admitted that "since the expansion in money supply more than kept pace with the trend in aggregate output, it is possible that it had some price effect" (page 13, para 16). And the estimates for the Third Plan, summarised in the said Report, showed that while deficit finance had a share of no more than 7.3 per cent in the total financial estimates for the five years, the total expenditure out of this source during the three years 1961|62 to 1963|64, exceeded the actual sum earmarked for five years, and its share in the total financial

outlay for these years exceeded 14.5 per cent. Simultaneously with a decline in internal resources,—taxes, sale proceeds, or profits and other non-tax revenue or public loans,—share of external assistance also rose considerably and the budget of 1963-64 was framed with provision for 45.3 per cent of total resources coming from deficit finance and external assistance. And side by side we find that price index moved up by 72.6 per cent during the period 1947-48 to 1963-64 (from 308.2 to 531.9). It has since gone up further.

With this monetary policy on the home front, and continued increase in the share of external public debt, we have entered a new phase of monetary relations with the rest of the world and especially with the country which has, with the best of intentions, kept in reserve in our currency and in our country, a sum of more than Rs. 1800 crores (what proportion does it bear to the total money in circulation in our country?). Whereas, before September 1949, a dollar was equivalent to Rs. 3.33, now it is equivalent to Rs. 7.50; and with virtual depletion of the Sterling Balance, Great Britain is now having an Exchange rate with India, which renders practically impossible the prospect of importing even British goods at a reasonably low rate. With Pakistan still remaining out of the present arrangement, the old problem of trade relations with that country, which practically swept the Jute Industry off its feet, reappears with no less intensity.

Depreciation of the external value of the currency,—popular in the inter-war years in some countries for a temporary advantage in exports,—has its problems for a country which sustains its economy or rather the vital sectors of the economy more by increasing reliance on foreign aid than by usual surpluses or deficits in the ordinary trade channel. Foreign aid,—whether it is repayable in foreign currency or is accumulated in Rupee Counterpart Funds,—has to be paid for sooner or later. As the PL 480 deposits would now accumulate in our country at a much faster rate because of depreciation of the rupee in terms of dollar, the prospect of keeping our economy free either from the danger of further inflation or from a stronger grip of the USA over our economy, recedes into the background.

We have been assured that with liberalisa-

tion of imports, the 'price-line will be held'; there would also, as we are told, be more of 'import substitution' which in its turn would make the country more self-reliant in the long run. But, to use the old cliché, 'in the long run we are all dead', and as 'short runs' add up to bring about the 'long run', one wonders if, in the absence of suitable administrative (and also fiscal) measures that would call for some strictness about application of the 'rule of law', the present measure would not add to the cost of living. If left to 'adjust' itself, the general price level would be pushed further upward in the same way as it has moved up all these years. Prices of imported goods would go up; those of the 'swadeshi' industries which depend for vital parts of their 'indigenous' finished products, on foreign supplies, would have to revise their price structure; and exhortations to the contrary notwithstanding, a marginal increase in the price of kerosine or petrol would have its accumulated chain reactions touching the daily budget of almost every section of the population. And by the time, 'import substitution' starts having its effect felt in the economy, a higher price structure would be rigid enough to refuse any scaling down.

But then, what is the way out? Without lamenting over what had happened earlier or what has produced the present imbalances and rigidities, we should have to take the present devaluation as a reality and to find out the means to 'start with a clean slate'..... Assuming that exhortations by our dedicated leaders finally persuade the people in general (particularly those who have the surplus to spend.....) to practise, what is called 'self-discipline' in respect of price stabilisation, will things settle down?—The first self-imposed discipline must, of course, come from the Government or its various departments and 'undertakings'. In the name of 'prestige' the Government has been instrumental in encouraging a large scale expenditure of money on socially unnecessary and economically unproductive items which have received an unduly high weightage. Thoughtless expenditure by most of the 'development' departments, or complete disregard for a reasonable cost-price relationship

in the 'socialised' industries have their repercussions on the general price level both directly and indirectly. To cover up many of the policy deficiencies the Government has been blowing hot and cold to the traders and industrialists, accusing the 'hoarders', appealing for 'holding the price line' and asking the Reserve Bank to apply 'credit squeeze' in such sectors of the economy where the Bank's policy is totally ineffective.—Incessant reports of the public Accounts Committees,—flouted with impunity all these years,—are full of sad stories about flagrant departures from budgeted appropriations or gross violations of normal codes of rectitude in the use of public money. All these add up to a situation which, accompanied by large shortfalls in tax realisations, have landed our economy in a quagmire. While we make an honest effort to come out of the woods, we must be sure that the first things are done first. The 'intelligent compromise with the inevitable' that we have made now is quite good as far as it goes; but does it really go far enough?—Of the various examples that we have before us, those of the Latin American countries are perhaps more significant for us than what we see happening in the more 'advanced' or 'matured' countries. Devaluation of the currency in terms of foreign countries' currencies (or now, by reduction of the 'gold content' as recorded with the IMF) is after all, a reflection of the internal purchasing power of the currency. The inflationary potential that we have created within the country holds out the prospect of a further reduction in the external value of the Rupee in a not too distant a future. If the price level cannot be brought back to where it was five years back, it is a bold admission no doubt, but at the same time it carries the hint that the government may be unable to peg the price to the point where it is now. And if it has to be pinned down to the present level, then the latent forces which are constantly at work to raise their heads, must be curbed from right now.

With this fresh devaluation of the Rupee, it is hoped that the government will give up the earlier game of making patchwork adjustments in the economy and go to the root of the evil that has undone all previous halfway measures.

SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN ENGLISH POETRY

Prof. B. L. SAMDANI

“We can only say that it appears likely that poets in our civilization, as it exists at present, must be difficult. Our civilization comprehends great variety and complexity, and this variety and complexity, playing upon a refined sensibility, must produce various and complex results. The poets must become more and more comprehensive, more allusive, more indirect, in order to force, to dislocate if necessary, language into his meaning.”

—T. S. Eliot.

I begin with an apology for modern English poetry. It is a pity that modern English poetry is less read and much criticized. The reasons stated for not reading it are : it is difficult ; it is obscure ; it is unintelligible ; and so on.

What happens when a reader starts with an assumption that modern poetry is obscure. Since at the very outset, he is warned against the obscurity of a poem, he is apt to be thrown into a state of consternation, which is quite unfavourable to the poetic receptivity. Obscurity is but a relative term. The major cause for the obscurity is that Eliot and his followers persistently adopt in their poetry, the 'association of ideas' technique. It is a fact that the modern poet wants to enjoy freedom from the cause and effect theory of events. He is motivated in his jumpings from one image to another by the associations which are intimately connected with his own life.

Once it so happened that an audience dubbed Walt Whitman as obscure. The poet at the very moment retorted :

“Go and lull yourself with
What you can understand
With piano tune,
For I lull nobody and
You will never understand me.”

Sometimes the poet is obscure for personal reasons, which, perhaps, make it impossible for him to express himself in any but an obscure

way. Eliot says: "While this may be regrettable, we should be glad, I think, that the man himself has been able to express himself at all."

At times there is a difficulty in regard to the meaning of words. With the changing contexts of time, new meanings may be assigned to the same words. Eliot refers to this phenomenon in "Little Gidding" :

"Last year's words belong to a last
year's language,

Next year's words await a new voice

The word neither diffident, nor

ostentatious

An easy commerce of the old and the new

The common word exact without

THE COMMON WORD CASES WITHOUT
vulgarity

The formal word, precise and not

pedantic

The complete consort dancing together."

Eliot, a leading poet of the modern period, lays great emphasis on the search for the latent meaning of the experience, which otherwise would remain loose and hollow, sterile and fruitless :

"We had the experience, but

missed the meaning

And approach to the meaning restores

the experience

In a different form beyond any

meaning."

What does a common man do? He keeps himself confined to the narrow limits of time and space :

"Man's curiosity searches past and future
And clings to that dimension."

But the poet wants that every moment should be considered in its relation to eternity. Thus the past experience, revived in the meaning is.....

"Not the experience of one life only
But of many generations."

The chief characteristic features of modern English poetry may be enumerated as below :

- (i) Imagery pattern increasingly on everyday speech.
- (ii) Absence of inversion and conventional end rhymes.
- (iii) Freedom from the ordinary logic of sequence, jumping from one image to the next by association, rather than by the usual cause-effect route.
- (iv) Emphasis on the ordinary in reaction against the traditional poetic emphasis on the cosmic.
- (v) Concern with the newly identified 'unconscious' and with the common man almost to the exclusion of the hero or extra-ordinary man.
- (vi) Concern in secular verse with the social order, as against heaven and nature in non-secular verse.
- (vii) Disillusionment and despair; lack of faith and divided aims.
- (viii) Easy and frank response to events and facts.
- (ix) Complexities of the social life and its entanglements.
- (x) Instability of any moral code.
- (xi) Pre-occupation with extreme examples of the psychoanalytical technique, with cases of abnormal behaviour accompanied by certain obsessions, repressed desires, Quixotic scruples, unhealthy sensibility etc.

Poetry should not be difficult, but for that reason it should never be simply commonplace. Aristotle's observation in this context may be considered here :

"He who uses merely commonplace words, sacrifices all to clarity."

What is modern poetry and when did it begin? It may be said to have begun in France towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when the younger poets rejected the romanticism of Victor Hugo as an inadequate protest against what they considered the antipoetic materialism of bourgeois civilization. But these poets of the ivory tower, Baudelaire, Rimbaud and Verlaine did not start to influence English poetry until the time of W.B. Yeats. These poets invented symbolism, the highly personal associative approach, which is a considerably important element in modern poetry.

Ours is the century of interrogation.

The modern man looks with sceptical eyes at the taboos and self-complacency of the Victorians. The unquestioning submission to the Voice of

Authority in religion, politics, literature and family life has been challenged by the modern mind. Question-Examine-Test—These have been the watchwords of the modern literary creed.

In the first decade of the century, it was sufficiently clear that the poets divided themselves into two main groups :

- (i) Traditionalists ; and
- (ii) Experimenters.

The former were still under the lingering effect of the Victorian temperament and were supported by the readers of the conservative taste. The latter were enthusiastic innovators with an endeavour to liberate poetry from the late-Victorian debasement which they thought to be unhealthy and detrimental to the modern mind.

What could be said of the generation, that grew up between two world wars? It was nursed on anxiety. Youth was torn between a nostalgia for a comforting past and an appre-

hension,—half fear, half hope—of another and greater war—prolonged social struggles and impending chaos. The emotional climate of the world was not conducive to stability. The mood ranged from uneasy optimism to shrugging apathy, from false complacency to grim disillusion. The war poets realized that war was not only devastating but debasing, not only merciless but mad. Mark Van Doren observes :

“War could be beautiful to Homer and Shakespeare because it could be tragic. It has ceased to be that. Now it is all catastrophe, with nothing to guide our measurement of its meaning. It is epidemic calamity.”

Such a conclusion was continually reaffirmed. The feeling of tension increased as the war grew in length and intensity. The arts seemed haunted by ghosts of undefined but devastating guilt. Poetry echoed the heart's desolation and the mind's despair. A sense of universal shame became an expression of personal apprehension. W.H. Auden characterizes the modern time in his poem entitled “The Age of Anxiety.”

The impact of war increasingly affected the psychology of civilians as well as soldiers but even universal disorganization found expression in poetry. The spirit of man, however dismayed and temporarily defeated, could not be destroyed. Constructive power is inexhaustible, creation, not chaos is constant. Poetry is not only an independent function but an expression of the changing social conditions surrounding it. Poets like Edith Sitwell turned from preoccupations with techniques and textures to write poems of grave significance. Stephen Spender's poems grew larger in concept and nobler in tone.

Caught in a world that was growing increasingly terrifying, several of the modern poets sought to escape reality by avoiding a programme of ideas. Life and art became too demanding for them. They persistently hoped to liberate themselves from everything, even from logic, by letting themselves drift on the erratic stream of consciousness. They substituted intuition for thinking, tension for fluency, and improvisation for form.

Surrealism, in a way, was the result, an extreme manifestation of the tendency to discard logic and coherence, to pass literally “beyond realism.” Henry Miller, one of the most ex-

perimental of American writers, declared that surrealism was a self-defeating movement, “a confession of intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy, a quickening of the foredoomed end of civilization.”

The postwar world seethed with ferment. The poets seemed to grapple with questions not only about their complex times but about themselves. What was their relation to society? What was the purpose of their art? Communication for pleasure? Diagnosis? Curative therapy? What, in short, was their function? A growing concern with analysis put art on the dissecting table.

The poets themselves endeavoured to prove that theirs was not only a craft but a medium of concentrated comprehension. Theirs was the power of one person to speak to another with a view to share intuitions as well as experiences. A world in flux challenges the poet, but in any case it does not defeat him. Archibald MacLeish observes :

“The poet with the adjustment of a phrase, with the contrast of an image, with the rhythm of a line, has fixed a focus which all the talk and all the staring at the world has been unable to fix before him. His is a labour, which is at all times necessary, for without it that sense of reality, which is the poet's greatest accomplishment, is lost.”

The poet's dilemma is that he has to create order in the midst of disorder. Not always able to accomplish this, he sometimes retires into obliquity and private symbolism.

The pulls of both tradition and experiment, the constant play between convention and revolt are discernible in modern poetry. The flight from reality seems to have ended. The battle for freedom of expression has been won and naturalism has been accepted. New ideas, new images give metaphor a speed and power beyond conventional logic. Intuition, strengthened by experience, produces a poetry which is dynamic, immediate and intense. The poet is avowed to fulfil his function. He sharpens the reader's perceptions, increases his appreciation, and heightens his awareness of life in all its simple commonplaces and endlessly changing complexities.

Eliot's essay “*Tradition and the Individual Talent*” is an important landmark in the history

the life terms of the coffee spoon is made by the poet presumably in search of some temporal or divine reality.

"Evenings, mornings and afternoons
I have measured out my life with coffee spoons."

"Waste Land" deals with the paradox death-in-life. Life devoid of meaning is death, but sacrificial death is life-giving. Sybil's declaration of the motto: "I wish to die" is aptly suggestive. We feel as if all the inhabitants of the Waste Land were clamorously crying: "We wish to die."

Eliot maintains that poetry "is not the turning loose of emotion, but an escape from emotion ; it is not the expression of personality but an escape from personality." The process of writing poetry is one of depersonalization. What happens is a continual surrender of himself as he is at the moment, to something which is more valuable. The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of the personality. The poet, while he is yet passing through the process of creation, has a dual personality—that of a sufferer and that of a creator. When the creation is consummated, the sufferer goes away but the creator remains. The retirement of the sufferer implies depersonalization.

"Are you active or not ? -

The lady herself is a victim of neurosis.
She entreats him :

Yes bad, Stay with me

Speak to me. Why do you never

Speak ? Speak

What are you thinking of? What

thinking? What

I never know what you are thinking.

think."

"I think, we are in rats' alley

Where dead men lost their bones."

Even the bones of the dead men are sterile.

Death is sterile in the sense that not life, but the bones are the outcome of it.

The Sanskrit aphorism "Datta, Dayadhwam, Damyata" is followed by the benediction :

"Shantih, Shantih, Shantih." That is the essential message of thunder.

'Datta' poses a question : What have we given ? Is life possible without giving ? Sacrifice and renunciation are essential for attaining the fundamental goodness of life. Egoism keeps a man confined within the walls created by himself :

"I have heard the key

We think of the key each in his prison

Thinking of the key each confirms

a prison."

Eliot's "Love song of Alfred J. Prufrock" shows the lover, a victim of repressions and defeatist mentality. An attempt to measure

At first glance his poems seem not only obscure but barbaric. The lines appear to be full of wild noises, screams and shouts, flung out in spectacular abandon. Upon re-reading, however, it is apparent that Thomas's poems, far from being disorganized, are curiously disciplined. The order imposed upon them does not stem from the strictures of traditional form but from a logic of emotion. Writing out of his own background and beliefs, Thomas plunges boldly into a new and dynamic language, a fierce vigour of speech remarkable even in a time of frantic experiment. His "*Portrait of the Artist as a Young Dog*" is vividly and largely autobiographical. "*Deaths and Entrances*" has been praised by Stephen Spender much. Spender observes :

"The romantic lie in the brain
Of the sensual man in the street
And the lie of Authority,
Whose buildings grope the sky
There is no such thing as the state
And no one exists alone
Hunger allows no choice
To the citizen or the police
We must love one another or die."

Life without love is almost unthinkable. Auden attacks the too-much talked of philosophy of isolation. The outstanding feature of his poetry is its combination of variety and originality. His satire regains a new strength. "*For the Time Being*" and "*The Age of Anxiety*" both have been conceived brilliantly. By the time he was forty, Auden was recognized as the most influential poet after Eliot. It was observed that there was a geographical as well as poetical justice in the fact; Auden, born in England, made his home in America; Eliot, born in Missouri, exchanged his American birth-right for English citizenship. Like Eliot Auden substituted exuberance for depression, to compressed constraint he added openness, flexibility and an easy mastery of charm.

The poems of Dylan Thomas are sensational and tempestuous, packed with brilliance, confusing in design but convincing in impact. They are composed of nightmare violence, sexual symbols, images of pain and the agonies of birth. Thomas identifies himself with the elemental powers of nature. "The force that through the green fuse drives the flower, drives my green age ; that blasts the roots of trees is my destroyer." The poet, irresistibly spontaneous, becomes his own myth. "The more subjective a poem, the clearer the narrative line," wrote Dylan Thomas, and the remark is particularly true of his own poetry.

Edith Sitwell says, of Dylan Thomas :

"A new poet has arisen who shows every sign of greatness. His work is on a huge scale both in theme and structurally."

"His poems have a barbaric, primitive quality, and at the same time there is superimposed on this an awareness of the discoveries of modern psychology. But, above all, he impresses by his rich use of words and by his ability to write in free yet compelling meters."

It is a fact that Thomas fathered the Apocalyptic movement. The decorum of narrative is quite perceptible in "*The Hunchback in the park*" and "*Poem in October*," "*And death shall have no dominion*"; and have a truth to communicate :

"Though they go mad they shall be sane,
Though they sink through the sea
 they shall rise again ;
Though lovers be lost love shall not :
And death shall have no dominion."

Robert Frost is known as the chief interpreter of New England. "*A boy's Will*" is seemingly subjective but the idiom is not yet completely in his own possession. "*North of Boston*" has been called by him a "book of people." Perhaps it is more than that—it is a book of backgrounds as living and dynamic as the people they overshadow. Frost vivifies a stone wall, an empty cottage, a grindstone, a mountain, a forgotten wood pile left :

"To warm the frozen swamp as best it could

With the slow, smokeless burning of decay."

"*North of Boston*" enables the reader to see a country side of people living out the intri-

cate pattern of their lives. They are found thinking out loud and even the tones of their voices could be heard. The poem on the whole is rich in its actualities, richer in its spiritual values. Every line seems to move with the double force of observation and implication. "*West Running Brook*" is a reflection and restatement of all that has gone before. The autobiographical references are a little more outspoken.

Frost's poems are rooted in realism, but he is not a photographic realist. Once he said,

"There are two types of realists—the one who offers a good deal of dirt with his potato to show that it is a real one; and the one who is satisfied with the potato brushed clean. I'm inclined to be the second kind—To me the thing that art does for life is to clean it, to strip it to form."

Frost's lyrics are no less personal for being philosophical. Now it seems quite obvious how Virgilian a spirit animated a passionate puritan. His "*Collected Poems*" (1930) reveals him as one of the great pastoral poets of all times. His facts are symbols of spiritual values. The poetry published between Frost's fiftieth and sixtieth years grew in serenity and intimacy. The lyrics became warmer and more musical, the communication more expansive.

In the preface entitled "The Figure a Poem Makes", to his *Collected Poems* (1939), Frost wrote:

"A poem begins in delight and ends in wisdom. It has an outcome that, though unforeseen, was predestined from the first image of the mood—No surprise for the writer, no surprise for the reader. For me the initial delight is in the surprise of remembering something I didn't know I knew."

How lovely indeed is the picture of "*Stopping By Woods on a Snowy Evening*."

"The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep
And miles to go before I sleep
And miles to go before I sleep."

His advice is to "Back out of all this now too much for us." It reminds us of Wordsworth's famous sonnet "*The world is too much with us*." Frost never loses touch with all the sensual actualities that we can see and hear or touch. He is of course deliberately oblique in his presentation of moral insights. His directive is ultimately to the

human spirit: that it should struggle on the upward path, and that it should ally itself with all that man as well as nature have created to bring peace and renewal out of contemporary chaos. It makes us feel that even if "our only portion is the estate of man" we have good reason to rejoice in that heritage. It is the spirit of vitality and spontaneous living that man shares with nature.

Much of Emily Dickinson's poetry is emblematic. The freedom of her spirit manifests itself in the audacity of her images. At times her poetry is but a continual surprise where metaphors turn to epigrams, epigrams to compact dramas. It's a poetry where playfulness and passion merge and are sublimated in pure thought. Macleish startles us by saying:

"Poetry should not mean
But be."

Emily tells us:

"Beauty is not caused
But is."

Emily Dickinson's "*Bolts of Melody*" contained more than 650 poems many of which appeared for the first time and were ranked among the poet's richest and most characteristic work. More fully than her biographers Emily Dickinson told the secret of her love, her first rebellious impulse, her inner denial, her resignation, her assured waiting for reunion in Eternity:

"I took draught of life,
I'll tell you what I paid,
Precisely an existence—
The market-price, they said,
They weighed me dust by dust,
They balanced film with film,
Then handed me my being's worth—
A single dram of heaven"

It is a flippancy or an anguished cry when robbed by life, she stands "a beggar before the door of God." Is it anything less than Olympian satire when she asks God to accept "The supreme iniquity":

"We apologize to Thee
For Thine own duplicity."

Beauty, Love, Justice—these were no abstractions to her, but entities, weights and measures,

which the architect had failed to use perfectly'. She sought the Builder not to command but to question Him. Emily argued, upbraided, accused creation; she recognized an angel only when she wrestled with him. Paradox was her native element.

Emily Dickinson's lightest phrases bear the mark of finality. Without striving to be clearer, she achieves one startling epigram after another. No poet ever existed with a more aphoristic mind;

"Denial is the only fact received by the
denied."

"At leisure is the soul that gets a
staggering blow."

"Renunciation is the choosing against
itself."

"Longing is like the seed that Wrestles
in the ground."

Few definitions of poetry give us the sense of poetry as sharply as her informal:

"If I read a book and it makes my whole
body so cold no fire can ever warm me, I know it
is poetry. If I feel physically as if the top of my
head were taken off, I know this is poetry. These
are the only ways I know it."

Emily Dickinson becomes a puzzle for her readers. Much of her problem remains in the realm of the mysterious. Her very "roughnesses" are individual and she is like no other poet. Time and again she skips the expected rhyme, twists the easy phrase, and puts her indubitable mark on every line she writes. Wholly underivative, her poetry is unique and her influence eventually incalculable.

Wallace Stevens is a poet of the Earth. He says that the World is known by each one only within his own mind and in terms of his personal realization:

"The world goes round and round. In the
crystal atmosphere of the mind". In this sense
then the world is made of the self and the self of
the world. At times even the memory and the
past seem unreal and something imagined, almost.

"It is an illusion that we were ever alive" he
says so in *"Seventy Years later"*. A life remem-
bered is a fantastic thing with its changing desires
and continual defeats of human intention. Thus
with all reality, held in the living instant of experi-
ence, the past is only 'A vacancy in the park'.

an emptiness of March where the snow that bears
wandering foot prints, the traces of aimless happi-
ness, will soon melt:

"March.....some one has walked across
the snow. Some one looking for he know: not
what".

With the past, no longer a reality and extinc-
tion at the end of the future, existence itself is
something intrinsically difficult, a kind of bravery.
Thus the present moment is of the utmost value.

Stephen Spender is liked because of his per-
sistently painful honesty about himself and the
world. With his lyrical gift of expression, he
gives the reader the sensation of walking through
unfamiliar country where paradoxically the land
marks are unknown. The poet is just a discoverer
with the reader, in any case not a tutor. He is in
search of "a universal experience through subjective
contemplation." *"Ruins and vision"* and *"The
Edge of Being"* are his familiar masterpieces.
"Spiritual Exercises" is a brilliant example of his
intellectual sensitivity, at times reflecting a dis-
trust of his own statement:

"You are born, must die,
were loved, must love
Born naked, were clothed,
yet naked walk."

Under your naked dress naked thoughts
move
Hollow, hollow within cloak, talk
star.alk
Time and Space shall on you feed."

The *"naked thoughts"* suggest the hollowness
of life which can be exposed at any moment. The
conditioning influences of time and space make
the sphere of life miserably narrow. What is
the meaning of the life?

"Since we are what we are
What shall we be?

But what we are? we are, we have
Six feet and seventy years to see
The light, and then release it for grave."

Louis Macneice is another representative
poet of the modern era. His virtues include a
fine sense of colour, a satirical and observant eye
and a lively interest in words, rhyme and
rhythms. The limitations of the poet seem to be
due to a certain devil-may-care lack of serious-

ness. He is too eager and impatient to accept his subject quietly. He grabs it, parts in the quality of his perception with his prestidigitatory skill with words and images. "*Bagpipe music*" is humorous and satirical; "*Plurality*" is mainly argumentative and reflective. I have found "*prayer before birth*" quite sweet, charming and delightfully elevating. Should we afford to neglect the wish of an unborn child:

"I am not yet born,
O hear me,
Let not the man who is
beast or who thinks he is God
Come near me."

The Child is quite apprehensive, lest he should be involved into the extremities of the temporal and the divine. He refuses to be a cog in a machine. A life devoid of consciousness—a life regulated by routine, the child refuses to live.

"I am not yet born;
O fill me
With strength against those who
Would freeze my humanity,
Would dragoon me into a leathal
automation,
Would make me a cog in a machine
a thing with one face, and against
all those who would dissipate
my entirety, would blow
me like a thistle down
hither and thither
Like water held in the hands
would spill me.
Let them not make me a stone and
let them not spill me
Otherwise kill me."

Poetry does confront us with the visions of greatness. If only we are susceptible, we would be able to listen to the poet's agony—that may be our agony too; our epitaph:

"All our knowledge brings us nearer
to our ignorance
All our ignorance brings us nearer to death
But nearness to death no nearer to God
Where is the life we have lost in living?"

Where is the wisdom we have lost in
knowledge
Where is the knowledge we have lost in
information
The cycles of Heaven in twenty centuries
Bring us farther from God and nearer
to the Dust."

Those who doubt the sincerity of the modern poets must remember what Karl Shapiro declared:

"And we have paid
Poetry with living blood. What age
But our can boast this terrifying
truth?"

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HAZARDS OF WRITING The Procrustean Critic

K. SREE RAMA MURTY

According to a Greek legend there lived a robber called Poly-pemon or Damastes in the neighbourhood of Eleusis near Athens. He is better known as Procrustes or the "Stretcher". He would lie in wait for unwary travellers whom he would lure with sweet words as guests to his abode. He had two beds, one over long, the other too short for the body of a grown man. If the stranger were of short stature, he would put him on the longer bed and stretch out his limbs to fill it; but if he were tall, he would lay the traveller on the smaller one and his legs were cut down till he fitted that. The monster amused himself with his beds and unfortunate travellers for a long time till, in the end, he was killed by the famous Greek hero Theseus on his way to Athens.

Procrustes still lives, however, in all those single-track thinkers that stick to some dogmas reducing every thing to fit their pet theories irrespective of the violence they inflict thereby on realities. Particularly, when a tentative scientific hypothesis is reduced to the status of a permanent truth and is made the basis for action or for value judgments, the dogma becomes all the more dangerous masquerading as a universal law established empirically. One such procrustean bed is the Freudian Criticism of creative works of art.

Sigmund Freud did pioneering work in the field of psycho-analysis and had established the role of the unconscious, through its dynamic influence on the conscious, in all human activities including the creative activities of poets, novelists, painters and sculptors. According to Freud, the contents of the unconscious are the emotions that are suppressed because they are socially 'tabooed'. As a matter of fact, the stratification of mind into layers is said to be due to an intraphysical conflict

between various sets of forces, one of them being "repression". In Freudian analysis it is not only in the pathological states of the adult mind but also in the mind in its most sublimely creative state that infantile sexuality plays a decisive role. Freud himself had applied his clinical findings to the analysis of works of art besides approving such an application by his followers. "Let us consider Shakespeare's masterpiece, Hamlet", writes Freud, "a play three centuries old. I have followed the literature of psychoanalysis closely, and I accept the claim that it was not until the material of the tragedy had been traced back analytically to the Oedipus theme that the mystery of its effect was at last explained". He applied his analytical method, in 1914, to the much admired marble statue of Moses, acclaimed as "the Crown of Modern Sculpture", by Michelangelo, in the church of St. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome.

This statue forms a part of the projected gigantic tomb of Pope Julius II. Freud proceeds to discuss the broad features of the statue of Moses and then gets into the analysis of some minor details concerning the position of the right hand, the position of the two Tables of the Law, and the flowing of the beard. He arrives at the conclusion that it is the personal relationship between Pope Julius II and Michelangelo and a premonition of the failure of the scheme that moulded the statue of Moses. "The artist (Michelangelo) felt", writes Freud, "The same violent force of will (as Pope Julius II) in himself, and, as the more introspective thinker, may have had premonition of the failure to which they were both doomed. And so he carved his Moses on the Pope's tomb, not without a reproach against the dead pontiff, as a warning to himself, thus rising in self-criticism superior to his own nature". This surely suggests hind-

sight on the part of Freud than premonition or fore-sight on the part of Michelangelo.

During the course of discussion on the subject of the minor details of the sculpture, Freud, with apparent reasonableness asks: "yet may not those minute particulars mean nothing in reality, and may we not be racking our brains about things which were of no moment to their creator? Let us proceed on the assumption that even the details have a significance". The real difficulty is that for Freud and Freudians, only some of these 'minute particulars' have significance and the whole motivation of a creative work of art is reduced to a single complex in the subconscious. Reference to some important works of the genre like Otto Rank's *"The Incest Motive in Poetry and Legend"*, Ernest Jones's *"Hamlet and Oedipus"* and Charles Baudouin's *"Psychoanalysis and Aesthetics"* would convince one how ingenuous and incisive could the Freudian technique be and yet how unedifying and frustrating the final result. In view of the work of Carl G. Jung and his followers, particularly on creativity and the unconscious, the Freudian theory looks too narrow and onesided. It would be comparatively innocuous when applied to a Shakespeare or a Michelangelo in view of the fact that such reputations are too long and too well established to be shaken by such on-slaughts and, as the authors are blissfully long dead, the carping criticism does not cause human suffering.

But when a living author is subjected to the procrustean bed of Freudian dogma the effect is likely to be the drying up of the creative flow at the least and can even be lethal at the most. I shall illustrate this point with the help of a very recent example.

It is now very well known that Ernest Hemingway, the Nobel Laureate in literature, committed suicide on July 2, 1961. Any one who reads his classic work *"For whom the Bell Tolls"* would have felt

that suicide could never be the way in which Hemingway would end his life, for Hemingway expresses the greatest amount of scorn for the cowardice underlying suicide through the protagonist of the novel. Could this protest be precisely because of an inner urge to self destruction? That is what Freudians would say. Or, could it be that Freudian analysis reducing all creativity to the oedipus complex or a traumatic experience devitalizes and poisons the creative activity at its very source?

Philip Young of Washington College of New York University submitted a thesis for the Ph. D. degree, the subject of his thesis being Ernest Hemingway. He extracted the main arguments from his dissertation and developed a book on Hemingway. The principal points of his thesis are: firstly, that "Hemingway Hero", as extracted from the works of Hemingway by Philip Young, was very much similar to Hemingway himself—just as Freud identified Moses of Michelangelo to be identical with Michelangelo; secondly, that the two figures—Hemingway and 'Hemingway Hero'—have in common a "wound", a severe injury suffered in World War I which left some permanent scars visible and not so visible. It may be recalled that Ernest Hemingway received a severe mortar wound in 1918 and it is Mr. Young's thesis that this wound has not only an all-decisive influence on the writings of Hemingway but also drove him to expose and over-expose himself to things he feared. It is the fear complex born out of shell-shock that is supposed to have driven Hemingway to those encounters that he feared most—an instance of the famous "ambivalence of emotions". Mr. Young's approach to Hemingway was essentially Freudian even though he claims, "I stumbled on the psychoanalytic theory and its terminology after I had completed my own analysis of the wounding process and its results, which I felt Hemingway had delineated carefully only to have the whole matter ignored by his swarming critics. I remember this clearly. As part of my

Indian Periodicals

ON MONOPOLIES

The much boosted Monopolies Inquiry Commission which was appointed by the Government of India some time ago to inquire into the extent of concentration of economic power in private hands and the prevalence of monopolistic and restrictive practices in important sections of economic activity other than agriculture with especial reference to the factors responsible for such concentration, their economic and social consequences and the extent to which they might operate to the common detriment and to suggest such legislative and other measures that might be considered necessary etc., had submitted their report some weeks ago. Although, apparently, the report appears, so far, to have been unable to evoke much public interest, an analysis of this Report by Shri Krishna Bharadwaj under the above legend in the issue of the *Now* dated July 1, should be of very great interest to our readers :

Looking through the Monopolies Inquiry Commission's Report, one feels that it is but another repeat performance. The only relieving feature is that the Report does not stop merely at recommending the constitution of a permanent commission but also offers a detailed draft bill outlining the scope and powers of the proposed body.

Of course, it would have been foolish to hope that the Monopolies Commission would come out with an exact diagnosis and a perfect prescription, but one could expect conceptual clarity, consistent and coherent interpretation of statistical data with an awareness of their inadequacies, and a clear cut distinction between hunches and facts. There is no denying that the task proposed to the Commission was

inherently difficult, especially since such a study was the first of its kind.

The Report makes a distinction between product-wise and country-wise concentration. Apart from being analytically convenient, this distinction is important for determining the consequences of the concentration of power in the Indian economy. Product-wise concentration occurs when, in the production and distribution of any particular commodity or service, the controlling power, through ownership of capital or otherwise, vests in a single concern or a limited number of concerns. Country-wise concentration, on the other hand, is present when a large number of concerns engaged in the production or distribution of different commodities are in the controlling hands of one individual or family or a group of concerns, connected closely by financial or other business interests. Though the distinction between these two forms is made clear at the outset, the treatment of the country-wise concentration of economic power is much too light-hearted in the Report and the phenomenon is put aside as, at the worst, a necessary evil. Also, even though the Commission realizes that "concentration of economic power is the central problem" and that "monopolistic and restrictive practices may be appropriately considered to be 'functions' of such concentration", it is these "functions" which seem to attract the attention of the Committee most both in its factual analysis—which is of a surprisingly poor standard—and in its policy prescriptions.

Managing Agencies

The Commission finds technological economies of scale and the limited supply

of managerial skill as the economic causes leading to the concentration of economic power. There is, however, no attempt to support the economies of scale conjecture in relation to particular industries. The Commission sees in the managing agency system a beneficial device by which scarce managerial talent was exploited in many directions. It does not, however, view the question in a dynamic context and ask whether the managing agency system did create opportunities for augmenting the supplies of managerial talent, or whether it effectively impeded such a possibility. Apart from the strictly economic advantages, there are other advantages enjoyed by bigger entrepreneurs which lead to further concentration of economic power. The Commission points out that the Government's programmes for rapid industrial development needed reliance upon those who have already the resources, proven entrepreneurial abilities and past experience. Besides, the system of industrial licensing, control of capital issues, regulation of imports as well as exchange control have tended to favour Big Business. Added to the economic advantages arising from the ability to undertake risky ventures, for obtaining foreign collaboration and credit, for operating on large scales, etc., Big Business can exercise its influence to obtain more favourable treatment.

The Commission seems to be convinced that the system of control in the shape of industrial licensing, necessary from other points of view, has restricted the freedom of entry and so has led largely to the concentration of economic power. In this, there seems to be a confusion between cause and effect; such a confusion being inevitable on account of the limited view of the concentration of economic power

and its consequences which the Commission has taken. This also explains the rather topsyturvy logic of the recommendation: "So long as the system of industrial licensing does remain, and it is not easy to see that it can be brought to an end soon, it can be used to good purpose by Government in fighting concentration wherever necessary in the interests of the country". Having voiced the incompetence of the existing governmental machinery to control the increasing concentration of economic power—this being the *raison d'être* for the creation of the permanent statutory body—it is surprising to find that the Commission leaves the responsibility of controlling country-wise concentration to licensing policies. If the licensing authorities have favoured certain enterprises on grounds of economic efficiency, the way out would be either to make a compromise between economic efficiency and considerations of equity or to create checks on the ill effects of concentration. If, however, it is a matter of sheer favouritism working through bribery and corruption, it has to be understood that the very prevalence of concentration of economic power helps such a misuse of governmental regulations. Corruption and other well-known evils which the Commission recommends to be uprooted, are the symptoms of the inequities of the social and economic structure accentuated by situations of scarcity. So long as a certain class of people has sufficient resources to be put to such use, so long as the returns are profitable enough to allow for leakages in the form of money and other movements, the amounts spent on bribing would be, to put it in a rather ostentatious terminology, the imputed price of obtaining the favours—the "shadow price" of a shady deal!

The statistical analysis used in the Report

comes off in a very poor light. It is not adequate to support the Commission's contentions regarding factual positions. The Commission confidently concludes on the basis of some sparse statistical data in terms of percentages of licences issued and rejected to big and small business that "this analysis clearly demolishes the theory that the licensing authorities favoured smaller businessmen as against the big ones". However, the comparison is invalid. A valid comparison would be between applications for more or less the same type of products to be produced at proximate locations and on more or less the same scale. Percentages drawn from the aggregate of all applications cannot isolate the considerations other than the "bigness" of the entrepreneur, that might have been applied in individual cases. The Commission's measure of product-wise concentration suffers also from conceptual limitations and the concentration ratios calculated for one particular year as the share of the three top producers in the total value of production are an extremely inadequate and arbitrary measure. First, the concentration ratio does not necessarily bear a simple enough relation to the enjoyment of monopoly power. There are considerations, equally important, other than the share of total product that determine the extent of monopoly power enjoyed, such as the possibilities of product substitution, localisation, price leaderships, etc. The arbitrariness of the measure is also evident in the selection of the first three top producers as the analysis is limited to a limited portion of the Lorenz curve. Thus, if five enterprises share equally the total product the measure shows medium concentration (the first three sharing 60 per cent). If six of them do it, the measure would report low concentra-

tion. Moreover, the situation with three top producers (sharing 60 per cent) and the rest of the product (40 per cent) being shared by hundreds of small producers is structurally different from a situation where the total product is divided out among only five producers. The Commission's country-wise measure of concentration also suffers from underestimation as it excludes companies under joint control. Both the studies, however, broadly bring out the existence of concentration. It is a pity that the Commission does not study whether the concentration of power has increased over a period though it makes that implied assumption when it presents reasons for 'increasing' concentration.

Restrictive Practices

In the analysis of monopolistic and restrictive practices which, incidentally, receive the most attention, the Commission states a few *a priori* generalisations, but shelves some very important questions for another enquiry. Thus bar to entry is established on the basis of some reported incidents but the more important question of effects of such practices on pricing and costing of products—a matter of immediate interest to consumers—is recommended for a further examination by another body of experts. The practice of hoarding is found to be too well-known to require detailed discussion, and resale price maintenance is condemned as "it is obvious that this kills competition between the actual distributors". It is obvious to those who read the Report that these statements needed further substantiation and probe; after all it was the job of the Commission to spell out how far obvious things should be taken to be obvious.

The analysis of the consequences of concentration of economic power gives the

impression that the Commission considers the concentration of economic power as economically justifiable, to a certain extent even unavoidable, but that it needs to be 'remedied' as it generates dislike and hatred in the community. "Big Business" earns kudos for its drive and initiative shown in the earlier stages of development, for supplying scarce and efficient managerial talent, for its ability to attract foreign collaboration. Here the distinction between product-wise and country-wise concentration gets blurred. Both are seen to be advantageous economically—the former for efficient economic organization of industries, the latter for attaining diversification of industries. The Commission concludes that "concentration of economic power has been responsible for the greater part of the not very high capital formation in the country" and hence "it is reasonable to expect that concentrated economic power may be relied upon to make important contributions to industrial development in the crucial years to come" (page 136-137). It sees its evils only in higher prices to consumers, deterioration in quality and obstacles to free entry. The Commission, in attributing the excellent performance to big business, does not go into the more important and long-term consequences of such oligopolistic market structures on growth in the form of distorted investment patterns, inequities in income distribution and the consequent repercussions on the rate and structure of growth itself which tend to perpetuate the situation where big business continues to be "the main supplier of managerial talent" and the main supplier of savings. Does the Commission imply that there would have been no capital formation at all but for the concentration of economic power? In a situation where concentration of economic power feeds on itself, it is very difficult to find out what is the cause and what is the effect of such a concentration. Both the fact that big business contributed a greater part of capital formation and that the level of capital formation has been low have at once been the cause and the effect of the concentration of economic power. The Commission would have been able to bring

this out in a more forthright fashion if it had cared to go into the effects of concentration on the pattern of investment and income generation.

Permanent Body

The non-legislative measures against increasing concentration of economic power proposed by the Commission are rather well-known remedies which have been tried at different times and some of which have already failed. (Like consumers' resistance, establishment of small-scale industries, etc.) The Commission has recommended the creation of a permanent statutory body with wide powers to investigate monopolistic practices. However, as Mr. R. C. Dutt in his note of dissent points out, it is doubtful whether the permanent body should be entrusted with decisions regarding expansion of existing units since such decisions are vitally important for the execution of Plan priorities and should be under the purview of the Government directly.

Reading through the pages of the Report, one gets a feeling that Government policies seem to be always overshadowed by a conspiring inevitability as if it is a fatalism of some sort. Thus concentration is inevitable and the policies countering it would only help it further. Licensing is inevitable and cannot be given up and yet the ill effects of it are unavoidable. The Government, in the face of hoarding and cornering of foodgrains, "was forced to expend large amounts of foreign exchange in securing foodgrains from foreign countries" (page-7) and so on. Paradoxically enough the confidence in the effectiveness of Government policies (including licensing) is revoked when steps against country-wise concentration have to be taken. The Commission believes "that by proper use of licensing and other powers vested in the Government under the existing laws the Government can effectively prevent the growth of country-wise concentration wherever it is to the common detriment. We do not think it necessary to vest the Commission with any power in this behalf". (pp. 165-166).

Foreign Periodicals

ON UNDERSTANDING ASIA

The imperialist and colonial powers of the West have notoriously and traditionally, always been infected with the conceit that, simply by virtue of their political hegemony over most Asian countries, they understood the mental make-up and the ideals, aspirations and motivations of most Asian peoples better than the Asians concerned themselves. With the liquidation of colonialism during the years immediately following World War II, the world has shrunk considerably in magnitude and space and there is inevitably widening areas of contact and exchange between the industrially advanced countries of the West and the backward economies of the East although the old and traditional conceit would still seem to survive in certain areas, the realization, it seems, would appear to have been slowly dawning, that the Occidental mind is still not able to fully comprehend the attitudes and mental processes of the Asian mind. Typical of this growing comprehension of the difficulties of communication between the occidental and the Asian mind, and the insistent need to successfully overcome the existing barriers in this regard would seem to be reflected in an article published in a recent issue of the *TIME* under the above legend :

World War II was barely over and the great recession of the colonial powers had not yet begun when Yale's Professor F. S. C. Northrop published the *Meeting of East and West*, in which he flatly described that meeting as the "major event of our time." To a U. S. deeply preoccupied with a seemingly shattered Europe, that statement two decades ago appeared vastly exaggerated. Today few would question it. The problems, needs and challenges of Asia weigh ever more heavily on the Western mind. The East-West encounter will undoubtedly dominate the rest of the 20th century.

If he had not realised it before, Charles de Gaulle learned as much during his Russian tour last week. Admittedly he was hoping to lay the groundwork for a European settlement. But as he flew to Soviet Asia and announced that he would later visit tiny Cambodia, the war in Vietnam seemed to be a more urgent topic of conversation. The chief foreign policy concerns of both America and Russia now lie in Asia...Understanding Asia has become an urgent task.

With the above preamble to begin with, the writer would appear to acknowledge with appropriate humility, that if the area of communication between the Occident and the common and garden Oriental mind has never been large, and it still continues to be crampingly confined, it is also no less so between Asian nations themselves. It has never been easy, he acknowledges :

Nearly a 100 years ago, Walt Whitman, in his eccentric language urged America to "eclaircise the myths Asiatic, the primitive fables." The myths and fables, the romantic dreams as well as the shrewd half-truth of colonial times, firmly established a belief in the impenetrable differentness of Asia....Today growing numbers of Americans have first hand knowledge of how Asians think and feel, act and react—even though such knowledge is beset by the dangers of oversimplification. Diplomats, soldiers, teachers, businessmen, journalists and technicians, constantly contribute to the growing body of "typical" Asian experiences.....

The Fiction of Entity

There is, of course, no such thing as the Asian mind—there are dozens. An Indonesian is as different from Japanese as a Frenchman from an American. Generalizations never do justice to national differences, but in a kind of shorthand it might be said that the Chinese are practical, pragmatic and irreligious ; the Indians are impractical, theoretical and vaguely religious ; the Japanese are ritualistic, restrained, aesthetic and authoritarian ; the Koreans are unrestrained, imaginative and creative ; the Laotians are sensitive, pacific and passive ; the Vietnamese are sensitive, combative and active. When the great Indian teacher and writer Rabindranath Tagore visited China in the 20's, he declared that the Chinese seemed stranger to him than any people he had met in the West.

Yet if the nation of an entity called Asia is a Western fiction, it is a fiction which many Asians now support to assert unity against the West. In South Vietnam recently, a Japanese journalist was taken out on patrol. The Vietnamese Captain of the patrol spoke neither Japanese nor English but managed to tell his guest through his U. S. interpreter : "You're an Asian. You can really understand us !"

This was mostly wishful thinking, but not entirely; for all their fissiparous differences, most peoples of Asia share attitudes and traditions that set them apart from.....the modern world.

The Way of The Bamboo

With characteristic obtuseness so common among Occidentals in their transactions with the Asians, the writer, however, reduces the so-called Asian mind to the simple terms of a placid philosophy of surrender to superior and often undecipherable forces; an attitude of the mind in which the individual and his individualism has only a very narrow and confining role to play. Superficially it is an analysis of the Asian mind which, on its surface, would seem to be more or less a precise estimate of its character and motivations, even more so to an increasingly growing body of Occident-oriented Asians who are, virtually, strangers in their own land and to their kith and kin; but the image keeps on continually blowing out because, in a very large number of what are popularly regarded as resurgent Asian nations, it is a small coterie of such Occident-oriented people who comprise the ruling élite of their respective nations and who, in their bid to modernise their country and their economy have, in most cases in complete disregard of the basic foundations on which they have been seeking to build a modern superstructure, and impervious to the motivations of the people who would supply the motive power to the process of construction, been encumbering the process of their own national growth by cheap imitation copies of imported models which would hardly fit into the basic pattern of the country's *purpose of living*. To such Asians, as to an Occidental:

The most pervasive Asian concept is harmony, particularly harmony with nature. ...Life in this world has always been precarious. And the way to maintain it is the way of the bamboo before the wind—a graceful yielding.

This may look to Western eyes like abject submission; the Asian sees it as the only way to win. In Taoism, the symbol of strength is water, which conforms to the shape of whatever it touches, yet in the end it cuts its own path through rock. Jujitsu (literally, "give-way art") is the art of defeating an aggressor with his own strength.

Western imagery abounds in conflict with the elements...The Eastern mode, on the contrary, is to create a balance with nature and identify even with nature's terrible aspects...

The West divides good and evil and thinks evil can be destroyed...Asians are capable of believing that something is simultaneously good and bad, right and wrong...in a manner that drives the Western, Aristotelian, 'either-or' mentality to distraction.

Asians are villagers, and the village always bowed before the procession of imperial powers as before natural forces...In these organic microcosms, the Western concept of the individual, upholding and upheld by a written law, has no meaning at all; right action is a mold of custom and propriety demonstrated by the behaviour of the sage. Written contracts are merely pieces of paper...

There is no single right in a harmonious world, nor are there rights in the Western sense. But there is no alienation either; in a village culture everyone is in. Harmony demands that friction be avoided by elaborate sensitivity for others' feelings, which account for the importance of *face*. Courtesy has an aesthetic value in the East that means far more than mere good manners do in Western eyes. Courtesy, in fact, is more of a virtue than honesty—hence the widespread acceptance of bribery and the sense of offended dignity when Westerners rail at the practice...

The democratic process, difficult at best, is faced with social obstacles in Asia, where the West's unique concept of liberty under law is incomprehensible. The idea of a political opposition is repugnant to a world in which consensus and unanimity, rather than creative competition seem the only appropriate atmosphere. The Western practice of loyal opposition seems only further proof of Anglo-American cynicism and hypocrisy. For, the existence of such political opposition presupposes the integrity of the lone individual against the group, a tradition that is non-existent among Asians, who see the man with power as the man with the cosmic forces behind him—a man unwise to oppose.

Distrust of Freedom

The writer goes on to question if the Western concept of democracy based upon freedom and individualism does at all carry any meaning to an Asian. And, yet, if the great experiment now being carried out to implant democracy firmly on the Asian soil is to succeed, this concept as an integral aspect of social relationships on a broad human panorama will have to be accepted as a necessary condition of success:

Those resonant watchwords of democracy—individualism and freedom—ring dissonantly

in Asian ears. Individualism translates in Chinese as "every man for himself" and the word for freedom means "spontaneous uncontrol." To the Asians it is an apparent paradox that those individualistic Americans—by their definition, most selfish and egotistic of men—are so generous with foreign aid. Obviously, many Asians reason, they must have an ulterior motive.

Asians relate personally to others or not at all. To the Westerner.....the Easterner seem heartlessly unconcerned by the mere sight of starvation and misery of those to whom he is not related by some tie. But...the thought of packing one's parents off to some old-age home or retirement colony is shocking to him

How is it possible that with all this concern for harmony Asia is constantly beset by eruptions of violence. It is a human paradox not too different from the fact that Christians, despite their love-thy-neighbour faith, have in the past turned wildly begoted and cruel in defense of that faith—and sometimes still do. When harmony ceases to fit reality in Asia... fear erupts and leads to fury.....

What virtually all Asians have in common today is a desire to see their civilization modernized. But not, they insist, Westernized. Asia wants to capture the secret of Western wealth and power—technology—without necessarily adopting Western ethics and social organization. The great question is whether this separation is possible.

Industrialization need not involve private capitalism, as Soviet Russia has demonstrated, but it can scarcely succeed without many Western attitudes. Modern industry requires a measure of individual initiative, self-reliance, risk-taking. It requires a belief in progress, in the reality of the material world....It does not necessarily require democracy, although Edwin Roischaur, U. S. Ambassador to Japan points out, it must have literacy and mass communication—which usually lead people to demand more participation in their Government.

Modern industry must also have social and economic units much bigger than the family, the city or the region. It requires education not as a means of imparting fixed dogmas, but as a process of training the mind to seek

its own answers. In short, the secret of Western success is not merely technology, but the Promethean or the Faustian spirit.

Japan is the only Asian country so far that has met the challenge. In the 19th century, it made a dramatic decision to modernize and had the advantage of starting from a fairly advanced feudal base. The Japanese have developed a truly industrial society within many of the old forms.....Industry is paternalistic and feudal—hardly anyone gets fired or quits—although that is beginning to change.

China long resisted modernization and is now frantically catching up, at immense cost. Communism, a Western ideology, substitutes struggle for harmony.....

The Western Offer

India, as the writer sees it, represents a major effort by the Asian mind to come to terms with the modern world with the individual in a dominant role, self-conscious, expansive, seeking, acquiring and tormentec. What the ultimate shape of this effort will be likely to be is still uncertain and largely unpredictable. But :

Industry has begun to change the country, has even begun to instil a sense of time and punctuality—here and there...But the machine requires hard work, precision and comprehension. Sensing a lack of these, many Indians are pessimistic about the future. "Everyone is waiting for the Americanization of India" says Essayist Nirad C. Chaudhuri, "but what they are going to get is the Hinduization of industry." Such critics fear that modernization is by no means inevitable; a thin progressive upper crust might continue to live side by side with a vast impoverished mass.

Writes Robert Sinai in the *Challenge of Modernization* "None of these societies have ever known spring; they have never experienced the sense of refreshment and renewal....Asia never found what Europe discovered—man....."

Asia may not be able to accept this view of man, or may not want to....Indeed some Westerners fear that "individual" and "expansive" man is losing ground in the West itself. But this view is essentially what the West has to offer Asia in its present state of revolutionary change. On the response made by the Asian mind---many Asian minds---depends much of the future.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

SIVA MAHADEVA (The Great God)—An exposition of the symbolism of Siva By Dr. V. S. Agarwalla, Benaras Hindu University.

Text Page 63, 32 Large Size Plates. Size—Imperial, Published by Veda Academy, Benaras 5 (India), 1966. Price Rs. 45/-

The learned author who became famous with his critical study of *Panini*, and is now the doyen of Sanskrit studies in the north, has been fast stepping on the Scholarly throne left vacant by the late Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy. This is quite evident from his brilliant study of Shiva, just published. The pioneer study of the topic was made years ago by Dr. A. Erdman in his doctorate thesis on Rudra.

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O. C. G.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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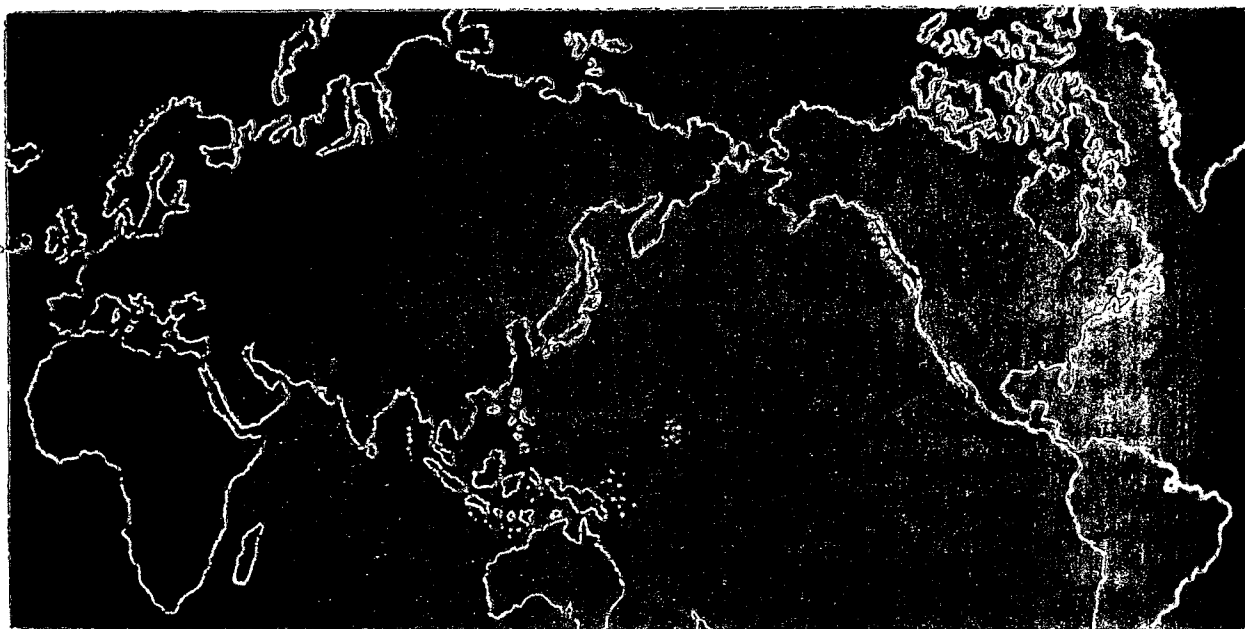
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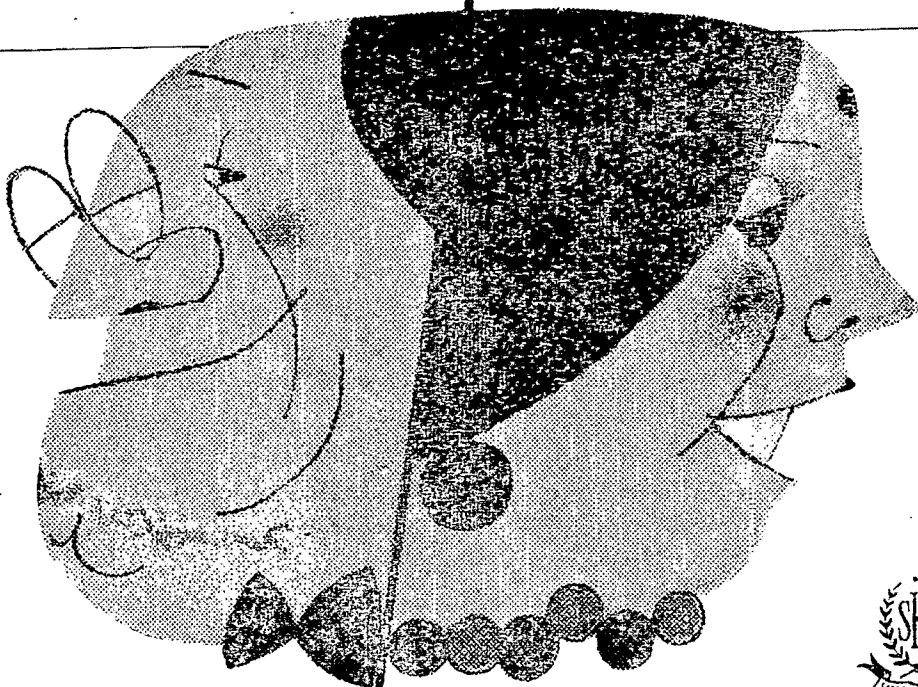
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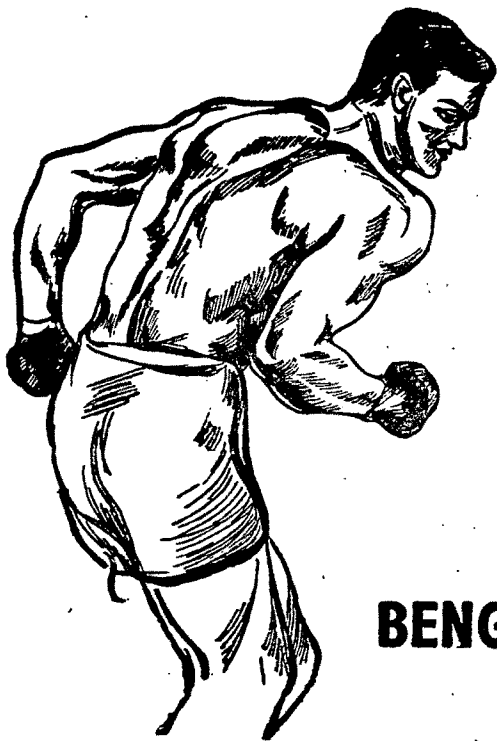
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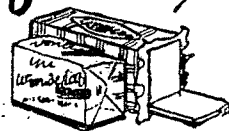
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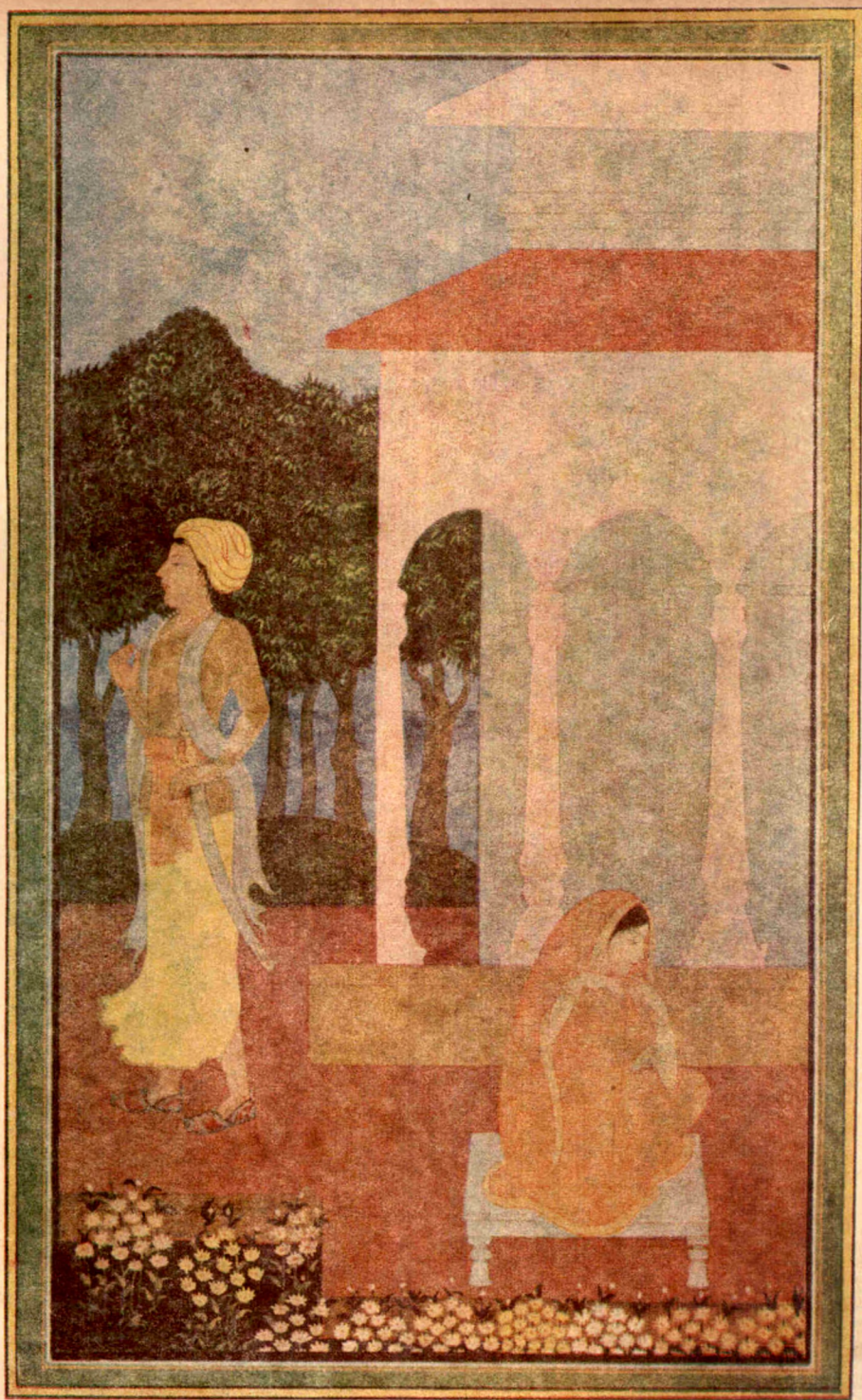
THE MODERN REVIEW

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PURANDAR BIDDING FAREWELL TO HIRANMAYI

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

Artist : Mr. Surendranath Kar.

General Education, back in Iowa, I was reading 'Beyond the pleasure principle' when it suddenly broke over me that Freud was writing about precisely the kind of thing I had gathered from Hemingway's scattered descriptions of it. Told that Freud had undergone a lot of modification, I got hold of Fenichel, recommended to me as the most authoritative of the post-Freudian Freudians, and there I found a more detailed account of the same business. What I had called, in a very special sense 'primitivism', Fenichel called 'Primitivation'. I had written 'shell shock', he called it 'traumatic neurosis'.

Philip Young describes, in detail, the trouble he had in getting this book of his published and the resistance he had encountered from Hemingway himself in his lengthy article entitled "Hemingway and Me" (*Kenyon Review*, January 1966). I would only like to record here a few facts concerning Hemingway's reaction to this work of Mr. Young. Initially, Hemingway was absolutely determined that no biography of his should appear while he was alive to stop it. He refused permission to quote from his works; he even threatened legal action. There ensued some long and frustrating correspondence between Hemingway and Mr. Philip Young through Malcolm Cowley and Charles Scribner. Hemingway was very much disturbed about the book even after a long correspondence essentially directed to assuage his ruffled feelings, and was stubborn in his refusal to permit its publication even though he was more polite than at the beginning. He was very clear about the worry Mr. Young had caused him and the consequently serious interruption in his work. Mr. Young writes: "The disturbance caused by me, he said, had been very bad for a man who was trying to keep his mind peaceful during a year which had already seen the death of his first grand-son, the serious illness (Cancer) of his father-in-law, the death of his mother, the death of his former wife, mother of two of his three sons, the suicide of the maid-servant of his

house, which had followed the previous attempt, the death of his last old friend in Africa, and then the death of his very dear friend, and publisher Charles Scribner." The seriousness of the impact of Mr. Young's book on Hemingway is clear from the series of calamities in which he includes this one. In the long last the protracted correspondence wore down Hemingway. He not only agreed to the publication of Mr. Young's book, permitting him to quote from his works, he offered to pay to the companies that had the copy-right of his works for the quotations to be made by Mr. Young so that Mr. Young could, if he so desired, quote liberally from Hemingway without running into financial difficulties. He even offered some money to Mr. Young, presumably for incidental expenditure in the publication. Mr. Young has this comment to offer on this gesture of Hemingway; "Over the years I had accumulated a good deal of circumstantial evidence of Hemingway's generosity. He liked to be generous; perhaps for some unknown reason he needed to be". The sting, of Freudian determinism, is in the tail; "perhaps for some unknown reason he needed to be".

Even after the publication of the work Hemingway was feeling very unhappy about its contents. Commenting on the book in an interview with Robert Manning, Hemingway is quoted to have commented: "If you have not read it, don't bother. How would you like it if some one said that everything you've done in your life was done because of some trauma. Young had a theory that was like, you know, the procrustean bed, and he had to cut me to fit into it".

The tragedy of it all is that this process of cutting seems to have hurt Hemingway very much. He had pleaded with Mr. Young that criticism should not constitute an invasion of the privacy of a creative writer. He asked him whether there were not enough dead writers who could be subjected to the analysis without very harmful effects.

British critic John Atkins is quoted as writing: "According to Hemingway, it (The thesis of Philip Young) was a collection of mistaken conclusions based upon partial information . . . It is to Young's credit, I think, that he revealed the significance (of early stories of Hemingway) by showing the subject-matter to be the aftermath of fear . . . all his life he had exposed himself (over-exposed himself, claims Young) to things he feared. It may be a distasteful thing to discover, but I cannot help feeling that Young virtually fore-told self destruction".

Mr. Young questions: "How could Young have virtually foretold self-destruction on the basis of a specious and mistaken diagnosis?" What if diagnosis itself, by subtle emotional interaction undermined the confidence of the writer and dried up his zest for living? Mr. Young himself envisages the possibility. He writes: "Could diagnosis be transformed into prognosis and prognosis into reality by some terrible force?"

Even if there is a remote possibility of such a transformation of diagnosis to reality—and the possibility is not really so remote as is clear from the example of Hemingway—and if the end of such a "realisation" is the destruction of the creative urge or self-destruction of a creative genius, one wonders whether the diagnosis is worth making.

Writing is a very strenuous and hard work. But sensibility and sensitivity are the essence of good writing. "It (writing) requires mechanisms as delicate as the most delicate mechanisms imaginable. If some one comes along, not himself an expert, and takes the machine apart for his own benefit it's all very well to say that he has a right to take any old machine apart, but Hemingway did not feel the right existed "while the mechanisms were still in good running order".

Let us learn our lesson from this tragic episode of Hemingway. Let not some fanciful theories be used by inferior intellects to badger the creative artist. A healthy convention should develop among the critics not to make forages into the privacy of living writers; inroads into the caverns of the unconscious should strictly be confined to the dead authors only as any interference with the powerful yet delicate "mechanism" of the mind of a gifted writer may cause the break-down of the entire mechanism. If a writer is expected to be sensitive and be of developed sensibilities, should we not expect the critic to be sensible enough not to hunt those sensibilities? The press and the reading public should very clearly place the limits to the encroachments in the name of criticism into the lives of the living authors, if they want them to live, work and produce enduring pieces of art.

SUBRAMANIA BHARATI—THE GREAT POET OF THE SOUTH

Dr. S. K. NANDI

It has long been debated whether art and poetry had any didactic purpose or not. The answer to this question either in the affirmative or in the negative greatly affected the status of art as a free spiritual activity. Kantian concept of 'Purposiveness without a purpose' aimed at saving art as free activity. Poetry have often been considered as the unacknowledged legislators of the World. By 'legislation' if we mean the determination of the human behaviour-patterns by a certain type-pattern, then certainly the definition goes by default. It would be accused of conveying a sense quite foreign to a poet qua poet. A poet is essentially free and as such he is never burdened with any mission whatsoever. The deontological nature of art has been repudiated again and again and it has been ridiculed in modern times. But the queer phenomenon of the flourish of the art in industry and its great aesthetic qualities make us think over the problem time and again. A revaluation is urgently called for. For the time being, we set aside the problems which the modern application of semantics to the field of aesthetics gives rise to and hasten to evaluate the fundamentals of aesthetics. The deontological nature of art has got yet to be ascertained specially when we find the great epic poets harnessing art and poetry to the cause of patriotism, religion and man's moral life. We find Bharati, Tagore and a host of other poets, both great and small, harnessing poetry to such a cause although in their professions they were emphatic in asserting that poetry should not be made subservient to any such cause. An analysis of Bharati's life and work would reveal that poetry was his life and life was infused in his poetry. He was a god-intoxicated man. In his poem

Oozhi Koottu (The Final Dance) he gives a wonderful intuitive understanding of the principles of creation and destruction. The poem is excellent in its execution and the profundity of feeling as found in this poem ranks Bharati with other great poets of the world. The simplicity of his diction and the grandeur and nobility of the ideas remind us of Sadhak Ramprosad who was born in Bengal. Both were devoted souls. The lyrical quality in Bharati's writings has been universally acknowledged. He told us that he was inspired by Shelley and patriotism fired his imagination. The lyrical core of his music was surmounted by patriotic ideas and this composite whole smacked of an odour and colour which one could not easily find in the writings of other poets. In 1919, he met Gandhiji and the patriot in him and the poet in him got a new boosting. He got metamorphosed and his poetic eccentricity strove for scaling new heights. But death in 1921 removed Bharati from the mortal scene and we lost one of the finest poets that India produced in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

It is rather surprising that in a life span of thirty-nine years the poet could master all the great ideas of the Upanisads and got them ingrained in his own nature. They became part of his character and his poetry got saturated with them. The definition that poetry was the desubjectification of the subjective feelings is amply borne out by the writings of Bharati. God was his first love and he found God everywhere. He felt a complete self identification with the God-head on the one hand and nature on the other. He believed in the Upanisadic 'Isabasya' mantra and believed in a Pantheism; quite consistent with the lofty Indian traditions. He saw him reflected in nature,

It's the 'I' that sages refer
It's God whom seers adore."

This idea of identity of God and man gave Bharati a perennial fountain of love and affection for all. And this love in its turn gave him a creed of fearlessness. We would understand Bharati better if we analyse Gandhiji's creed of non-violence and satyagraha. According to Gandhiji, a satyagrahi must be non-violent. A devotee in the shrine of truth must discover the basic identity of man and man and as such he could never think of harming anybody. His whole outlook is one of love and compassion for all. A Satyagrahi is never afraid of anybody because he considers no one as the 'other'. Everything and being in the universe was his own self. So he fears no one and as such he strikes none. You strike only when you are afraid. If you are really initiated to the 'Avis' mantrā of the Upanisads, you must be non-violent. You must be fearless and suspicion would be beyond the bounds of your mental ken. This conviction cost both Gandhiji and Bharati their precious lives. The unsuspecting Mahatma refused security arrangements for he considered none to be the 'other'. The simple believer in Bharati in the basic identity of all things and beings gave him courage unexampled and he was not even afraid of the mad elephant. His conviction made him feel that the mad elephant was a manifestation of the God-head and God, in whatever form it might be, could not possibly do him any harm. Bharati was a martyr to his conviction when a mad elephant at the Triplicane temple dashed him to the ground. It was in the year 1921 which saw the end of a great epic as lived by a simple Indian who in reality was a citizen of the World.

"There is grace vast as sea
That pervades all you could see.

* We could compare Bharati's ideas of renunciation with those of Tagore. Tagore also in a similar vein tells us that he did not prefer deliverance through renunciation. He wanted to taste the joy of deliverance by living a full life beset with all sorts of conceivable bondage and distraction. This type of 'this worldliness' could only develop if one believes that the world is basically spiritual in character. This spiritual character of the universe was accepted as real both by Bharati and Tagore.

“BUDGET—DEFICITS”

Prof. HASMUKH LAL DAVE

All troubles from the burdens of the Benevolent Bag :

It is difficult to disagree with the idea that the Budget, the biggest benevolent Bag, is itself, remotely or otherwise, responsible for almost all the major troubles of our economy. But like a typical physician of olden times seeing all the troubles of the human body in tobacco, the learned Prof. B. R. Shenoy pronounces his judgement against the financial tobaccos our body politico-economy suffers from. According to him the underdeveloped economy in order to be healthy and growing should do away with (i) the puffs of taxation, (ii) the chewing of foreign aid and (iii) the snuffs of budget-deficits.

Who will not fundamentally agree that it will always be the most cherished dream of every Finance Minister to be so puritan a budgetor? But in an economy that has for reasons psychological, social, economic and political, suffered from chronic stagnation for a couple of centuries with intermittent irregular spells of frivolous growth, cannot so shortly be expected to stand upto these standards.

Deficits :

When it is pointed out that the aggregate money demand outbalances the aggregate output, it is a mere unchallengeable truism. But to explain this truism by putting the entire burden on the Government's Budget-deficits is, again to use the above simile, to be like a quack physician laying in every illness his finger only on the tobacco. The most susceptible leakage of logic appears to be in this statement :

“When Budget-deficits appear and moneys are created to cover them, the Government acquires from the stream of national product output equivalent to the created moneys **WITHOUT ADDING ANY-THING AT ALL TO THE STREAM**”

The humble yet perhaps logically

compelling enquiry has to be as to what exactly happens to the output (equivalent to the moneys created) acquired by the Government from the stream of national product? Is it suggested that the Government throws away this **“ENTIRE OUTPUT”** into the Arabian sea or is it agreed that at least a part of it—large or small—is so used,—successfully or otherwise, as to **ADD TO THE STREAM OF** national product? If the latter is admitted, the case, at least in theory, is not hopelessly so much against the ‘doses’ as against the effective ‘uses’ of the said deficits. This is not to recommend much more deficits to the Budgetors but to exonerate them with a warning against the unproductive uses of the deficits in the past and also in the future, if at all, if any.

Next, it is pleaded :

“.....as consumption and investment continue as before, they reduce the goods for exports, the only unpledged sector to feed on.”

Is it not permissible here for any economy that is pledged to economic development by state-Planning to imagine that beyond certain levels, consumption is curbed and gradually more and more real funds are released for either investment at home or exports abroad? The growing domestic investment again is pregnant with the prospects for more releases from theadditional output for exports. The recent experience of the exports-sector of the Indian economy despite the heavy inroads on the consumption on account of the Growing Numbers iscertainly that of steady, though not adequate, expansion and diversification.

As for the rising imports during the decade from 1955-56 to 1964-65, again they have been linked with the Budget-deficits and public undertakings, thus explaining the Foreign Exchange crisis by mathema-

tically equating the exchange shortages with the moneys created. Here also the same enquiry is compelling as to whether the foreign imports made for and by the public undertakings have been buried into the ground OR USED AS REAL CAPITAL IN THE PRODUCTIVE PROJECTS, thereby ensuring some, if not large, addition to the stream of national product from which a part now or in due course of time is to find its way into the exports sector?

Further, an idea is put forward that the persistently rising budget-deficits have **EQUALLY ENLARGED** money supply which has caused inflationary price-spirals inroad into the.....currency-reserves, despite the heavy external aids forthcoming. This part of the entire analysis is most fortified by facts. No Indian can deny inflationary spirals with their origin in monetary expansion. But if the monetary expansion and inflation are the twins, the budget-deficits are only one of the parents, the other being the private sector-oriented bank-money. Both the parents are guilty and none, to give the private sector a benefit of doubt, any less.

The assertion of the need for promoting savings and capital formation for stepping up the rate of economic development of an underdeveloped economy is, of course, an unblemished admonition. Low per capita annual income, increase and low rates of savings in the economy during the decade gone by is an admittedly measured fact of a vicious circle. But the role of inflation and taxation in relation to savings deserve to be interpreted only in the light of an empirical study instead of by mere academic conjectures. Inflation in the grammar of economic analysis is known to be causing '**forced savings**' from the entire community's point of view. These forced savings are supposed to be vacating the household pockets and the purses of the fixed income or sticky income groups. They then begin amassing in the houses of the limited leading private patrons of the economy e.g. corporations, business-men, traders and industrialists. Prof. Shenoy has stopped here and rightly so, from his point of view. Some and,

perhaps many, of all, the limited leading patrons have not accepted fully all the..... disciplines, either of their own, or in response to fiscal or other measures to put them in productive enterprises. The urge for windfall is hard to resist. The result is employing these forced rewards of the majority of the community into unwarranted, unproductive luxuries or in the channels of production or distribution not strictly in the national interest or development priority. In brief, it will be proper to say that the inflation causes "forced savings" and puts them into wrongful and wasteful uses.

This is precisely why the case for tax measures becomes forceful instead of weak as advocated by Prof. Shenoy.

But it must be frankly admitted that no tax proposal can be so designed as can fully distinguish between savings that are likely to be used productively and the savings that are not likely to be so used. Under the circumstances with all permissible incentives for production, the tax-proposals must try to squeeze the forced savings—the reward of inflation wherever they are found or supposed to be found.

This is, however, not all. The wrongs alleged must not be committed. The Government after taking possession of these forced savings through tax measures, must see to it that they are wisely invested and shrewdly utilised for raising productive capabilities, failing which the entire economy suffers the inevitable. It has to be admitted that so far the Indian economy has failed in this respect almost without any redeeming feature and hence the present troubles. Government revenues, as pointed out, have multiplied but in vain. But this is not equal to saying that in such circumstances the public revenues should be curtailed and people's pockets be left alone and as full as possible. This is because if the state has a big mouth to consume the revenues away, the multitudes with high marginal propensities to consume have millions. **THE REMEDY PROBABLY LIES IN THE MIDDLE AND THE CHOICE OF THAT MIDDLE IS THE PROBLEM OF THE MASTER MIND IN CHARGE OF THE**

EXCHEQUER. The Indian tax-structure must be so gradually and steadily saddled into such a middle that ultimately the burdens of wise, shrewd and fruitful investment of the community's savings are shared intelligently between the public and private sectors to ensure a growingly high level of gross national product thereby affording newer heights and patterns of consumption to the teeming millions of this nation. Thus, it is conceivable at this stage of our economy that the task of ushering in a truly socialist order cannot be safely and entirely handed over to the private sector with the state doing only the enlightened police duties. It is equally true that the task will be badly done by the state alone without the co-operation and contribution from the private sector. So far in the Indian economy, none seems in fact to have cared to deliver the goods.

A difficult bid has been attempted to link up the nation's food-shortages with the budget policies of the Government. That our food shortages are the result of the general Agricultural backwardness is considered **QUEERLY** to be only a half-truth and a misleading one. The accusation is that the Government has not released enough funds for Agricultural production as well as for the holding over of the foodgrains by the farmers. This has happened, it is argued, because the public sector has been overfed. The prescription made is as under :

"What the situation calls for is not less than the provision of credit to the 70 million farmers to enable them to acquire better seeds, more fertilizers, better equipments and more irrigation and to strengthen their holding power for a better price for their products."

(a) Supposing Agricultural Credit is made available to the farmers on the scale of their needs, **WHICH CERTAINLY IS NOT THE CASE TODAY**, the problem of 'availability' of adequate.....fertilizers and equipments still basically remains at the root. To be exact, the fertilizers and equipments are not put on mass-use primarily because of their non-availability. At

present, the per annum per capita consumption of fertilizers is hardly a kilogram and is estimated to be around 4 kilograms at the end of the Fourth Plan. About irrigation and equipments also this cannot be totally denied. If this is admitted, is not the Government right in endeavouring to inject more and more funds in the public undertakings that go for increasing their supply gradually?

(b) That the availability of Agricultural credit has not increased is not an undisputable fact. But that the available quota of credit has been more misused than well-used is less doubtful. That the food shortages have been caused because the farmers without adequate credit at their disposal, are not able to hold over foodgrains for better prices is not tenable. The mass consumers do not have to bother whether the intermediaries hold or hoard the scarce foodgrains or the farmers do so. In fact, the recent complaint according to same opinions is that the short production of foodgrains has always suffered shorter distribution, thanks to the large scale hoardings by the intermediary traders, big farmers, and to some extent even the big consumers. The remedy, therefore, does not lie so much simply in the augmented credit quantum as in enforcing productive uses and better production.

The task before the Finance Minister is, indeed, trying. He has to husband all the resources at the disposal of 480 million people for a common goal of economic betterment, in the light of the sizable commitment of the Fourth Plan commencing this year. All the economic vehicles, namely, Government, the big business, small industrialists, cultivators, consumers and workers have to accept the discipline in order to be largely free from the economic chaos on the road of planned development. Failing the discipline, red-lights of inflation and controls would strain or restrain the wheels of production in our journey to the far away.....destination of affluence. The need of the hour for the nation is to bear in mind the hard fact that **the burdens of any ideology, either left or right—will be heavier than any flaws of pragmatism.**

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

PLANNING AND DEVALUATION

We made a cursory reference in these columns to the possible effects that devaluation—which has been ostensibly undertaken to *save the Plan*—may have upon the directions and sizes of the Fourth Plan. Apparently, there is a considerable measure of difference over this question both within the Yojna Bhabana and outside in the concerned Ministries of the Union Government. There was a time not so long ago when, in spite of the lessons that planning in general and the Third Plan in particular had to teach us, the Planning Commission had been toying with the idea of a Rs. 24,000 crores Fourth Plan at 1963-64 prices which was, in effect, a mere readjustment of the earlier outlay target of Rs. 22,500 crores at 1961-62 prices at the higher cost level of 1963-64. Ultimately, the outlay estimates approved by the National Development Council in October last year, was of the order of Rs. 21,500 crores at 1963-64 prices which, in terms of the 1961-62 prices, would actually work out to somewhere around Rs. 17,500/18,500 crores. A revival, now, of the earlier figure of Rs. 24,000 crores at post-devaluation prices would have, altogether, a different implication.

However that may be, what is really important is not what the size of outlay of the Fourth Plan should be, as that the size of the outlay must conform to the actual resources available on the spot. This is what the elite of the Yojna Bhabana do not seem to have realised yet. For, according to reports available, they have still been thinking in terms of a size of outlay which would not be

fully covered by resources; the immediate resources position has, further, been additionally complicated by devaluation of the rupee although in the long run it is hoped—at least the Finance Minister and some of his important and senior colleagues in the Union Cabinet have been vocally hopping so—that these complications would be replaced by certain substantial benefits that would flow from the process of devaluation itself. In the meanwhile it has become very urgent that firm and final decisions regarding both the directions and the size of the Fourth Plan should be taken immediately to enable the resumed flow of foreign aid to be put to the most judicious and expeditious use for the maintenance and growth of the economy which, incidentally, were said to have been the principal considerations that had led to the decision to reduce the par value of the rupee. The ultimate determinant of real achievements in the future—as they have been in the past, but we steadfastly refused to accept it until we have been literally bowled over—would be the price trends over the next five years. This is exactly what should be accepted as the fundamental guideline in the exercises now being engaged in in the Yojna Bhabana.

Some basic factors are too forcefully obvious to admit of any equivocation. For one thing, deficit financing has to be shunned like the very plague, if the gains, whatever they may turn out to be in the end, of devaluation are not to be thrown altogether away. Secondly, we have not yet reached that stage in the consolidation of essential measures of national security that the Govern-

ment of the day may be permitted to begin to think in terms of a reduction in the Defence appropriations immediately or even in the foreseeable future. It looks very unlikely, again, that the budgetary resources of the Government would be extricated from the stranglehold of either subsidies to hold the cost line, or allowances to their vast army of employees when it cannot be so held, within any foreseeable future. The administration, further, has not been evincing any signs of any better equipment than heretofore of being able to locate the *real beneficiaries* of development and, perhaps, now also of evaluation, with a view to compelling them to contribute more to the public exchequer in proportion to their increased gains. It is understandable that the shortcomings and inadequacies of the achievements of the Third Plan would make the Planning Commission and the Government additionally anxious to speed up the Fourth Plan both in magnitude and pace; but the very low rate of increased yield in national income during the five years of the Third Plan, which has been officially acknowledged to have been only just marginally ahead of the growth rate of the population, have left only attenuated surpluses for investment in the Fourth Plan. This is the most important factor which has to be very carefully taken into consideration in framing the final draft of the next Plan. The usual pastime of the Planning Commission, so far indulged in with impunity, of producing Plan estimates with substantial and uncovered gaps in the estimates of outlays compared to that of resources, actual and anticipated, and then to cover these gaps by the questionable method of increased deficit financing has, it must be clearly understood, and acknowledged, been one of the principal causes leading to the present astronomical proportion of money supply with the public which the economy is unable to absorb and which, in turn, has

led to the present situation compelling depreciation of the rupee.

Still, however distressing the present situation may be in its immediate context, it may yield valuable lessons for future programmes both directionally and quantitatively. Even at the cost of repetition—for bitter lessons learnt at the cost of blood and tears seem to be prone to be forgotten easily and glibly enough—we would repeat that the huge magnitude of our population with its pace of substantial net annual addition to its numbers which is being held out as one of the burdensome deterrents in the process of development and progress, may itself be converted into a blessing and an instrument of progress provided we are able—that is that nondescript rabble who rule the destiny of our country and who, seemingly, only know how to operate imitation social and economic models produced by borrowed orientations of Western technological progress were able to give up their present slants and get down to a bit of real hard thinking—to realize that the best use of our all too limited resources—internal and external (even including borrowed resources from abroad)—would be to create production equipments designed to employ gainfully the largest possible number of men (and women too) for every given unit of capital invested and not to indulge in highly sophisticated models and techniques whose employment potential—provided productivity had to be maintained at a minimum level of profitability—for every unit of capital invested would be even below a size of infinitesimality. We have already indulged in this ruinous exercise of imitative worship of modern industrial charms and fetishes, highly unsuitable to our indigenous conditions and resources, in both the private and the public sectors, with the result that in a large number of cases our unit cost of

production has reached levels which are far above even the costliest and most highly sophisticated global standards.

To cite a case in point, one might refer to the Indian steel industry. According to a recently published estimate, experts have assessed the average per tonne cost of steel in India at the present time to be of the order of around Rs. 1,300, which compares very unfavourably with the level of global costs at around Rs. 800 to Rs. 900 per tonne—that is 30 to 37 per cent below Indian costs. It might be interesting to recall that the level of this cost, only as recently as 1952-53 was well below Rs. 500 per tonne or just around a third of the present cost level, when India was regarded as the cheapest steel producing country in the world. The present increased cost is, of course, partly accounted for by higher depreciation costs, increased cost of raw materials, freights, spares and components, increased charges on capital account, as well as by the increased unit cost of labour; increased taxation also, in part, enters into the aggregate cost of production. But the most overwhelming contribution to the present highly increased cost of steel production would seem to be on account of the overwhelming increase in the gross cost of labour in relation to which the increase in the unit cost of labour (that is, the man-hour or man-day cost), substantial in itself as it is, would appear to be only marginal. This would seem to indicate a corresponding fall in productivity of labour. A study of the actual conditions at present prevailing in the industry reveals the rather paradoxical situation that while all the new public sector steel plants and additions to capacities of the old private sector ones, have followed modern sophisticated and highly labour-saving models, the employment pattern in these industries, generally, have continued to follow progressively an increasing labour-intensive bias, so

inversely reducing unit productivity of labour in relation to the industry's gross cost on this item.

In a different field, although somewhat allied to the steel industry, a great deal of good might have been achieved—both in the direction of increasing export earnings as well as to create new employment potentials if the authorities concerned had moved with a certain amount of imagination and a sense of basic responsibilities. Most people know that India has been selling a great deal of her very high grade iron ores to Japan and might have been able to sell even a great deal more if the necessary shipping and land transport were available to cover increased offtakes. The buyer's incentive to go on buying progressively more and more in quantity would be obvious; but the agreed price is so low that so far as India is concerned, it does not even cover the cost of raising the ore or of quarrying it out. But our customers really cannot afford to pay a higher price because they have to pay freight, wharfage, insurance, handling and other ancillary charges on a 40 to 45 per cent dead weight, because we have not thought it possible or, perhaps, even necessary, to reduce the ore to pig iron before selling it to a valued overseas customer. Apart from the fact that in that event they would be prepared to offer a more economic price than they have been paying for the unreduced and undressed ore so far, they would also buy much more than heretofore for the presently available shipping and transport space would be able to carry a great deal more in the net iron quantities of the ore with correspondingly higher levels of export earnings from this source. It should not have been necessary to import a single farthing's worth of equipments from abroad to do this provided we were willing to put up a number of low shaft and low capacity blast

furnaces at the very sources from where the ore is drawn for export, say of an average daily capacity of between 50 and 150 tonnes. These could all be entirely built with indigenous materials and equipments and wholly with Indian skill. As they would be designed mostly for manual operation (as distinct from highly instrumented modern designs), their employment potential on a fairly decent living wages basis, should also be very large. Examples could be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*.

The time would appear to have been long overdue when we should have started to think in these fresh, more realistic and legitimate lines. There are no national barriers in thinking in any field of human endeavour, we admit; but orientations must vary for this thinking to have any realistic value in the applied field, to suit varying indigenous bases in different parts of the world. This is exactly what the so-called architects of planning in our country would seem to have been ignoring all along. The present jolt may have caused a certain measure of trepidation, even apprehension, perhaps,—in the Olympian heights of the Yojna Bhabana, but signs, so far, do not appear to be at all encouraging that it has brought home its own salutary lessons and has set in fresh trends of new thinking in more realistic directions. For one thing, the proneness to glibly readjust estimates and calculations by a mere 57·5 per cent upgrading of those estimates and calculations to conform to the depreciated rupee, without any changes in the basic contours of priorities, nor by any endeavour to pool resources and direct them to more useful and wholesome uses, which should have been the very first and basic lesson of the present experience, seems to persist. It may still be a little too early, less than a month after the rupee has been devalued, to judge its possible impacts

on the economy; but the ultimate determinant in this matter should be the trends that the price structure would be following during the next few months. From surveys already undertaken by various official agencies, it appears that trends in this behalf do not yet appear to have begun to assume a healthy constraint, although failure in this would jeopardise the very basic purposes for which devaluation has been claimed to have been undertaken. While calling for restraints and disciplines from all and sundry, the Planning Commission still seem to be suffering from that peculiar brand of schizophrenia which sets it above all self-discipline as well as the need to accept and act upon sound advice when it is proffered.

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COMMODITY PRICES IN WEST BENGAL

While on the subject of devaluation and the price line, we have been simply amazed by certain most extravagant, almost flagrantly untrue claims reported to have been made by Shri P. C. Sen, the West Bengal Chief Minister, in course of a recently published press statement. He was reported to have claimed that—

Devaluation has had little or no effect on commodity prices in West Bengal although the State was almost wholly dependent on other States for its supplies of such essentials as pulses, edible oils, cloth etc. ;

Nearly 62 per cent of the State's population, he was reported to have said, got their supplies of rice and wheat under either the statutory or the modified rationing systems; there was no difficulty in respect of sugar which has been rationed since 1963 and the State was self-sufficient in potato, which has been currently selling at 80 paise per kg., 20 paise less than the price at which it sells at Puri in the neighbouring State of Orissa ;

The question of holding the price line, he was reported to have continued, did not at all arise in respect of rice and wheat because 62 per cent of the State's consumers have been receiving their supplies of these commodities at a statutorily fixed price. In respect of other essential commodities, the prices have been almost (?) stable since devaluation except that of superfine cloth which has registered a slight rise.

The West Bengal Chief Minister would appear to have been hypnotising himself to living in a world of his own pleasant imaginings and dreams. According to a recently carried out survey by an unofficial agency—which would be regarded as far more realistic and reliable than the published results of any West Bengal Government agency—there have been very substantial increases in the prices of most essential consumption commodities, such as pulses, edible vegetable oils, cloth of all varieties etc., and the trend shows a continuing upward slant. In the open market price of rice, this increase has been most substantial. Although the price level has sagged, over the week-end to a slightly lower level from the altitude it had reached immediately following the announcement of devaluation, it is still substantially high—the average for the common coarse rice, taking into account local variations, is Rs. 2·20 paise per kg. retail; it had risen to Rs. 2·35 paise per kg. immediately after devaluation from around Rs. 1·60 paise per kg. at which it has been more or less stable since the last Food demonstrations in April. So, of course, as Mr. P. C. Sen claims, there is no (?) question of any increase in the price of rice in the State! Who does he hope to delude with such patently prevaricative statements unless only himself and his effete, useless and notoriously incompetent Food Department officials?

As regards his claim that 62 per cent of

the State's population have been covered by statutory and modified rationing, the figure 62 may be an obvious misprint for, according to an advertisement issued by the Food Department after the last food demonstrations, 86,00,000 persons were claimed to have been covered by statutory rationing and 1,13,00,000 persons by modified rationing which, assuming the State's present population to be 3,90,00,000 (allowing for an annual 2·4 per cent net increase since the 1961 Census enumerations), which work out to around 22 and 30 per cent respectively, or to 52 per cent of the total population of the State, leaving 48 per cent or, roughly 1,91,00,000 persons wholly uncovered by the services of any Government or quasi-Government distributive agency. Now, for those covered by statutory rationing, a weekly ration of 1,000 grammes per week each of rice and wheat are allowed to each adult person, those under 8 years of age being allowed a half quantity. This works out to a gross daily adult cereal ration of around 9·2 ounces, or 4·6 ounces each of rice and wheat per day. In the modified rationing areas, the allowance of rice per adult per week is only 500 grammes, working out at roughly 2·3 ounces per day, and that of wheat 1,300 grammes, making up a daily quota of 5·94 ounces, or an aggregate daily cereal quota of just around 8·24 ounces. According to estimates issued from time to time by the Planning Commission in the past, it has been held that considering the nutritional pattern of our peoples' average daily diet in which cereals contribute the most overwhelming proportion, the very minimum subsistence quota of cereal supply per adult per day should not be less than 16 ounces although the more desirable level of supply should be around 18 ounces a day; the quantity should increase by not less than 50 per cent for those who are engaged in heavy manual work.

The West Bengal Chief Minister is apparently ready to absolve himself of all further responsibility when he has been able to supply to barely 52 per cent of the State's inhabitants a daily average of 8.5 ounces per adult including those who are heavy manual workers and glibly and most heartlessly claims that "there is no question of any increase in the prices of rice and wheat!" As a matter of fact what he has been exactly able to achieve by his patently dishonest system of rationing and incompetent handling of the procurement and distribution of food cereals in the State, has been to create an even more flourishing blackmarket in this vital commodity all over the State than ever before, which he glibly persists in conjuring away from its all too apparent and vigorous existence by the simple method of refusing to acknowledge its presence. We should not be wholly surprised if the actual consequences of rationing, procurements and control, as they are being administered in this State, were not results altogether unforeseen; one is almost inclined to believe those who claim that all this was deliberately engineered with the fullest apprehension of the consequences as they have turned out to be, as this is one of the means and methods of compensating those who would finance the Congress back to power at the General Elections early next year.

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PUBLIC SECTOR INDUSTRIES

Public sector industries have come in for a great deal of criticism off and on over the years, but the situation would seem to continue to present a rather dismal and a moribund picture. Recently the matter appears to have been placed under some measure of vigorous examination and discussion. The fact remains that the overall picture of public sector industries under the Central aegis continue to present a dismal

and discouraging aspect. The Prime Minister appears to have recently taken the initiative in the matter which may account for the present probe and discussions.

Several view points appear to have been discussed, but the more overwhelming measure of support appeared to lean towards the contention that there should be a greater degree of autonomy allowed to the administrative set up of the public sector industries than they have been accorded so far. They should have their own machinery for supervision and control, procedure for financial management and an independent system of public audit to allow for a greater degree of elasticity in functional dynamics. Such an arrangement, it has been claimed, would enable the public sector industrial organizations to be released from the present stranglehold of procedural niceties and delays and, in corresponding measure, improve the content of efficiency and profitability. The management of these industries would, of course, have to remain accountable to Government, but their operational freedom should not be attenuated at every step, as they are at present. The only criterion by which the management of a public sector industry should be judged is its profitability, just as any other similar organization in the private sector is similarly judged.

There is, obviously, a great deal of substance in all that has been said. The control of large industries by departmental secretaries of the Government has been leading to a great deal of under-cover nepotism to the detriment of efficiency and industrial peace. When political bosses intervene between such secretaries and the on-the-spot managers (or even general managers) of such enterprises, as they sometimes do, the situation grows even far worse, and nepotism becomes all too flagrant and overbearing. In fact we have been repeatedly

hearing about one very large public sector industry whose general manager, we are told, has been reduced virtually to the position of a conscienceless lackey of a notorious political boss who, it is alleged, has been beginning to assume almost complete control over the entire organisation. Such a situation, we feel, needs to be dealt with a strong and firm hand. Autonomous administration of public sector industries by a competent board of administrators should prove a distinct improvement, we hope, when its performance is backed up by a really competent team of technical staff. Profitability, subject to limits of social well being and equity, so far as pricing is concerned, should naturally be the ultimate determinant of the success of such an enterprise; and the work of the technical staff can be very well looked after by a consultative team of unofficial elders whose experience and knowledge of the industry concerned should entitle them to be listened to with respect and humility. This would, undoubtedly, be a far more desirable arrangement than rule by unscrupulous political bosses, or even by Departmental Secretaries.

But, at the same time, it may be necessary to assess the competence of the board of administrators and/or the technical staff of each such industry separately before greater measures of autonomous powers may be safely handed over to them. It must be remembered that colossal amounts of public money have gone into the building of these industries and it is a basic responsibility of the Government to ensure that these investments do not run any risk of proving wasteful in incompetent or dishonest hands. In such cases where a general manager allows himself to be ordered about by an outside political boss who has neither any legal nor any moral right to do so, except his political pulls in the ruling party, should invariably be considered wholly unreliable for the large discretions and

powers that would come to him with a greater degree of autonomy being vested in him in the administration of his industry. Past instances of deliberate nepotism and other similar misdemeanours should equally adjudge a person in a high and responsible office in a public sector industry as being wholly unreliable. In short, there should be a thorough probe into the acquittal of responsibility by every individual in a high position in these industries with any measure of discretionary powers, and the unreliaables and incompetents ruthlessly weeded out, before these organizations should be safely vested with the greater degree of autonomy they have been asking for and which, they claim, would enable them to function more competently and profitably than they have been able to under their present disabilities. While competence for profitability is vitally important, even more important must be considered the factor of reliability and rectitude.

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A TOO UPPISH SUBRAMANIAM

It is said that the two Union Cabinet Ministers who were mainly responsible for stampeding the Government of India to take the decision to devalue the rupee when they did it last month, were Messrs. C. Subramaniam, the Union Food & Agriculture Minister and Ashoka Mehta, the Union Minister for Planning and ex-officio Vice Chairman of the Planning Commission. It would appear significant that while Subramaniam has, on the one side, been proving himself utterly incompetent in adequately handling the responsibilities and obligations of his Ministry to the people of the country ever since he had assumed charge of the Union Food & Agriculture portfolio, he appears, on the other hand, to have been playing an increasingly more and more influential role in the policy decisions of the Cabinet of which he is only one among a number of

other senior and important members. And this role, it appears to us, has been progressively widening—there have been occasions when the late Lal Bahadur Shastri effectively put him on a leash whenever he showed signs of endeavouring to arrogate to himself larger prerogatives than were justly due to his office in the Cabinet—over areas where he had no particular business to encroach, especially since Shreemati Indira Gandhi has assumed the office of the Prime Minister of India.

In his unremitting endeavours to arrogate to himself more and more of the prerogatives of the Cabinet, Subramaniam would appear to have been quite overtly, on occasions, encroaching upon areas where he had no business to be, nor in respect of which he can claim any special knowledge or extraordinary wisdom. In a recent statement in Madras attributed to him, for instance, Subramaniam was reported to have observed that “restriction of credit was a 19th century approach and only increased and intensified difficulties.” This he was reported to have said when he assured his audience, composed mainly of businessmen and industrialists, while assuring them that the credit policy of the Government was being reviewed for purposes of formulating a new policy in this behalf oriented to greater production in consultation with banks, industrial groups, financial experts and other interests. It is amazing that the Union Finance Ministry and the Minister-in-charge have been permitting such wholly irresponsible and misleading statements to be publicly made by supposedly responsible and senior Cabinet Ministers of the Union Government without, presumably, prior consultations with the Finance Ministry or without their leave. This kind of public statement by a responsible Minister is, it must be most emphatically underlined, is one of the worst possible

detractors against a proper clarification of the present confused financial situation in the country, and introduces fresh distortions in an already considerably distorted picture.

Subramaniam facetiously puts down the maxim that “restriction of credit was a nineteenth century approach and only increased and intensified difficulties.” He must either be much too obtuse to have understood the implications of the present fiscal and monetary situation in the country which, mainly, has been the consequence of wholly unrestricted and free operations of unlimited credit in a controlled and restricted economy, or must have been deliberately setting himself out to flirt with an audience who have the power to finance himself and his colleagues back to power or otherwise at the coming general elections early next year, which finds all controls upon credit irksome because even if not directly, they have an indirect effect upon their undercover speculative activities yielding huge chunks of *unaccounted* profits which need not yield to the disciplines of taxation and other, to them, vexatious measures. If a judicious curb was devised and imposed upon the use of credits in the organized sectors of the money market even at the beginning of the adventure of Planning, consumption expenditure of both Government and the public might, possibly, have been limited within reasonably limited bounds in keeping with the rate of *real* increase in production, inducing thereby a progressively accelerating tempo of savings and investments and eliminating, in corresponding measures, the need to reckless—we are far from convinced that even so it was not also needless—recourse to increasing volumes of deficit financing and consequent inflationary pressure. Subramaniam acknowledges the effect when he holds that “Devaluation was an irreversible decision compelled by inflationary pressures which had been

shattering the economy", but he adroitly side-steps the need to acknowledge also the cause from which this effect has flown, that is, the inflationary pressures which have compelled devaluation of the rupee have been created and sustained and nurtured by the fiscal and monetary policies of the Government of India over the years or, really, the absence of one. It was only at a much later stage when run-away prices on the one hand, and decelerating production on the other, had begun to grind the economy towards a dead stop, that the Government of India woke up to a realization of the need to impose restrictions upon credit. By then, however, the unorganised and under-cover money sector had already grown so powerful and speculative pressures had become so wide-spread and almost panoramic, that controls upon credits and other fiscal and monetary disciplines devised had only very little effect upon the over-all dynamics of the economy and which have eventually led to the present situation.

The decision to devalue the rupee, we must concede has, by its very nature, to be an irreversible one. But what the Government and the public alike must realise, is that it is not a cure, nor even a long-sustaining palliative, but merely a very limited stop-gap expedient which, to bear any enduring and beneficial result, would have to be sustained by a series of immediate and long-term measures. Devaluation, it must be clearly realised, is not a remedy but really a compulsive adjustment to circumstances and to ensure that this adjustment is not merely the first step in a further series of similar depreciation of the value of the rupee in the future, effective measures must be devised and purposively applied to obviate the very real risk that the causes which have compelled devaluation, do not further accumulate and intensify to make

further dozes of devaluation in the future equally inevitable and compulsive as on the present occasion. The prime requisite for the purpose is to *effectively* contain demand and possible speculative pressures wherever they may raise their heads, with a view to contain further inflationary pressures upon the price structure. Administrative measures expected to serve such a purpose have already been devised and are being applied; but such measures have been devised and applied in the past and had absolutely no effect or devaluation of the rupee might not at all have been necessary on the present occasion. Certain effective fiscal and monetary disciplines have to be devised and applied; Government must substantially cut their consumption expenditure; the Planning Commission must contain new investments within the limits of resources actually in hand (ruthlessly eliminating all uncovered gaps between resources and estimated outlays) according first priority to such investments which will be likely to have immediate effects upon the incidence of production; and credits to the business community and industrialists should be so ordered that only bona fide demands of accelerated production alone are accepted. Credits which may have the remotest chance of being employed for speculative hoarding and price-manipulations must be summarily rejected, a vital need the importance of which does not seem to be either acknowledged or understood by the apparently very ambitious Mr. C. Subramaniam, whose recent activities appear to be uppish enough as to set himself above his other colleagues in the Government in the formulation of fundamental policy decisions.

It is hoped that an incidental result of devaluation is to create new export incentives as also for more vigorous import substitution. The prospects in these respects do not seem

to be very clear enough as yet and, in any case, the scope for a great deal of improvement in our traditional exports which account for more than a third of our total foreign exchange earning, appears to be extremely limited. But with liberalization of essential imports it should now be possible for most of our large industries, both in the public and the private sectors, to cut down substantially their present heavy inventories bill, not a little of which have to be written off from time to time on account of obsolescence and deterioration, and which would release corresponding measures of foreign exchange for more useful and immediate employment. In any case, there does seem to be a case for a thorough examination of the inventories position of our industries, especially of those in the public sector, for the apprehension has been voiced from time to time, that a great deal of immediately employable part of our very slender foreign exchange resources are indefinitely locked up in the accumulation of useless inventories in these industries, which may never at all be used.

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INCIDENCE OF PRICE PRESSURES

According to a recent set of findings by the National Consumer Service, New Delhi, released to the press for public information, the rise in wholesale prices during the year between October 1963 and June 1964, has been of the following phenomenal order :

Food Grains	20	p.	c.	to	73	p.	c.
Black Gram	73	"	"				
Pulses	12	"	"	"	45	p.	c.
Edible Oils	45	"	"	"	101	"	"
Milk & Milk Products	18	"	"	"	53	"	"
Meat, Fish & Poultry	9	"	"	"	32	"	"
Spices	7	"	"	"	10	"	"
Sugar & Gur	21	"	"	"	34	"	"
Toilet goods	16	"	"	"	37	"	"
Paper & Stationery .	3	"	"	"	60	"	"
Miscellaneous	2	"	"	"	68	"	"

Among vegetable oils, the price of groundnut oil increased by as much as 101 per cent ; among spices, that of Dhania by 117 per cent. ; among Paper & Stationery, the price of lead pencils increased by 60 per cent ; and among Miscellaneous items the price of Cycle tyres (superior quality) increased by 78 per cent and Cycle tubes (also superior quality) by 64 per cent.

Our Union Finance Minister when announcing the decision to devalue the par value of the rupee stated that over-all wholesale prices during the ten years between 1956 and 1965 had increased by 80 per cent. Such a statement, however, does not present a very clear picture to the common man ; the above is a study of the price movement in essential consumer commodities. Even this may not present a very realistic picture of the measure that prices have been affecting the lives and the living standards (if they can be called by such a name at all) of the common people. The real test would be the measure of rise of prices of these articles of day to day and essential consumption at the retail level. Of these, however, no reliable recent statistics appear to be in circulation. But if price movements within the small areas with which we are familiar are indicative of the approximate incidence of over-all retail price movements in the country as a whole, it would be found that they have been far steeper than a mere 80 per cent (as in the wholesale sector). One single instance should be indicative of the over-all general picture in this respect. The open market retail price of rice in our immediate neighbourhood had dropped to 80 paise a kg. in December 1964 ; in March 1965 it had risen to Re. 1.00 per kg ; by about the end of July 1965 it had risen further to around Rs. 1.50 paise per kg. and remained more or less stable at this level until early during the current year when, in two or three spurts, it had jumped

to around Rs. 2.25 paise per kg. Then came the violent food demonstrations in West Bengal and relaxation of controls and cordons etc. for a little while and the price again sagged to around Rs. 1.60 paise per kg. With retightening of the controls and cordons etc. by May this year, the price had again hardened to around Rs. 1.80 paise per kg; and with the announcement of the devaluation of the rupee during the month following the price jumped again to between Rs. 2.40 paise and Rs. 2.45 paise per kg. At the present moment it has slightly sagged to around Rs. 2.20 paise per kg. Any comment would appear to be wholly superfluous.

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THE SWATANTRA PARTY'S NOTE TO PRIME
MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI

The devaluation of the rupee, understandably enough, has caused the widest possible criticism of the measure. While there are those who see in this measure only India's abject surrender to Anglo-US pressure without being convinced that it was otherwise inescapable, there is also a large body of opinion which while conceding that devaluation of the rupee towards a more realistic conformation of its par value in terms of the currencies of other countries with which we have normal transactions was, perhaps, unavoidable in view of the level to which the internal purchasing power of the rupee had been reduced over the last fifteen years of planning, are extremely anxious that the Government may not foolishly continue to pursue the policies which, in essence they declare, had caused this rumpus in the external value of the rupee. Indicative of such anxiety is a note recently handed over by the leader of the Swatantra Party, Prof. N. G. Ranga, to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India. The note, as

reported, is stated to have made the following points :

1. That devaluation of the rupee is only one aspect of the consequences that have been flowing from the Government's mistaken economic policies of the last 15 years ;

2. Government must firmly declare that it will avoid all inflationary policies, and that its development programmes would be limited by the magnitude of actual resources available, both internally and externally ;

3. Civil non-development expenditure must be ruthlessly slashed and observance of strict fiscal discipline enforced by avoiding overdrafts on Government account (both States' and Central) and by altogether abrogating deficit financing ;

4. All recruitment to the civil services at the Centre and in the States should be held in abeyance indefinitely ;

5. Foreign loans should be restricted to only Government-to-Government transactions and only for the purpose of :

- (a) Building the infra-structure ;
- (b) For financing short-term maintenance imports ; and
- (c) For developing conditions favourable for indigenous and foreign capital to produce essentials for internal needs ;

6. The Fourth Plan should be redrawn to drop all capital projects in the State's sector including Bokaro, and except only those needed for building up the infra-structure ;

7. Direct and indirect tax should be slashed to raise the rate of national savings with a view to stimulate the process of availability of increasing resources for increased output and for reducing costs of production ;

8. All permits, licenses, controls—including import licensing, exchange control, gold control etc.,—should be abolished to prevent

manipulation by the administration in the interest of favoured sectors ;

9. To devise and enforce immediate short-term measures to obviate inevitable hardships and distress flowing from the decision to devalue the rupee ;

10. Negotiations should also be put in motion immediately with foreign creditors to persuade acceptance of reduced servicing charges on existing loans ;

11. Industrial projects stranded in mid-stream should be assisted with credit on easy and reasonable terms from public financial institutions ;

12. Adequate supply of imported raw materials and components should be provided to exporters of non-traditional goods to offset the loss they would be incurring on account of the suspension of the import-entitlement scheme ;

13. New export duties imposed as a measure of adjustment with devaluation should be immediately withdrawn to prevent export disincentive ; and

14. Import duties, surcharges, countervailing excise duties etc. on raw materials and intermediate goods should also be abolished.

The note would appear to be pretty exhaustive and, from most points of view, could also be accepted as a realistic assessment of the present position and immediate future prospects, although on certain points there would inevitably be a great deal of scope for differences of opinion. On one point, however, the note appears to merely skim the surface of a deep-rooted problem which, together with a variety of other complementary causes, could be held to have been responsible for, at least partly, causing the continuously spiralling inflationary pressures on the price structure over the last several years, especially during the years of the Second and the Third Plans. We particularly

refer to the taxation structure which carries, as we have repeatedly asserted on innumerable occasions during the last many years, a very heavy and increasing inflationary potential. It is understandable that the Swatantra Party aligned as it is popularly supposed to be with a group of very large and very important vested interests, would like to avoid a specific discussion of this rather tricky and sensitive question. In spite of certain new-fangled theories of public finance which, we must point out, have yet to be adequately tested and proved, heavy indirect imposts on consumer items have seldom found to restrict consumption. What immediate effect it is found to have is inevitable inflationary pressures on the price mechanism. The Indian taxation structure to-day has a 74 : 26 per cent ratio between indirect and direct taxation ; of the gross incidence of indirect taxation more than a good one-half consists of indirect imposts on essential and semi-essential consumer items. It is demonstrable that on account of marginal supply of goods, inevitable speculative pressures have been continually distorting prices, with the result that for every rupee that Government have been collecting, the speculative trader or intermediary has been collecting at least twice that much in additional profit margins, not infrequently even four times as much. And, as most essential consumer goods have been subject to some sort of control over supplies or prices, these additional profit margins have never attracted income tax and swelled the volume of unaccounted for money which, even Government have been compelled to frankly admit on several recent occasions, materially distorting the fiscal and monetary situation in the country. But revision of the tax structure to materially eliminate these distorting elements in taxation would inevitably mean countervailing direct taxation, which the Swatantra leaders would not like.

'INDIAN SOCIALISM' : THE VIEWS OF WESTERN THINKERS

Mrs. NANDINI UPRETI

Economic policy and pattern of a developing country has an intimate relationship with its political career, especially when the world is itself demarcated into ideological blocks having different economic and political values and systems, of their own. Being the largest and biggest among all the developing countries who are trying to solve their problems through a liberal economic policy within the democratic set up, success or failure of India has become a critical point for all those who believe in democracy and a liberal economic policy against the dictatorial fiat of communism already adopted by nations like China and some others. Barbara Ward in her book *India and the West* has written that "China by choosing the Communist route has recreated in Asia the dramatic Western division between freedom and dictatorship as the organising principle of the modern community. India alone has the political scale and historic influence to offer the counter-poise within a liberal framework".¹ That is why the Western thinkers are anxious to see the success of India's policy as its failure may put forth a threat to all the developing countries who are engaged in the methods of freedom to overcome their problems instead of adopting revolutionary communism. Vera Micheles Dean has stated in the *New Patterns of Democracy in India*—"If India fails then the communism of Russia and even more of China will be regarded by other developed countries as the only answer to their problems. If it succeeds then India's way may become a

guide line to other areas of Non-Western World."²

During dependence, the leaders of the Indian National Movement did not get any time to think about the economic pattern to be followed by Free India. After independence, only at the time of the first general election, Congress issued the election manifesto in which the party favoured the planned approach to the nation's economic development, to make it possible for the people to live a good life. After the general elections when the Indian economists and intellectuals got some practical experience in the economic field, they started thinking that instead of private enterprise the public sector could be the only source of national development required during the First Five Year Plan. As Percival Griffiths has pointed out, the first out-ward manifestation of the stronger trend towards socialism appeared in 1954 in connection with the proposal for the construction of the steel plant at Durgapur on the basis of Indo-British collaboration.³ In 1955 at the Avadi session of the Congress, it was proposed clearly for the first time, that the main aim of planning was to achieve a socialistic pattern of society for India and next year in 1956 at Amritsar, the Indian National Congress defined it more precisely, that the guiding principle of its policy was to be socialism. So the

1. Barbara Ward : *India and the West*, p. 11 (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1961.)

2. Vera Micheles Dean : *New Patterns of democracy in India*, Preface (Oxford University Press).

3. Percival Griffiths—'*Modern India*', p. 235 (Ernest Benn Ltd.)

Congress started with planning for a socialistic pattern of society. Certainly the Congress was not quite as definite about socialism during the early years of independence.

Traditionally socialism has been identified with Government ownership and operation of economic enterprise, expansion of the public sector and direct action to influence the rate of capital formulation. But as far as Indian socialism is concerned, Vera Michles has defined that "India's economic pattern which it describes as the socialistic pattern of society represents an attempt to create a mixed economy which combines private enterprise with Government planning, over-all directions and control as well as Government initiative in fields that private entrepreneurs might not find attractive and to subject both the plans and their implementation to the scrutiny of a parliamentary democracy."⁴

The first and foremost feature of India's economic policy is planned development. After independence India has pursued continuously three Five Year Plans and has entered the Fourth one and for the Western thinkers this planning indicates the control of Government over the economy. As John Kenneth Galbraith has stated "The Word socialism implies social control of the economy by the Government 'Five Year Plans carry on the same connotation'. But, for the underdeveloped countries with a broken economy and a multitude of problems, planning has become a necessity. "The issue today in underdeveloped countries is not whether they should plan, there is no debate about this in the western world. The issue there is whether planning is to be blue printed and

applied by totalitarian methods as in Russia and China or by democratic methods as India is trying to do so."⁶ India's pattern of planning has also become an example to be followed by the others against the Communist pattern. In India the Planning Commission was set up in 1950, when the country was facing various problems still unsolved, and the object of this Commission was to find out a planned way to solve these problems. Since then planning has acquired great importance in the Indian economic set up which is beyond the imagination of the Western people. As Griffiths has observed "It would be difficult for any English man, even if he were a thorough going socialist, to understand the place that comprehensive economic planning now occupies in the minds of Indian politicians and administrators."⁷ According to him the foundation of the dogma is the belief that with a planned economy, India can within a decade or so raise her productive capacity to that of Western countries and yet avoid the social evils which accompanied the Industrial Revolution of Europe. Thus, in India planning is taken to be the only way out for the allround development of the Nation to keep pace with its urgency. It has been adopted to uplift the standards of living and to increase production in Agriculture as well as in the industrial sphere. As it has already been pointed out, this planning is different in terms and actions with those which are familiar to the totalitarian methods of planning. Being a democratic country, India has taken the direction of evolutionary socialism which is sometimes quite confusing to the Western thinkers who are not able to distinguish it from their own type of system as the plans, however, do not

4. Vera Micheles Dean. *Ibid*, p. 104

5. John Galbraith—"Rival Economic Theories in India", *Foreign Affairs* 1958—July, p. 99.

6. Vera Micheles—*Ibid*, p. 262.

7. Percival Griffiths *Ibid*, p. 262.

envisage nationalization of all the country's resources and means of production. As John Galbraith has stated "Yet by almost any test the economy of India is less responsible to public guidance and direction than that of the United States. Indeed it is one of world's best controlled or planned economies".⁸

Further explaining his point of view he has stated "No one has suggested that India's socialism is a revolutionary socialism. On the contrary it identifies itself with the tradition of Non-violence."⁹

Yet the Western thinkers are cautious about the fact that Indian economic policy is socialistically oriented to whatever extent it could be justified. Charles E. Lind Blom writes in *Has India an economic future*— "American criticism of India often under estimates the rationality of Indian policy making. We commonly allege that the Indian policy is doctrinaire, specifically socialistically doctrinaire."¹⁰

Other signs of socialism in a national system can be traced out from steps taken for the expansion of the public sector. In the early years of adopting the ideal of socialistic pattern of society much stress was clearly laid by the Government on public enterprise but later on it was realised that the public sector failed miserably to achieve the expected goals and the Indian Government had to become more conscious about the utility of the private sector to encourage the production and to secure more foreign exchange. "In fact as the Government has gained economic experience, it has tended to reduce rather than to enlarge the public sector"¹¹

The establishment of the State Trading Corporation in 1955 can be taken as another step towards socialism. The monopoly over import of cement was granted to it first of all and later on the activities of this Corporation were gradually expanded and there is a probability of such other Corporations being established to expand state control. The Government not only controls and directs important industrial activities but also regulates the development of both the public and private sector, the other system of a socialist country. Important regulations have been passed about industries to increase the control of Government as for example, the fixation of the minimum wages of labourers in various industries and establishment of tribunals to refer to them industrial disputes. Even these Five Year Plans themselves are the indications of the control mindedness of the Government.

These steps are the evidences to justify the claim that the Indian Government has tried to pursue the policy in the direction of socialism or to achieve the socialistic pattern of society in its own sense. But this popular use of socialism by the Government and the ruling party has caused a great anxiety among the thinkers who belong to a different ideological group, so called Capitalism. Consequently they are not much enthusiastic about taking India as a socialist country. On the contrary as their work has shown, they have minutely observed the steps taken by the Government in formulating the major economic policies and then have generally decided that whatever it may be, Indian socialism cannot be construed to be following the traditional way. Giving a detailed description of Indian socialism, Vera Micheles has written "Indian economic system has often been described both by its admirers and its detractors as socialism. The applicability of this description to present day India depends on how 'Socialism' is

8. Kenneth Galbraith, *Ibid*, p. 589.

* 9. *Ibid*, p. 593.

10. Charles E. Lind Blom 'Has India an economic future', *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1966, p. 251.

11. Vera Micheles Dean, p. 106, *Ibid*.

defined. If socialism is defined as complete Government ownership and operation of economic enterprise then India is no more socialist than Britain or Japan which Americans regard as "Capitalist" and Indian observers could point to the United States as a country which has many features of what they regard as "Socialism". Making the statement clearer the writer has further pointed out that "As of 1958 in 'Socialist' India it was estimated that 90% of the country's enterprises, including agriculture which is entirely in the hands of individual owners, were in private hands and furnished 92% of the country's total income with only 8% of total income coming from Government owned enterprises".¹²

Other Western observers also think that India is not so much a socialist country as it tries to pretend and they try to justify the view point. Views of past U. S. Ambassador Mr. Galbraith has already been mentioned. William W. Lockwood is also of the opinion that "The Indian Congress Party for reasons both within and beyond its control preaches more socialism than it practices."¹³

In India, Socialism as an ideal is popular not only in the ruling party but even all the opposition parties except a few have attached the same importance to this ideal and they use, it frequently in aims and objects of their respective parties. But even about this general belief others are not convinced.

In his article "New India" Chester Bowles has observed : "In theory at least most Indian leaders would prefer an economic system based on democratic socialism but in practice there are few who believe that socialism could actually work in India except under the thumb of a dictatorial Government which would be no more welcome in India than in the United States."¹⁴

Like Mr. Bowles other thinkers are also somewhat convinced that between the choice of socialism versus democracy, India will like to protect her democratic institutions which seem to be true ; so far Indian socialism has remained a secondary means for making progress.

The typical pattern of economy in India which is neither socialist in the real sense nor capitalist, has proposed a precedent before the developing countries. Western critics themselves see the close relationship between the economic pattern and the political career of India as a democratic nation, and they realise that the success of this largest country in the Asian continent can only put forth the ideal of democracy before other developing countries because its failure will be the failure of Western ideals which will diminish its importance in the emerging Afro-Asian countries in comparison with communism. If India achieves success in reinforcing its democratic institutions with a liberal economic policy, then it will emerge as a guide for all other under-developed countries of Asia and Africa, who will otherwise lose their faith in democracy ; they remember the blunt prophecy of Lenin that "For World Communism the road to Paris lies through Peking and Calcutta". Peking has already turned communist and the last stake remains for India to check World Communism. Barbara Ward has declared in "*India and the West*" that "It is, therefore, not a metaphor, but a sober truth to say that India's experiment of economic growth within the framework of political freedom can be decisive for the whole future of mankind."¹⁵ In this way the Western thinkers have attached much importance to the Indian economic experiment, because its success is the only hope for the success of democracy in Asia and consequently in the developing countries of the World.

12. *Ibid*, p. 106.

13. The Socialist Society of India & Japan—*Foreign Affairs*, Oct., 1956—p. 130.

14. Chester Bowles : "New India", *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1952, p. 87.

15. Barbara Ward, *Ibid*, p. 12.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF PLANNING AND PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Prof. V. C. SINHA

Socialistic Pattern of Society

At the Bhubaneshwar session of the Congress held in January, 1964, the Congress pledged itself to 'Democratic Socialism' a structure of society based on democracy, dignity of the human personality and economic and social justice. The Philosophy of democratic socialism is based upon the fact that alongwith proposals for maximising production, a programme of action towards reducing economic and social disparities should be undertaken so that a national minimum to the people may be ensured.

India has unreservedly and rightly adopted socialism. The crucial question, therefore, is to see whether the talk of achieving a socialist pattern or democratic socialism is mere tall talk or whether some concrete steps have already been taken in the direction of achieving the goal. Are we serious about it or are we simply dogging socialism? From

this would be too harsh a verdict. In order to have a balanced view of the situation, it is therefore, appropriate to gauge the extent to which socialism has penetrated into the Indian economy.

Provision of minimum Family Income

The basic objective of socialism is the abolition of poverty to the masses. To banish poverty it is imperative that national income and per capita income should rise at a faster rate than the rate of increase of population. During 1950-51 and 1960-61 national income increased by 42 per cent and during the first three years of the Third Plan, national income rose by 10 per cent. Thus the average rate of growth of our economy is 4 per cent per annum. But since during 1951-61 increase in population was greater than anticipated, per capita income increased only by about 16 per cent i.e. about one-third of the increase in national income. The following table clearly reflects this fact.

TABLE — I

Item.	Unit.	1950-51	1955-56	60-61	Percentage increased over 50-51.
1. National income at 60-61. price.	Rs. Crores	12240	12130	14500	42
2. Population	Crores	36.1	39.7	43.8	21
3. Per capita income at 1960-61. price.	Rs.	284	306	330	16

the "little done and vast undone" one might exclaim in impatience that "Democratic-socialism" is only a catch-word intended to confound the unwary Indian citizen. However,

When we take into account the fact that a larger slice of increase in National Income has gone to already richer sections of our population, it becomes abundantly clear that

no substantial improvement has been made in the living standards of the masses. The data provided by the 13th round of the National Sample Survey can be used to substantiate the fact that the main problem of the Indian masses is still the prevalence of wide-spread poverty.

incomes at the lowest levels and it must simultaneously reduce incomes at the top." But it is doubtful whether during the last 15 years of planned economic development, any redistribution of income in favour of the less privileged classes has taken place.

TABLE — I I
Percentage Distribution of Population in Expenditure Groups

Expenditure Groups.	Rural	Urban	Total
	%	%	%
Rs. 1—50	19.5	12.7	19.0
„ 51—100	37.4	26.8	36.7
„ 101—150	11.1	22.2	18.4
„ 151—300	18.5	27.2	18.9
„ 301—and above	6.5	11.0	7.0
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Households spending Rs. 50/- or less per month have been defined to be below the poverty line. But it will be more realistic to think that a household spending Rs. 100/- or less per month is living below poverty line. It is clear that about 56 per cent of the population in India is living in conditions of extreme poverty and misery. These figures point out that even after three Five Year Plans, the main problem of the Indian masses is the prevalence of widespread poverty. The Government has miserably failed in achieving the goal of a national minimum standard of living.

Reduction of Inequalities of Income

A Socialist Economy aims at the reduction of inequities of income and wealth. The Second Five Year Plan discussing the problem observes "The process of reduction of inequalities is a two-fold one. It must raise

During the first decade of planning (1950-51 to 1960-61) per capita income of the industrial sector has increased by 68%, whereas that of the agricultural sector rose by only 14%. It means that per capita income of those in the industrial sector was nearly five times higher than that of those in the agricultural sectors. As compared to this, the cost of living index rose by about 23%. It indicates that when the bulk of the population derives its livelihood from agriculture there is hardly any evidence of a rise in the living standard of the agricultural population. As against this, there are concrete evidences which show that the volume of wealth in the hands of the properties classes has been increased.

The following table gives the state of personal income distribution in India.

TABLE — I I I
State of Personal Income Distribution.

Fractile Group.	Estimate of Reserve Bank of India. 1953-54 to 56-57		Estimate of Iyenger & Mukharjee 52-53-56-57		Estimate of N.C.A.S.R. 1960.	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Top 5%	17.0	26.0	14.0	17.5	—	31.0
Top 10%	25.0	37.0	24.0	25.0	33.6	42.4
Top 50%	69.0	75.0	—	—	79.3	83.0
Bottom 20%	9.0	7.0	7.5	8.5	4.0	4.0

From the Reserve Bank of India figures we find that in rural areas, the bottom 20% of the population has only 9% of the aggregate income, while the top 5% has 17% of the income. The top half has 69% of the income while the bottom has only 31%. In urban areas the position is almost the same except that the few rich are richer and the many poor are poorer, as compared to the rural people. The studies by Iyengar and Mukherjee and by N.C.A.S.R. bring out broadly the same facts.

More revealing than the above figures are the data prepared by the N.C.A.S.R. about the share of households in the aggregate income. N.C.A.S.R.'s own studies, both in rural and urban areas, reveal that a high degree of inequality prevails. The lowest 15% of the households has a share of 3.5% of the total income. The lower 97% of the households had a share of 82% of the total income, leaving the remaining 3% to appropriate a share of 18%. In fact, the top one per cent of the households has as much as 10% of the total income.

Our conclusion clearly emerges from the study of the above data that after fifteen years of planning the gulf between the poor and the rich has widened rather than narrowed. The only way to end this state is to have a socially justifiable income structure, which applies to all incomes and we will have to adopt it when socialism becomes a matter of serious and special concern.

Reduction of Concentration of Economic Power

The concentration of economic power in the hands of a few individuals is the very negation of democratic socialism. But the fact of the matter is that there is growing concentration of economic power in organised industry.

The Reserve Bank of India conducted an enquiry into 70 companies with a paid up

capital of Rs. 417 crores. According to this enquiry 0.5% of the total number of shareholders accounted for 56.5% of the total value of the shares covered by the enquiry. The eleven top foreign managing agencies were managing in 1955, 234 companies and in 1960, 188 companies as managing agents and corporate managers i.e. secretaries and treasurers. Though the number of the companies managed by them has declined, it is fair to presume that they are as important as they were in 1955. Similarly in the distribution of land holdings both ownership and operational holdings are highly concentrated. About 3% households own nearly half of the agricultural land, while 75% of the households just own 10% of land.

The extent of the concentration of economic power in private hands has been studied by the Monopolies Enquiry Commission. The factual data assembled by the Commission in regard to two main kinds of concentration "Product-wise" and "Country-wise" are useful in themselves, whatever be the value of its interpretation of these facts.

The "product-wise" catalogue is based upon data provided by the Development Wing. The Commission has worked out the concentration ratios for different products. These ratios, in turn, are meant to bring out the "degree of concentration" defined as "The extent of the share of top three enterprises in the production of a product." The degree of concentration is "high" where the share is 60 per cent or more, but less than 75 per cent, "low" where it is 50 per cent or more but less than 60 per cent and "nil" where it is below 50 per cent. Of the 100 products specially selected in view of their importance to the ordinary consumer, two-thirds have high concentration, 10 medium, 8 low and 17 nil. Such industries are infant milkfood, corn and wheat flakes, biscuits,

chocolate, refrigerators, tooth paste and talcum powder.

As for the other kind of concentration, "Country-wise", the Commission has drawn up a list of 75 industrial groups (excluding Banks) in the private corporate sector, each such group having assets of not less than rupees five crores as on 31st March, 1964. As of end of March, 1964, these 73 groups had, 1936 companies, which accounted for 44 per cent of the share capital and assets respectively of all non-Government and non-Banking companies.

Failure of Agrarian Policy

The agrarian policies of the Government seek to realize the following objects : (1) All cultivators should be owners ; (2) Except in special cases there should be no letting or sub-letting ; (3) All transfer of land should be subject to public regulation and control ; (4) Cultivation should conform to the standard of good husbandry and sound schemes of crop planning. In the fifteen years of formulation and implementation of plans these objectives have been affirmed and reaffirmed in an authoritative manner, but have not been realized. During the plan period, steps were taken in all states to abolish the zamindari system of tenancy, which inhibited growth of agriculture. Reform of tenancy legislation protecting the rights of tenants was another step towards securing social justice to millions of cultivators. Though the stupendous and even hazardous task of abolishing the intermediaries has been completed in a majority of States, the fact remains that the land reforms part of the agricultural reorganization scheme is still one of the weakest links in the whole structure. Land reforms have been a little too slow and little too insufficient, and the State Governments were not eager to implement them with a speed sufficient for a quick transition to progressive agriculture and socialism.

That "Land to the Tiller" as a principle of our land policy has been operating in reverse gear is also a known fact. In the Second Five Year Plan it was clearly stated that suitable action should be taken to redress the wrong that had been done by mass evictions and "Voluntary" surrenders. Though in a few cases stringent action has been taken to give effect to the directive, the fact remains that these wrongs have not been alleviated and the provisions of land laws have been successfully and finally defeated.

Failure of the Co-Operative Sector

In the words of the Third Five Year Plan, "The socialist pattern of society implies the creation of a large number of decentralized units in agriculture, industry and service..... The influence of co-operation extends far beyond the particular activities based on co-operative basis and gives to the social structure and the external economy balance, direction and a sense of values." This view has been implicit in the enunciation of the objects of co-operation since 1951. But there is very sad experience in respect of co-operatives in the country. In spite of considerable advance in quantitative terms in the last decade, co-operation has contributed very little to the development and transformation of the economy. In rural areas co-operative farming has become a means to side-track land reforms. In urban areas, people are using the co-operatives as an instrument of self-aggrandisement and for amassing wealth. It is now an admitted fact that co-operation has been and is a factor very much to the advantage of the upper sections of the rural community and has increased the gap between them and the lowest strata. Mr. S. K. Dey, Union Minister for Community Development and Co-operation, said in his speech at the Annual Conference of the Registrars of Co-operatives Societies, and the State Ministers

of Co-operation in February, 1963 : "Even today co-operative credit is largely confined to the richer sections who need it less than the weaker sections of the community." Thus, the co-operatives which were to supplement the profit motive have become a means of self-enrichment of the select few. "All that has been done amounts only to a scratching of the surface." (Sir M. Visveswaraya.)

Fiscal Measures to Unearth Unaccounted Income

"Inflation, control and the vast expansion of the public sector which are the concomitants of planning have bred corruption, tax evasion and illicit speculative gains." Thus, the fruits of economic progress instead of being shared by the masses flow into the pockets of the contractors, suppliers, big businessmen, high-ups in bureaucracy, professionals pursuing intellectual occupations, the ministers and legislators and the army of juniors engaged in public relations departments. Once they start the game of cooking the books and evading the tax it becomes difficult to cry a halt. It has been estimated that the figure of unaccounted money ranges between Rs. 3,000 and 5,000 crores. The people with hush money hardly weigh its economics and are tempted to indulge in lavish expenditure on land, buildings, scooters, cars, washing machines, transistors, refrigerators etc. Consequently the prices of these commodities shot up to fantastic levels. The mode of living of the beneficiaries of black money, gets out of tune with the accepted standards of decency and decorum, paves the way for all round

moral deterioration, which not only affect the present generation but also posterity on whose integrity depends the future of the Bharat of our dreams. Fiscal measures to unearth black-money have failed, they are only flops in the annals of the Finance Ministry. Thus, during the last 15 years of planning, the evil of tax evasion has assumed massive proportions and nothing tangible seems to have been done to contain the present fund of unaccounted gains and to check its cancerous growth.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that a socialist approach in India is still lacking in clarity, coherence and depth and has yet to be defined fully and developed in terms of our conditions and needs. There is utter confusion in the country, more because profession and practices do not at all conform, one with the other. As a goal, the idea of democratic socialism is something noble and inspiring, but when brought on the plane of action either gets disfigured or is ruthlessly mutilated. The schemes like Community Projects, Panchyati Raj, Harijan Welfare, Cultural affairs and even some of the industrial and defence projects, have turned out to be a pack of waste due to the "Moral Crisis" that exists in India. But as there is no other way of conquering the age-old hunger, poverty and social iniquity in this country, the attainment of socialism has to be made an act of faith, and men of socialist convictions have to muster all their strength to defeat the forces arrayed against socialism and think as clearly as possible what socialism should mean in theory and practice.

RIPE FOR AUTOMATION ?

TARUN CHATTERJEE

Most of the articles which are written on automation deal with the technical aspects of the subject namely how the link up takes place in machining operations by the use of transfer line, how safety devices are embodied in the machine, how by the use of electronics and sensitive micro-switches, the operation at one part can be synchronised with the movement of other parts etc. etc.; in short, how the whole mechanical operation can be done *without human labour*. But there is something more to consider about the subject, which is the fundamental effects arising from it to confront the labouring population. This something is the topic of this article.

The year of grace was 1955. It was in this year that a flood of remarkable information on peaceful uses of atomic and electronic power poured on the table of the Geneva Conference. With her two world's firsts, the Moscow Automated Piston Plant operating since 1950 and the Atomic Power Station born in 1954, the USSR had much to contribute to the first Geneva Conference on peaceful uses of atomic and sub-atomic energies. Before that those information were kept secret. Since 1955 automation has made much headway in technologically advanced countries and is now knocking at our doors, which is evoking a storm of protest among workers and white collared employees. They regard automation as an incarnate evil. Why should they oppose this oncoming technological process which can add wings to industry? The point here is, should a country try to fly high in the sky before it has learned to walk with sure and measured steps? One may ask that what is wrong with a skip over to higher levels? Nothing wrong of course if

you have a healthy base and a rational goal. Does India have them? In fact does any country outside the Socialist bloc have them? Are they free from the scourges of unemployment, super-profit motive, booms and slumps, particularly the latter? What will automation of office work and production processes lead to?

Automation has been defined as "mechanisation plus automatic control." John Diebold the leading U S automation expert is of the opinion that in most industries upto now, "the production processes were divided up to allow for the most efficient use of individual human skills. Machines were introduced into the process structure precisely as that structure had been designed around human skills." But automation, "differs from mechanisation... Automation requires us to view the production process as an integrated system and not a series of individual steps divided according to the most economic distribution of human skills." The British scientist S. Lilley defines automation as "the introduction of highly automatic machinery which largely eliminate human labour *and detailed human control*."

The last emphasised phrase distinguishes automation from mechanisation. In the latter, the machine takes over the work but the human operator is still required to exercise detailed control. Automation abolishes the need for that sort of control. The machine controls its own actions and the human worker is only required to keep a constant watch over its work and maintain it in good running order. It means that in an automated factory you require simply *watchers and maintenance* staff. All other workers particularly unskilled ones become superfluous. Let us take a few examples.

The Ford Motor Car Plant at Cleveland was automated in 1956. Its engine block manufacturing department which before automation took 9 hours to complete one 6-cylinder engine block, takes after automation only 15 minutes to do the same job. 154 engine blocks run through the production line in an hour requiring only 41 watchers and maintenance workers instead of 117 hands required before. These are all skilled technical hands known as 'journeymen.' Most of the unskilled staff have been eliminated by lay offs.

The Pontiac company after automation turns out 3500 pistons per 24-hour day with 9 men per shift, cutting the total staff to one quarter, manual workers to one-sixteenth and production costs to half.

Automation of the Long-bridge Works of Austin Motor Company of Great Britain has cut the labour wage bill by 80% with 20% increase in production.

Outside the sphere of engineering there are examples of completely automatic concrete mixing stations in the USA, which employ no manual labour, of the British Biscuit Manufacturing Co. which has increased output 10-folds with one-third less labour. Full automation of the U S automobile industry, says Walter Reuthers, would reduce employment to 200,000 from the present level of one million. It means that after automation only one-fifth of the number of workers will be required. That is to say that the purchasing power of U S automobile workers, given the same total output, will fall to one-fifth.

What about automation of office work in government establishments, banks, insurance firms etc? The U S Journal, *Business Week* thinks that, "It is almost certain that the biggest reduction in jobs in the next few years will occur in offices rather than in factories." This seems to be so in our country too, because the ball has already started rolling towards government offices, corporations, banks and big merchant firms. The jobs that will be automated are mainly clerical of which a great deal is of a routine nature. The routine may be very long and complicated but it is child's play to those electronic computers which evolved during the war to solve military mathematical problems. To mention a few examples—J. Lyon & Co, the London caterers have a

computer which works out the weekly pay packets of 10 thousand employees, daily analyses bakery and confectionery orders, controls the firm's stock of tea and does many other jobs. This machine has replaced 300 clerks. Similarly, the 'electronic brain' installed in the London office of the Imperial Tobacco has pushed out more than 200 clerks.

In the U S A where automation is spreading much faster than other countries, a multitude of clerical jobs are done by computers in banks, insurance offices and large concerns (these machines being still too costly for small firms). An insurance company claims to have reduced the number of clerks in one department from 470 to 270. It is expected that 'office-sized' computers linked to punched card machines will in the very near future completely automate office work in the USA.

From the facts stated it becomes clear that automation of mass scale production saves money for the big employers (mostly monopolies and State enterprises) by cutting the monthly wage bill and adds more and more profit and super profit by increasing production. But on the other hand it throws huge numbers of workers into unemployment and starvation. Unless the standard of living of the working people rises proportionately to the increase in productivity, then at some stage the whole system is bound to plunge into mass lay offs and poverty of millions. If automation displaces labour on a mass scale without a corresponding reduction of working week to absorb the surplus labour we shall inevitably see a situation similar to that of the Industrial Age in Europe, particularly so because India's industrial age has just begun. In fact automation can hardly be called a new discovery. It is a new term but not a new invention. It is only perfection of mechanisation which started in the 19th century. At that time machines threw the handicraft workers out of jobs. The infuriated workers in a desperate mood began smashing the machines as if machines themselves were at the root of their misery. This machine smashing movement was known as the Luddite Movement against which the ruling class let loose the utmost punitive measures as it always does against mass discontent. It is of course easy to talk of that movement (or today's opposition against automation) as a foolish attempt to put the economic clock back. But let us not forget that the Luddites were yet to

be conscious of historical economic laws of capitalism and that trade unionism was banned by the Combination Act. So the workers saw the only remedy in violence. Today the workers have powerful class conscious trade unions to fight not against automation which in itself, like any other mastery over nature, is neither good nor bad. They understand that good or evil in this case too depends on human or social decisions i.e. on the nature of the society which introduces it. But can our social set up turn the tremendous power that automation offers into something good for the working people?

Can it be called progress if employees are rendered jobless? It is certainly progress if there is diminution of arduous and monotonous manual toil through labour saving devices which means diminution of over all costs of production or office work (all costs are ultimately labour costs) if the process does result not in unemployment but in a logical rise in living standards, abundance of commodities and purchasing power, increased wages, lower prices, shorter working hours instead of retrenchment, longer annual leaves with pay, longer full time education and polytechnical training, earlier retirement with benefits etc. These are the real logic and mark of progress. But can we expect these logical steps in a society where the only logic that prevails is of the tax-heavy bureaucracy and shareholders? Moreover is our educational system adequate to meet the tasks of retraining the unskilled workers into skilled operators and technicians in order to absorb all of them in gainful employment? I do not think that the present set up can prove itself equal to the manifold tasks which will be born out of automation. Even in such highly industrialised countries like the U. S. A. and Britain (automation presupposes a certain level of general technical development in machine

building, electronics and instrument industries and large scale production, none of which we yet possess) automation has resulted more in mass lay offs more speed-up in factories and heavier burdens on the watchers and maintenance staff. As the *New York Times* reported once, "Mental tension is supplanting muscular fatigue....Jobs are physically easier but the worker takes home worries instead of an aching back." Eight hours of continuous watch over a multitude of instruments is more nerve racking than the hardest day's physical toil. That is why the trade unions in those countries demand from employers of automated establishments, no retrenchment, less working hours, "30 hours work with 40 hours pay" (U. S. Automobile Workers Union), extensive arrangements for polytechnical retraining of unskilled workers etc. And the Amalgamated Engineering Union of Britain demands "No automation without consultation" with the workers union concerned. But then it would indeed be a complete change of attitude on the part of employers of the old society if they accept the principle of consultation with workers (even in nationalised sectors) because they claim that "managerial function" is their sole prerogative.

At a time when there are so many basic problems (food, housing, prices, unemployment etc.) begging for solution in our country, why this speed-up with automation and television? Are we manufacturing computers and television sets? Or may be some monopoly house intend to do so? Or can it be that we intend to open our markets to foreign monopoly manufacturers thus not only tending to aggravate the already acute unemployment but depleting further our foreign exchange for things which are totally unnecessary at the present moment?

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NOTES

India's "Plenipotentiaries"

Foreigners take a keen intellectual interest in India. It does not always remain a purely intellectual matter, and some foreigners try to make use of their assessment of India and the Indians for other purposes too. But whatever may happen afterwards foreigners try to understand this land and its people by visits, exchange of visitors and by coming into closer contact with representative Indians. When foreigners come to India, they usually do not declare their intentions in full, nor are their declared intentions ever a complete statement of their inner and ultimate purpose vis a vis India. Our foreign relations therefore have a kind of close connection with the visit of foreigners to India and the journeys of Indians to foreign countries. Because whenever people from other countries come to India or Indians go to other lands, contacts are created between India and the world which slowly and steadily mould our attitude

towards others and their attitude towards us. Foreigners are taciturn, reserved and not addicted to making commitments. Indians on the other hand are effusive, wholehearted and fond of expressing opinions and offering total fellowship and the fullest collaboration. As a matter of fact, whenever important persons from India go to foreign countries on sight seeing missions, they create an impression that they are the plenipotentiaries of India politically, culturally and in every other way. Such visits therefore are a source of danger to India, in so far as, what the important men pronounce or announce abroad have no statutory background, but are accepted as official declarations by the people of other countries. Our men of position are received by foreign people with the pomp of official receptions. That does not harm us. But if our people talk in an irresponsible manner and in excess of their authority and strictly factual powers; then India could be drawn into complica-

tions which should not arise at all. Our great men therefore should try to acquire the virtue of reticence.

Laws and Rules

Generally speaking the laws of the land are based on a solid foundation of human considerations. That is, the history of mankind has seen the evolution of morality, equity and justice over long millenia and all laws are framed in accordance with the principles that have been established and accepted by men during the ten thousand years that they have lived in organised communities. Laws are therefore built on a sound basis of tradition and free choice. Rules and regulations, on the other hand, are expedients of a temporary nature which have no humanly acceptable ethical background. Officials who cannot enforce the law habitually demand those extra-legal powers that are granted to them by rules and regulations. But we never feel certain that failure to enforce the law can be cured by granting extra legal powers; for those who cannot enforce the law are likely to fail to enforce the rules and regulations too. In short, those who habitually fail to do things will continue to fail, no matter what powers they have. In the circumstances the people who always fail to achieve objectives should be removed from power and replaced by more capable men. It is a clear sign of incapacity to demand more and more of power as one experiences less and less of success in the ordinary work of administration. Just as too many ideas spoil a fair decision, so do too many extra legal rules and regulations destroy the psychological roots of justice and good government. The strength and efficiency of a government depend on fair and just dealings with the people. Unfair or an over-complicated system of taxation, bureaucratic interference and harassment in all fields of life, creation of secret as well as visible privileges for particular classes of people, nepotism,

favouritism and the persecution of those who are persona non grata with the ruling party or with officials, all are symptoms of incapacity to govern. The social order can only exist on justice, fair play and a clearly ethical valuation of all things that determine the relations between the officials and the people. Those who legislate and act as ministers or political party leaders are also looked upon as officials by the people. All those people are considered to be the rulers of the land and in their goodness will rest the faith of the public in the dependability and trustworthiness of the Government. Declaration of political ideals can be compared to preaching of religious tenets. By themselves such declarations and preachings cannot convince the masses of the goodness of a Government or of a religious order. It is the personnel managing the state or the church that will determine how people will look upon these institutions. Great political and religious institutions have been destroyed by the folly and criminality of incompetent and evil men. Such men should not be allowed to guide the destiny of nations.

The Best Way

The best way to dig a well is to find a suitable spot for its location and then to make a round hole in the ground of a certain diameter and to go deeper and deeper until one finds water oozing through in quantities. There may be other and better ways of digging wells in Russia, China or the United States of America, but our own way of well digging has been tried out over thousands of years and there are millions of indigenously planned and dug wells in the country; and, we should be satisfied with that. There should be no necessity for knowledge hungry idealists to roam the earth (at state cost) in search of inspiration for boring a hole. We are however a nation of seekers after truth and searchers for the supreme. That is why in spite of

having a couple of dozen deep and profound thinkers in our own history, we go hunting for deeper thoughts to other countries. There are and have been numerous types of social organisation in India during the last five thousand years. These could be proved to be more democratic, socialistic, communistic, monarchic, oligarchic, anarchic and what not compared to other similar socio-politico-economic organisations found in different places at different times. But we have a habit of making an endeavour to find something better than ours. This is a ridiculous social mannerism when we know that it is neither necessary nor within our means to travel abroad to discover how Lenin slept or Tolstoy ate. We cannot also gain much by studying L. B. J.'s gardening tools or Kossygin's footwear. We admit that there are things in other countries which we never had and should learn about. But to learn about these technical or scientific things of great complexity, we have to send competent persons on study tours. Men and women who have never displayed any great scientific acumen or technical ability are entirely unsuitable for such work. There should therefore be a total ban on foreign travel undertaken in the name of the nation, or nearly so, unless the declared object of such travel was approved of by a committee of experts who would not be swayed or persuaded by unreal values.

Criticism of Devaluation Again

That our money has admittedly lost value in the international money market is a source of displeasure to the nation. All Indians feel small over it and try to vent their feelings on those who have arranged the official devaluation. But the same people have during the last 18 years tolerated, even praised and admired those actions of the Indian leaders which led to the loss of purchasing power of the rupee. When Pandit Nehru

allowed the large fund of foreign money and securities earned by India during the Second World War, to be depleted by reckless purchases of foreign goods, most articulate Indians went into ecstasies over the wisdom and efficiency of the Congress Government of those days. When after that, year after year India's foreign debts went on piling up, taxes began to rise in a steep and everlasting climb and prices shot upwards like rockets, the people of India continued to support these ruinous practices, tacitly as well as in action and word and there were no real and active efforts at putting a stop to borrowings, squandering of national revenues and to the great gamble of economic planning beyond our means. We cannot say that even the opposition politicians did their duty of opposing the government in a sane, practical and wise manner. They were perhaps mesmerised by Nehru's glorification of socialism. Just as sinophiles might cut off their noses to look more like the Chinese, so would a number of radicals agree to the liquidation of the national economy in the name of progressive socialisation of the means of production. If anything has destroyed the value and the stability of the rupee in India as well as in the foreign market, it is words; insincere words; sanctimonious words and words to cover a multitude of sins. The rupee has just gone down and down while our national talkers talked and talked.

This pathological habit of talking with apparent profundity and acting unwisely has been in operation in this country in an epidemic manner since 1947. The party in power, parties in opposition, the press and many responsible members of the public have been guilty of not doing their duty to the nation. We have now got devaluation as a statutory fact; but it has been coming all these years and we all knew that the rupee was slowly losing its purchasing power. And we

did nothing to prevent it. Even now the exchange value of the rupee is in excess of its true purchasing power. All prices should come down considerably to make twenty-one rupees really worth twenty shillings. National productivity must be increased. And to achieve that the nation has to work hard and to produce value. Borrowings and tax collection on their own cannot increase the nations' productivity.

The Psychology of Leadership

All leaders of human communities do not have the same mental capacity, comprehensive outlook or intellectual sanity. Some are ignorant, inexperienced and have pathological twists in their perception of the outer world ; others may be well informed and balanced in their mental receptions and emotional projections. Leaders can be maniacs like Adolf Hitler or morally unassailable like Mahatma Gandhi. But there are psychological peculiarities that distinguish leaders from ordinary men. They do not look at things nor understand them as ordinary persons do. Their mental condition can be compared to the outlook of artists. Those who display criminal tendencies are comparable to lunatics suffering from paranoia or persecution mania which makes them subject to an insane desire for aggression or unnecessary eagerness for self-defence. Grandeur mania is quite common among leaders. Both those who are born leaders and those who inherit leadership or have it thrust upon them may feel an unreal grandeur in all that they do, think of or talk about. Quite often the greatness or perfection of their actions assume peculiar and unnatural shapes ; but one can only find fault with these misshapen ideas at one's risk. Just as an artist may draw the picture of a ship that looks like the mangled body of an octopus floating in the air, so can a leader conjure up visions of a perfect state in which nobody owns anything for the simple reason that things

to own do not exist.

Fortunately for us, we have no natural leaders in India at the present moment. All those who are locum of departed men are largely ineffective for good as well as for evil. But efforts are being made to instil greatness into ordinary persons by artificial means. That may cause great harm to the nation, in so far as grafted or synthetic mental qualities never function in the manner of naturally possessed capacity. There is something in natural endowments which cannot be equalled by what have been acquired by training and artificial discipline. So, if a man-made leader is given every facility to acquire the mental qualities of a superior person he will be an inferior copy of something great. Any intensive test in a many pronged crisis will show up his real character. It is therefore not wise to manufacture leaders and to expect them to achieve difficult objectives. The chances of success of such efforts would be usually remote.

Consciousness of Sovereign Rights

When the Congress negotiated with the British for Indian independence, there was a clear consciousness of India's territorial limits in the mind of the Indians as well as of the British. It was decided that the whole of India would become independent ; but not as a single state. Certain parts of India would form a second independent state called Pakistan. The rest of the sub-continent would be India. There were certain princely States which could accede to either India or Pakistan with certain reservations regarding the religion of the population, location of the states etc. Kashmir was a Hindu state with a predominantly Muslim population. Had the Maharaja of Kashmir acceded to India in the normal course of things Pakistan might have objected to it on the ground of the reservations referred to. But the Maharaja had no free choice in the matter.

Even before there were any attempts by any party to link up Kashmir with either India or Pakistan, the Pakistan army invaded Kashmir in fancy dress, pretending to be fanatical tribesmen or *Kawalis*. There were no reasons why tribesmen should attack the Muslim inhabitants of Kashmir and everybody soon found out that the tribesmen were Pakistani soldiers dressed up for the part. Pakistan, after solemnly denying any participation in this invasion, eventually admitted it. The Maharaja, when attacked by the overwhelming might of Pakistan, called in the Indian army to defend his kingdom. He also acceded to India. Indian soldiers had chased out the Pakistani invaders from the better part of Kashmir when Pandit Nehru gave way to British-American pressure and agreed to a cease fire. The area occupied by Pakistanis was called Azad Kashmir by them and many nations backed Pakistan in her political banditry. Pakistan never vacated her aggression and continued to make inroads into Kashmir in a shameless manner. The Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 was caused by Pakistan's attack on Kashmir and other Indian Territories and, when Pakistan was beaten, the British-Americans stepped in again to save Pakistan by a cease fire arrangement. This time Lal Bahadur Shastri agreed to it. He later submitted to Russian persuasion and signed the Tashkent declaration which gave the criminal conduct of Pakistan the appearance of a civil dispute.

The Indian Government does not appear to possess an intensive consciousness of her territorial rights. The Chinese and the Pakistanis just do what they like with India's sovereignty and all that the Indian Government do is to write protest notes which are duly rejected by the aggressors. We hear quite often how well prepared we are to defend our national territories against any attacks by any nation or nations. The

question is what good is that much vaunted military preparedness if 50000 square miles of our territory always remain under foreign occupation? How far must foreign soldiers come so that our soldiers will be told by our government to chase them out? In the case of Kashmir, Pakistan has been trying to make out a case for a plebiscite by which, they hope, Kashmir may join Pakistan. First of all, when India was partitioned there was no provision for any plebiscite. Had there been any such provision, an all India plebiscite would have prevented the partition of India right in the beginning. The right of accession was exercised by the Maharaja in favour of India and the people of Kashmir, who have their freely elected legislatures, govern their state in a democratic manner, which is something that the Pakistanis cannot claim for the reason that Ayub-Shahi is a dictatorship of the most tyrannical variety.

Congress Government of India

The Congress Government of India is managed by the political party known as the Indian National Congress which has a membership of a few million people who are pledged to uphold certain political principles like non-violence, prohibition and wearing of home spun cloth. These principles are neither adhered to by the Congress members, nor have they any bearing on India's political life. The greatest problems that India faces are poverty, illiteracy; aggression by Pakistan and China, maladministration by corrupt and inefficient officials and their subordinates, an unfavourable balance of trade, a debased currency etc., etc. The Congress pledge has little or nothing to do with these problems. Yet the Congress goes on as a small coterie or clique of men and women who say they fought for India's independence. But most Congress members never fought anybody or anything at any time. All those millions who vote for the Congress have so far believed

in the Congress because of its connection with Mahatma Gandhi. But this faith has been shaken badly during recent years and the Congress will have to recruit better men if it wished to continue as the ruling political party of India. This exclusiveness has disappeared to some extent in the Centre in so far as some members of the Central Cabinet are now recruited from outside. This healthy practice should be followed in the states too, for without new blood the future of the Congress would appear dark. Talent is rare in India. No political party can show enough talent to man several governments in India. The general public will have to be brought into politics if the Indian democracy is to grow strong and effective.

The Nation's Economy

India is a very large country. Even after a big slice has been cut out of it and organised as a separate state India still remains an extensive country. The population is also spectacularly numerous; being the second largest in the world. Nearly 500 million people living in 500000 or more inhabited places of different sizes make up India. Some of the large cities of India are comparable to the cities of Europe or America. India has hundreds of millions of acres of land under cultivation, thousands of factories, long railroads, a vast road transport system and all the other complex paraphernalia of modern civilisation; haphazardly set-up, managed and controlled but holding together nevertheless as a national organisation. The independent Government of India, since 1947, has been making academic approaches to a reorganisation of the economy of India; but not with any success commensurate with the funds borrowed, raised by high rate of taxation and spent with a gambler's zeal during these last fifteen years. The reason for this failure can be traced to the government's fondness for "scientific" socialism with its evergrowing

and constantly changing stockpile of statistics as opposed to the constituent factors of the nation's economy that are found factually in nature. The dynamics of a nation's economy give the "Pandits" little time to calculate; for while calculations are carried out, even at electronic speed, the factors concerned move faster and leave the equations behind in a discarded no man's land.

An economy which is run under statutory control requires a vast army of effective workers, supervisors, planners and overall directors of production and distribution. All these men must be reliable, honest, hard working, intelligent and disciplined. The governments, as found in India, are not capable of producing such men in large numbers. They have several hundred thousand men working for them now in various capacity. These men are, generally speaking, sub-standard and multiplication of similar types will soon reduce state enterprise to a shambles. There is only one thing about government employees that is sure and certain. That is that these people will demand their emoluments regularly. So that the more the number of state employees the more will be their bill for salaries, wages, provident fund, state insurance contribution and other amenities. The values, saleable or of other varieties will not be proportionate to the money paid out to them. The political party men and the top men of the bureaucracy are really not of the right sort who can deliver the goods. In the circumstances, nationally organised and managed institutions should not be increased without reference to available funds or personnel. Agricultural type of production is the mainstay of Indian economy. This cannot be managed by the states, but it can be stimulated by state aid. Other major industries can also be energised by the state in various ways which can be planned by

competent persons. The present methods and objectives of planning have been found to be ineffective and beyond our capacity. The nation should be well advised not to persist in their efforts at economic development along the same lines and with the same persons at the helm of affairs.

How to Judge Success

There are many proverbs which tell us about the ways of judging achievements. One such proverb says, "the proof of the pudding lies in the eating" so if, after baking, a cake is found to be tasteless or reduced to $\frac{1}{10}$ of its expected size, the people judging the cake would be right in dismissing the confectioners who had been entrusted with the work. If the state attempts to develop industries which have their parallels among privately managed establishments, the judges of success in the case of such state owned industries will be right in comparing relative achievements of both types, state and private, of such industrial undertakings. In the case of the state-owned steel factories of India we find over 500 crores of rupees invested to yield a profit of about $\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum. When more productive state-owned industries are bunched together with the steel plants we find the state earning less than 2% per annum on investments of over Rs. 1000 crores. The state pays more than double that rate of interest on its borrowings. That should be an eye opener.

Pakistan's Anti-Indian Propaganda

Latterly Pakistan had been carrying on an intensive propaganda that India was about to explode a nuclear device. This false propaganda is in keeping with Pakistan's usual practice of accusing India of all kinds of aggressive plans when, in fact, Pakistan herself is guilty of planning aggressive action against India. When during the British period the planners of Pakistan organised communal rioting, they always complained

bitterly about Hindus arming themselves to the teeth to slaughter the innocent Muslims. In the present instance the propaganda about India's nuclear device must be a cover for Pakistan's own plans of exploding a nuclear bomb obtained from or made with the assistance of the Chinese. This propaganda should be a warning to India and the Government should take timely action to be ready with a plutonium bomb as soon as Pakistan procures or makes one. It must not be forgotten that Pakistan observes no moral principles. If she could subdue India by any means whatsoever she would never hesitate to do so. In the circumstances India should take no chances with the leaders of Pakistan. Pakistan is definitely playing with the idea of a nuclear bomb. India should therefore be ready with her own atomic weapons.

Third World War

When the second World War ended in a somewhat gruesome manner, many things happened politically all over the world which began to have repercussions in an apparently never ending manner. Vast territories changed rulership time and again. World characters emerged and vanished with magical speed. Ideologies took shape, changed shape and assumed interpretations that nullified their true meaning. The Vietnam conflict is one out of many and the world powers are arrayed there in the paddy fields of Tonking, Annam, Cambodia and the rest of South-east Asia to decide which of the many wrongs are right by force of arms. With half a million American soldiers backed by a large air force hammering at the doors of North Vietnam and a tremendous defensive organization set up with Russo-Chinese assistance which takes the offensive whenever opportunity offers, the setting is as big as the dimensions of a proper war require. One feels that the Third World War is well on the

way and the minor powers, of which India is one, coaxing the bigger ones to be good, cannot be having much effect as should be apparent from the ever increasing tempo of the war. If the Third World War comes, all nations will become involved in it. India too, or her nearest neighbours Pakistan and China, will play important roles in it. How prepared is India to take even a defensive part in it? Not very well, we are afraid. And what are we doing about it?

No Confidence in Government

Those who criticise the Governmental organisations of India usually talk about our food supplies, our foreign exchange problems, our foreign policy and our other high level incapacities. There are other things which are equally important. One should therefore take the trouble to talk about our slow motion and irregular methods of communication, viz our railway traffic and telegraphic, postal and telephonic arrangements which are bad and are progressively getting worse. High thinking politicians also forget to question the government about bad policing, ineffective educational arrangements, inadequate medical facilities, lack of social security, mass unemployment and want of housing, drainage, water supply, sanitation and conservancy. In short if we have to lead a life of squalor, disease and all pervading want, then what good can Tashkent, Peace in Vietnam and Foreign loans do to the people of India? The members of the opposition in Parliament belong to the same type as those who ornament the Treasury Bench. They only know those principles, opinions,

ideologies and ideas which have no connection with the life of the people. It is high time the people got busy and got rid of these scholastic thinkers. We want men in our governments and legislatures who can give the people peace, progress and prosperity.

Cult of Swimming in China

Mao Tse Tung has swum 9 miles in one of China's great rivers in record time. The clock was probably running at half or one-third speed but the fact remains that he swum with great pomp and fanfare. Why did he do so? It seems that was the introduction of a new cult of swimming in China. Everybody has begun to swim in China. Every day every minute the Chinese are getting into water and swimming. The reason is not far to seek. Water is the greatest decontaminating agent where atomic fall out occurs. China is getting ready for atomic warfare. While her bombers are learning to deliver A bombs to China's enemies, the Chinese are being taught to wash out the radio active particles that may thicken the atmosphere of Chinese cities as a result of nuclear attacks.

Subramaniam

Sri Subramaniam is having a tough time. Once he incurred the displeasure of many leading Congressmen by standing against the forcible adoption of Hindi, but he managed to retain his political position in spite of his bad behaviour. The charges against him now are not clearly understood by ordinary people; but we are hoping to be enlightened as the discussions about these become elaborate and extensive.

ORGANIZATIONAL EFFICIENCY THROUGH HUMAN RELATIONS

A Conceptual Framework for Indian Industry

Prof. NARENDRA K. SETHI

The management of an industrial enterprise is essentially the administration of the organizational structure set up to achieve certain pre-determined objectives in business. Hence, it is the constituents of the organization which should play a decisive role in shaping managerial policies and controls. The organization, therefore, is the *critical area* of managerial action and should be considered from all possible angles and attitudes, in order for it to render effective service to the top management. It is in this perspective that Human Relations, as a corporate philosophy of administrative vitality and action, plays a significant role within the action-area of the organization. It is the purpose of this paper to lay down some major hypotheses for a working analysis of human relation in the modern administrative society, with special emphasis on the socio-economic and cultural conditions obtaining in the Indian industrial framework.

Let us, at the very outset, dispel some of the popularly held views on human relations :

1. *Human Relations is not a "technique" of management ;*
2. *Human Relations, notwithstanding the name, is not the totality of all relationships ;*
3. *Human Relations is not a cure for all the organizational diseases and shortcomings ;*
4. *Human Relations is not a manipulatory device to engineer the worker's favourable response towards managerial objectives ;*
5. *Human Relations is not a substitute for unions in a company ; and finally,*

6. *Human Relations cannot eliminate conflict completely from the organizational structure.*

The positive side of Human Relations, emphasizing its *inner spirit* and *outer effect*, is quite pointed. To illustrate, let us state what Human Relations is and can do :

1. *Human Relations is a corporate philosophy, permeating all the levels and structures of management ;*
2. *Human Relations is aimed at increasing morale within the working-patterns of the people ;*
3. *Human Relations is primarily geared towards motivation, in order to improve the aspirational levels of the people employed in the company ; and finally,*
4. *Human Relations has a pronounced effect on the productivity and the profitability of a business enterprise.*

Areas of Misunderstanding

The unfortunate story of Human Relations lies in its semantical confusion. Because of the two key-words, "human" and "relations", it is often assumed to be synonymous with such promotional tools as "public relations", and "human engineering". This is one of the reasons why the false advocates of human relations either think the sky of its rationale, while those who oppose its effectiveness criticize it for being degradatory for the people working in the corporate society. Thus it appears that the concept of Human Relations is both revered and censured for wrong reasons.

The following are the areas of misconception about which we need to revise our thinking in the light of newer industrial findings, social changes, and economic doctrines. These are :

1. *The Need to Work.*
2. *The Employee Goals.*
3. *The Value Structure of Society.*

The Need to Work

There are several wrong notions associated with the work-philosophy and work-motivation of the people. It is assumed with a disturbing sense of alarm that people do not like to work, and they have to be dragged continually in order to work. Furthermore, if they can get away with it, they will never like to work and thus lead a life of blissful lethargy.

This thinking received its greatest boost from the Taylorite tradition, and unfortunately in spite of the alleviating research done in this field by Mayo and his associates, this harmful thinking still continues to play a dominant rôle in shaping the industrial relations philosophy of numerous corporations everywhere.

The Employee Goals

This is another critical area where the newer findings and applications of the behavioral sciences have still not been fully able to change the pre-conceived notions of management. The dominant theme behind this misconception is the supposedly motivating impact of monetary rewards. It is universally assumed that money can motivate the mind to greater and broader aspirations and objectives at all times and places.

It is usually forgotten that the hierarchy of employee goals is a complex one moving from one aspirational level to another, from biological satisfaction to social and personal ego satisfaction, and so on. After a particular level of satisfaction is reached, the marginal

motivation of money would be lesser than that of other equally significant motivating agents, and in the long run, it might even develop a negative response in the people.

The Value Structure of Society

A surprising area of managerial ignorance lies in its understanding of the culture of the group, organization and the enterprise-system, in which the management is functioning. It is usually believed that management can establish arbitrary action-areas, can initiate sudden and rapid changes in the organization, and move away from a pre-determined line of corporate policy which might be totally opposed to the behaviour patterns of the group. Nothing is farther from the truth than this continued belief of the management to move *contrary* to group norms. (In this context, the term "culture" is supposed to refer to the total historical beliefs—social, economic, religious, and biological—and attitudes of the majority of the people.)

Unless the values of the group are understood and promptly related in the policy decisions of the top management, the resultant action will be a negative one opposed in the long run to the growth of the company.

Implications for Indian Industry

The framework presented above has deep relevance both for the Indian companies operating in India and for the foreign-based or controlled companies doing business here. Both of them face the responsibility of incorporating the human equation in their corporate structure and policy directions. Some of the areas where this equation would have profound significance are mentioned below :

1. Organizational Opinion

Every company operating in India knows about the complex structure of its work-force, emanating from a variety of provinces, speaking

a multitude of different dialects, and observing a number of cultural preferences. Unless this diversity is fully understood, no managerial directive would receive total sanction from the work-group. Moreover, both *on* and *off* the job, an effort will have to be made by the management to relate this multiple behaviour-pattern in its policies and actions.

Unless the entire organization is explored in depth by the various levels of the administrative management therein, this diversity of public opinion within the company's work-force will not become clear. Therefore, rather than identify itself with any one particularly dominant social, cultural, or ethnic group in the company, the management should make efforts to understand all the groups working therein, and help develop administrative measures to relate the employee-group's preferences in its organization.

2. Employee Motivation

It cannot be argued that in a land of poverty, the only *initial* motivation is that of the financial reward. But it can be certainly argued whether a continual emphasis on this type of motivation is a healthy sign of employee development or of the recognition of their accomplishments. In India, this question is misunderstood and unfortunately even misinterpreted both by the labour groups and by the management personnel. Each sector supports this thinking based on wrong rationalization.

Along with the monetary needs, the social, communal, educational, artistic, aesthetic, religious, recreational, and the cultural needs of the Indian workers are quite emphatic and in most cases they are fully developed and relatively well determined. Fortunately, some recent labour legislations have helped in paving the way towards their broader need-

satisfaction, but still there is a long way to go.

The newer trend in the process of Indian industrialization seems to be towards non-metropolitan areas and in some cases even in deep rural areas. In the states of South India and some provinces of North India, like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, this diversification and non-centralization of industry is creating a new challenge for the need-satisfaction-process of the employees. In these areas, the facilities of activity-involvement are limited, and by the same token, the need for those is extremely high. It is felt that Management should explore the possibility of providing an outlet for the workers' needs for social and cultural involvement in a comprehensive programme of "motivational psychology", aimed at improving the workers' *feel* of life around them and expanding their intellectual horizons.

3. Group Affiliation

The structure of the Indian life-pattern is woven around the primary unit of group behaviour, namely the Family. However, the loyalties of a bigger and a broader group affiliation are now beginning to emerge in the midst of the Indian worker community. The role of labour unions, trade associations and extra-curricular organizations is being increasingly felt by the work-community. Through these affiliations, they look forward to achieving a sense of belonging, mutual interest, cooperative persuasion, and of collective orientation.

Rather than act against the establishment of such groups or merely tolerate these as passive agents, Management can adopt an actively engaging approach towards these organizations and guide them to achieve their objectives in a well-structured way. The Management can render all kinds of assistance in the formation of such groups, without

unnecessarily patronizing them; it can mobilize the restricted resources of these groups by making the physical facilities of the industrial plants available for their meetings and other socio-cultural activity, without in the least disturbing their balanced view; and finally, it can also participate in their functions and thus develop the rich ideal of "industrial democracy" at a practical level of industrial relations; without losing its own independent identity as employer and final decision-maker in the plant.

Conceptual Framework

The concept of human relations, developed as an all-embracing philosophy of corporate action, should prove useful in establishing a climate of mutuality, understanding, and participating behaviour, for both the sectors of the industry, the workers and the executives. For it is one of those relatively few sustaining concepts of modern administrative strategy which are effective for both these sectors. But, unfortunately one dark aspect of this philosophy is that in top management's hands,

it has a tendency to be pushed down the organization as a novel "technique" or a "morale-building myth" which would restore all the equilibrium which the top leaders aspire for. In this perspective, the whole content of human relations is lost and what emerges forth is a degradatory satire on the very idea and the ideal of human understanding. It is for this reason that a conceptual scheme has been suggested above, which eliminates the "technique-gathering" approach and substitutes for it a rewarding "concept-building" judgment.

Used in the framework of growing industrialism in India, and taken in conjunction with the unique societal, cultural, and ethnic acceptances of the Indian work force, the concept of human relations can yield highly significant returns as far as the idea of integration between the managerial and the labour views is concerned, and in consolidating the democratic relationship *within* the corporate structure: something for which we have been striving for so long a period of time.

Communist Propaganda in India

"The greater the military expenditure the less would be the sums available for economic, sanitary and educational progress. Thus will the cause of the people suffer, there will be growing discontent and the Government will be unpopular. Bolshevie agents will not then be wanting to fish in the resulting troubled waters."

Ramananda Chatterjee in
The Modern Review, May, 1925

ACHARYA BRAJENDRA NATH SEAL AS A POET AND A CRITIC*.

Dr. S. N. RAY

It is not easy to give a comprehensive picture of the genius of Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal. Very few among his contemporaries were as gifted as he, either in this country or elsewhere. His scholarship was encyclopaedic and his interests as wide as the universe. Even the most impalpable of objects yielded their secrets to his vision.

As a thinker, Dr. Seal was not bound by any system of philosophy or tradition. He was afraid of committing himself to writing lest he should be bound down by his own passing thoughts. His mind winged through the pure empyrean of the spirit like a homeless bird lured by the sight of some distant horizon. Beginning as a Hegelian, he had to give up that system of philosophy as incapable of explaining all world phenomena. To use his own words: "Hegelian conception of a punctual movement in a unilinear series is as obsolete from the standpoint of the philosophy of history and the historic method proper, as the Lamarckian view in the domain of biology. At the same time, the recognition of the diverse origins and independent development of the separate culture-histories is not inconsistent with the assertion of an immanent world movement, in which they all participate, each in its own degree and extent".

This was his view explained in *New Essays in Criticism* published in 1903 and though he rejected Hegel, he applied his system in assessing the poetic quality of Keats. That there is a duality in the development of Keats's poetry and genius has been ably demonstrated by Garrod and Fausset subsequently to prove their different conten-

tions. But it was Dr. Seal who did it first in Hegelian terms. The *New Essays* included two other essays besides the one on Keats. One is on the Neo-Romantic Movement in Literature and the other on the Bengali poetry of the early twentieth century—all pioneer works. In one of these essays we get the foretaste of his last literary work, *The Quest Eternal*^{*}, the crowning testament of his poetic faith.

This poem, in three parts, embodies his final vision of humanity progressing in search of the supreme truth of life from the primitive stage of human culture to its modern culmination.

As a philosopher, Dr. Seal's approach to all questions of life and things is primarily intellectual, but curiously enough when he thinks, he feels passionately and his thoughts and feelings merge in each other inextricably. His thoughts demand intense cerebration but they move the heart also very powerfully. If poetry be sensuous and passionate, his literary writings verge on poetry for they glow with intense passion. This is specially true of *Quest Eternal*, for as one goes through that rather abstruse poem, one feels deeply moved. Here the poet descends from airy abstraction to the realm of human sensibility and the humble reader who limps behind the poet in his cosmic flights is rewarded with a peculiar pleasure. A sense of awe and wonder accompanies him all the way. His diction loses its hardness and dissolves into a voluptuousness seldom to be found in a philosopher. At such a moment, Plato and Spenser, Dante and Milton pour all their treasures on his lap.

* Read at the second session of the symposium on December 15, 1965, in connection with the Acharya Brajendra Nath Seal Birth Centenary.

* Oxford University Press, 1936.

Many people ask : "Is *Quest Eternal* poetry"? and shake their heads. Dr. Seal is convinced that it is and is of a revolutionary character. He considers it as a daring experiment in art which has broken virgin ground and thrown a challenge to his age. He therefore relegates it to the verdict of posterity by quoting Bhavabhuti's famous line : "*Kalohyam niravahirvipula cha prithvir*" (Time is eternal : the earth is vast). Let eternal time and the vast earth therefore take charge of his work and assess its value.

Time will no doubt judge. But we, his immediate followers, we who have seen him, heard him, whose intellect has been illuminated and vision widened by him, have a duty to his sacred memory. We can discharge it by interpreting and upholding his message.

Poetry has been defined by Wordsworth as the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings and little or no attempt has been made to express philosophical ideas of life and the world in forms of pure poetry. One must remember of course in this connection that Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* and Bridge's *The Testament of Beauty* made some attempt to that end, the former in expatiating upon the progress and triumph of the revolutionary ideas released by the French Revolution as interpreted by Godwin and the latter in expounding the poet's philosophical experience and wisdom acquired through a lifelong pursuit of art and beauty. But the aim of none has been as extensive or as methodical as that of Acharya Seal, nor were they as intellectually equipped for the purpose. Dr. Seal's knowledge is vast and deep and his vision reaches the farthest boundary of the cosmos. His memory gathers into unity the remote past and the present. We see through him the dim emergence of human consciousness, the strange working of the primitive mind, western and eastern,

of India and Greece, of Egypt and Assyria, the continuous growth of the psyche from age to age passing through strange transformations and we glance into the distant future of human civilization. To the cosmic vision of the seer is unfolded the mystery of the infinite space and time. The puny creature called man with his petty problems fades into insignificance when the vast cosmorama of the ancient heavens die out and sightless regions of space swim before our gaze. With him we fathom the unconscious deeps of the human mind where psyche waits in her dim-lit cave for that dawn when she will be crowned in her undisputed majesty and hatred will give place to love.

The *Quest Eternal* is a poetical symphony comprising three quests, the ancient, medieval and the modern. It seeks to transcribe basic philosophical ideas in forms of pure poetry. Pure poetry demands absolute disinterestedness, but the quest is one of flesh and blood though almost dehumanized. The ideas which are sought to be coined into life and personality are immanent ideas, the warp and woof of our world-consciousness.

Though characterized by passionate lyricism, as in the Second ballad, the quest of the Wizard Knight, lyrical intensity is not aimed at, but poise and balance of reason and imagination. As said before, the chief topic of the poem is the progress of ideas as the succeeding ages have unfolded them and these are presented as the vital experiences of a man, either a Greek priest or a medieval knight. But the man is only the other self of the poet himself in the different epochs of cultural development in history and speaks his language. He takes his place at the centre of the universe and observes its cyclic flux and reflux. The ideas that revolutionized world history rise and fade out before his ecstatic vision ;

millenniums follow millenniums, each one with its peculiar message for the onward march of human civilization.

One of the reader's difficulties may be pointed out here. What is characterized as the synoptic view of life and the universe is not the experience of men in general, but of the poet alone. The reader is therefore at a loss what to make of the poem. This is a sad want and the poet is conscious of it. He therefore, as a *teacher*, furnishes the poem with a table of contents, a summary and marginal notes, lest his reader should be embogged in the marshes of philosophical disquisition. Nevertheless unfamiliar terms and strange ideas baffle the reader. The poet does not come down to the intellectual level of the reader, the latter is expected to rise to his.

The first quest reveals the primal state of creation when all lay in universal grey. The universe is presented in its awful majesty—the earth lapped by a shoreless ocean is overhung with the canopy of a limitless blue dazzled with constellations of stars. The human mind in its first awakening is overwhelmed with awe and the first Titan, Coelus of the Greek mythology is born. Out of wonder are the other gods born. The human mind creates and names them in successive stages of discovery and recognition. The constellated stars are transformed into Ashtoreth, the fair huntress. Man sees himself silhouetted in space and muses, graces, fauns and dryads take shape. Man's innate sense of beauty creates the nereids and nymphs.

Rolls on the tidal wave in cosmic play and other forms, higher and nobler, are conceived: The "Intelliential Essences and Fair Humanities, Whose Glory touched the poet's dream in epos, chant and lay".

The deity now wears the mask of the Maid Eternal, Urania,

Fallen a-dreaming

On the Milk-white way.

Light of her half-formed smile a-gleaming

Glory of her tresses streaming,

Far on the Oceanic spaces world-waves, starry spray?

But Urania is not the only heavenly being that human imagination has created. She had had her counterparts all over the world in this early dawn of human consciousness: *asuravimohini* Uma, Usha, Urvashi, Ashtoreth, Proserpina, Aphrodite and Helena, reflections of whose "smile have fired Heaven's hosts, Earth's hearts of clay" a line reminiscent of Tagore's *urvashi*.

The questing spirit however is not satisfied with this. Physical charm cannot be the only quality of the primal energy that has created the universe. That energy makes and unmakes this creation like a little child as a part of its game. Can the Creator be a little child like Eros or Bāla Gopāla?

But this does not hold him very long. He wonders if the source of creation is a divine mother: the Prima Mater, Mother of Heaven and Earth, Adya Shakti, Prakriti, Aditi the witness of Time's birth or Cops, Demeter, Semele, Isis, Ceres or Cybele. The poet is seized with ecstasy at the discovery of the similarity of the primitive culture all over the world.

The "world drift cyclical" which he invokes at the very beginning of the poem brings about other changes. In "myriad waves, progression" nothing is stationary. The pagan view of life gradually gives way to monotheism, objectivism to subjectivism, but not before a spiritual void. In the vein of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, evoking the English poet's diction, atmosphere and melody, the poet proceeds to describe the slow growth of the

inwardness of the human mind. This is presented as the end of an aeon when the universal frame is dissolved at the thunderous note of the *Tandava* dance of *Shiva*, "Serpent-poised (In the Void,) To His majestic counter rhythm". "Kailasa trembles Meru crumbles. The Orbs unspin themselves away dissolving into nebulous spray. In this infinite inane of form and Name, the Poet falls into a swoon and dreams in the rock-embrace of ages.

But he is not alone. He sleeps unhushed in the winklessness of one broad open eye. How long it takes, he has no idea, but at long last his wearied spirit is visited by *anand-murtis, raginis*, the Forms of passion, *Pathos*, *Mirth*, and he is awakened to the awareness of a "soul within the soul" and his eye answers to an eye within in wonder. Thus the consciousness of the Supreme Being who is not only the creator, but comforter and lover dawns upon the mind.

With this comes to an end the first phase of this human epic, the passing of the ancient ideal, the transfiguration of Greek naturalism in the light of oriental mysticism. This ancient hymn is sung by an ocean islander, a Greek priest who had been to *Taxila*, and is in choric odes reminiscent of *Aeschylus*, in lines of unequal length arranged in a complicated rhyme-structure. The melody swings to and fro like the prolonged swell and delayed backwash of the calm sea. The diction, sensuous and impassioned, evokes the memory of the romantic poetry of England.

The Second Quest

The second quest is that of the Wizard Knight. He brings back to us the chivalric lore of the Middle Ages as depicted by *Malory* and *Spenser*, but as he is the Wizard Knight, not merely a knight-errant, his quest is not on the physical plane but on

the spiritual. The poem is called the rime and its music seeks to reproduce that other great rime, the Rime of the Ancient Mariner. It is the same familiar swing of the oarsmen's stroke :

The braes were sheen, the shaws were green,
Each merry leaf would dance ;
On russet brown, the sun came down
In showers of golden glance !

This music is reminiscent of Coleridge's

The ship was cheered, the harbour cleared,
Merrily did we drop
Below the kirk, below the hill,
Below the lighthouse top.

But there the similarity ends. Whereas Dr. Seal rigorously adheres to this pattern throughout the poem, Coleridge varies it according to need. The limpid flow of the latter's music is in strong contrast with the wallowing of the big-bellied diction of our poet :

All thaumaturgic, demiurgic
Fiats shall he wield or brave.

Keat's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* suggests the background of the poem and links it up with the poem of the same name written by *Allain Chartier*, a medieval French poet. The story of adventure comes from the pages of *Spenser's Fairie Queene*. The diction is archaic, as old as *Spenser*, sometimes even older.

The poem starts with the blessings of these great poets, but the journey is heavy going as the boat is laden with the cargo of the mystic philosophy of the early Middle Ages when Christianity was still oriental and was in opposition to the Gnostics, Magians and the Neo-Platonists, the submerged cultures of a lost world which the poet has sought to resurrect. "In depicting the ideal of any age, he has selected for imaginative treatment that particular form, among its many representative cultures, which served as the meeting ground and fusion-point of different races and

civilizations, Eastern and Western."

The wizard knight 'pricks' upon his mount, like the Redcross knight of Spenser, along a footless track under the spreading branches of the primeval forest which has never been visited by the meridian sun even in the prime of summer. Like all seekers of truth, the knight bears a curse on him and

All his quest of knowledge blest,
Himself it cannot save.

And as the legend tells us, he runs mad at the end of his quest when he rends the veil of illusion and stands before the naked truth face to face.

Now to the *mise en scene* of the poem :

The time is evening. The sun has set in showers of gold and the leafy glen is glimmering in the pale white light of the sailing moon. The primal woods are asleep. There are whisperings in elf-accents and weird dreams and winged shapes are afloat. All of a sudden a wild blast from a horn and a knight clatters down the slope. Instantly La Belle Dame Sans Merci casts her spell and a glamour falls over the wood and dell. The wild rook caws, the shadows grow and a ghostly crew ride down on the knight. The knight in vain tilts at them.

As he proceeds, the weird wood opens before the knight and for a while he shakes with fear at the thought of his high destinies. He is conscious that he is on the brink of a mighty revelation which may lead to his own destruction. Undaunted however he meets the Dame in the deepest zone of the enchanted wood, kneels before her, confesses his love.

Unlike the knights of the *Fairie Queene*, this knight is old. His white hair streams down unshorn, his eyes burn with a strange fire ; his face is aglow with an unearthly light. The love he seeks is not bondage but freedom—the freedom that the knowledge of

the secrets of the blind world-life will bring. For this he has sold his life to the Fates and braved the curse foretold of old "on him who would see Truth bare." In the furrows of his countenance, the past and the future are engraved. He has boldly 'prest' in Freedom's name, in wisdom's quest through the ages with Hermes, Platon and Ptolemy into mystery's caves. He has searched each ruined tomb in desert Media, Mizraim and Rum in truth's steps. He owes no fealty to church and Empire, the Christian or the Moslem, but to the commonwealth of Reason. He has trodden and crushed the lust of flesh. Knowledge and power have been his dower. To his great disappointment he has known that beauty, pity and love are rife with illusion and bereft of it they lose life. He does not care for peace and hope born of sorrows as Christians do. Truth and Freedom are his goal. He will not be destiny's minion but her co-worker.

Things are changeful ; therefore nothing but the sight of the ideal image of *Natura* will please him. He has kept starlit vigil over the forms of things—of plant, mineral and creatures in general and has stript the veil of *Natura* and has seen *Natura* bare—that image rare, but seeing runs mad. This is the inevitable end of the seer.

The Third Phase

In the first phase of the *Quest*, the birth of the godhead as it occurred to the vision of the primitive man, has been presented, in the second, the unveiling of the mystery of *Natura*. We go farther ahead in the modern phase to the discovery of Psyche, registering the progress of thought upto 1913, and incidentally depicting the struggle and finally the conquest of the spirit over death achieved through world-experience. Psyche is not merely soul, but soul's vision of deathless love. As in the previous books so also in this, we come across different issues intricately

involved, but not always artistically resolved. The learned philosopher has poured all his speculations, the fruit of his encyclopaedic knowledge, into one poem. The reader naturally feels somewhat baffled in having to wrestle with the problems presented in the poem.

Poetry deals with the significant experiences of man—experiences shared by common humanity, deeply moving the mind of all. But there are few readers who can claim the amplitude of Dr. Seal's knowledge or share the vastness of his vision. The average reader is bewildered by the intricacy of his thought; a lucid statement would have made the poem more enjoyable. Dr. Seal loses himself in the mazes of his vision. His thoughts elude his grasp and an artistic organisation has not always been possible.

The poem is written in blank verse arranged in unequal stanzas, each section ending with a refrain: "Wisdom to Master Death the Power in Life."

The hero of the quest is a homeless wanderer. The inhabitant of a Pacific island, he had lost his lady-love on the eve of their wedding. She was supposed to have been carried off by the sea in a storm. Actually, driven by the hunger of wild life, she had strayed among a wild tribe by whom she was hailed as the queen, but later on exposed on a rock and burnt at the stake as an offering to the tribal god. The hero, like Nachiketa, is in search of a wisdom to master death—not death in the physical sense, but the dark power in life that frustrates our purposes, makes our lives meaningless and vain:

The dark Power

In life, whose triumph rides O'er captive
souls

In agony, whose train are purposes
Frustrate, unborn, the ghost of might-
have-beens.

He is in search of a wisdom that can

fulfil the unfulfilled, give life to the abortive life in the womb of dumb nature.

To illustrate his meaning, the poet opens before the dazzled eyes of his reader, the majestic view of nature, a vision reminiscent of *Prometheus Unbound*, but more gorgeous and awful than that of Shelley, and the poetry more soulful and sonorous. Imageries well up in strange succession revealing the rapturous excitement of the poet's soul. Before his 'eye historic' reels off the vast panorama in its awful manifestation. Now the reader is taken to the Mesozoic sea-bed, the leviathan's haunt, in whose vortices,

Swam round and round all hideous slimy
shapes,
Dark Monsters of the Deep, sea-dragon wroth,
Ravening rhinodon and strangling octopod
Death's minions pasturing on some steep
Mountainous mass of coiled ugliness
With universal gurglings, hissings, groans—

This obscene and brutal picture of eternal hunger is fortunately not the last of things. Knowledge the redeemer gradually spreads her reign over the predacious instincts of the brute and human will creates institutions to defeat them.

For the discovery of this truth, the poet, first of all, identifies himself with nature:
I was one with the woods; my body the Earth;
I budded in the buds, and burgeoned fresh
In the green shoots; the tendrils were
my veins;

My eyes blossomed on every bush; my arms
Waved in the tall spiked grass; in the white fog
The hill-side breathed with me; the twirling
leaves
Vibrated through the pores of my own skin;
I was one with the woods; my body, the
Earth.

Alone the poet stands, gazing on creation's face,—in wonder at nature, our ancient Mother, fecund, ever renewed. In one of the

the leagued powers of brute matter and blind sense, sworn to abase the transcendent God in man. It dominates even the conscience of man. It has usurped authority over the inner rule of life. This will go on till knowledge the Redeemer rises on Earth and make the barren fecund and fecund barren. Petty social adjustments or earthbound economic theories are of little avail in redeeming the human soul from the bondage of matter and blind sense. The poet mentions in this connection the philosophy of common good and rejects it with scorn as the philosophy of common *harakiri*. It is a slave code, this demand for forced sacrifice of the individual for common good. It is only another form of the primitive omophagic rite—the forced sacrifice of the individual at the altar of the tribal god for the good of the community.

"Is there no deliverance of man from the overmastering evil—no way to master death? Cries the agonised soul of the seeker. A doubt assails his mind. Probably the creation was rough-hewed by a good god with his hands unnerved or in this his mind failed, or purpose swerved. In the midst of all these failures and ruins, he however knows for certain that *Atman* is indestructible, a lesson he has learnt among an eastern people beneath the glacier-clad Himalayas. Psyche, the soul is free and no false guises can hide the truth. It is for a new Prometheus, the universal man, the just man militant, to be her herald and knight-errant. A prayer goes up from the heart of the poet to Prometheus to lead humanity from untruth to truth, from darkness to light and from death to immortality—to Psyche etern, Vision of deathless Love.

Now the poet has mystic aural experiences of different types. On analysis we find them to be the different paths pursued by the seekers all over the world. He rejects

nihilism, at once for "Not by negation is the world annulled or law of Matter, blind Necessity". Psyche, the purified, demands purification in Life's central fire. "For dark is the spirit's inner eye unpurged, unfit for Visions, Glories, Dreams etern". Maya, the Great Illusion holds man's soul in bondage. The earth, green and beautiful, is luring the soul of man like a Siren. So man's green life must burn away in fires vulcanian before his searching spirit reaches the illimitable. This is the upward way, from nether fire to ether.

But how can man's green life burn away? Can spirit burn the body, its own image? Can it burn the brute, its maker, its origin? Who would quench the cold fire, the fire of desire? The darkness of doubt falls upon the soul of the pilgrim and he flees like night from land to land in pursuit of peace which flies before.

A strange malady now seizes the poet's soul and he seems to grow into the world. The ages repass within him displaying strange scenes, the abnormalities of sex, the pagan's stern refusal of Christian peace, the complete self-surrender of a mediaeval nun to Christ and her peaceful death, the miserable end of a Parisienne, a stage queen, in a Tokyo slum and such others—bleak scenes of wreck and desolation. Curiously enough in the midst of these desperate scenes, a hope is born, an attitude of cosmic acquiescence. He relieves the passion of humanity, and his individual passion is transformed into the world-passion of the creative Deity. The seeker feels as though his empty lamp is replenished again so that he could feed other dying lamps.

The journey's end is now in sight. The pilgrim finds himself again in that Pacific island where his sweetheart was offered as sacrifice to the tribal god. Here a voice comes

to him from out of the heart of things :

“I am the Sacrifice !
 of utter unfulfilment
 Comes my grace of fruition !
 Of utter tribulation
 Comes my hush of peace !”

The Phoenix is born from the ashes, the ineffable peace from the *nirvana* of passion. A soul flashes within his soul, his voice, yet not his, but the cosmic, chants the law of man's deliverance, the wisdom to master death. From the 'uproarious roll of aeons' bursts forth a call to humanity announcing that Psyche's curse is annulled and Prometheus has unbound himself.

The union of Psyche with Prometheus is not just the union of Keats's Psyche with Shelley's Prometheus—the two great favourites of the poet, but, as the poet tells us, it means the reconciliation of the pagan and the Christian myths in a new world-order, that of Cosmic Humanism. Prometheus is the warrior of the soul and Psyche is the Soul's vision of deathless love. The hope of an external liberator or Redeemer is futile. Each soul must purify and illuminate itself for achieving the spirit's conquest over death. Psyche's curse is to wander through earth and heaven and hell in search of deathless love and thus to be purged of

mortality in life's central fire. One is reminded of Keats's *Endymion* in pursuit of Diana and Dante's *Divina Commedia* while reading this part of the poem. One also remembers the concluding part of the *Kathopanishad*, insisting upon the necessity of self-purification and inner illumination for achieving immortality.

The subject matter is extremely abstruse, particularly the *Finale* in which the reader finds it difficult to follow the poet as he goes deep down to the bottom of his spiritual experiences. But he is drawn by the music of the lines. Dr. Seal has the unique power of depicting scenes of nature in tumult, of human mind dismayed and tormented, of rapture and bewilderment. Indeed he has all the power of a great poet except his lucidity. Perhaps this is not easy as he is concerned with the sub-conscious and the super-conscious layers of personality.

He calls the last phase of his Quest, a neo-idealistic Poetic Art : an art which is idealistic in inner meaning and content but naively realistic and 'beautifully objective' in form and manner. It is for the reader to judge whether he has succeeded in projecting the 'objective correlative' in a manner which this promise holds out.

A LATEST LANDSCAPE OF BENGALI SHORT FICTION

LOKENATH BHATTACHARYA

Being the most subjective—and therefore, the most sensitive—of all literary expressions, poetry has, throughout history, taken upon itself the task of playing the grand role of the rebel in the drama of literature. A recent Bengali poem, containing a distinct note of an aspect of the rebellion that is characteristic of the times, can be somewhat crudely translated into English thus :

Prayer

If at all existing, the irresistible pine forest is no less unattainable. Perhaps knowing this, they stopped writing poetry and opened a perfumed-soap factory.

I too needing a bath badly told them, on hearing the news : very good.

I too am appalled enough by my impurity, my own putrescence and syphilis. In our veins, a drain-Ganges, are constant echoes of mean deaths, which flow as moments of a dustbin-metropolis.

The sky is there, yes, the orange sun is there. But there is no more poetry in life, nor in mind—only the tyranny of shallow versifiers terrorizes. Herds of donkeys have their long ears moving in the wind. Deceitful, vain, garrulous donkeys.

Better is the still night, even the speechless no-dawn of despair. O God, give us silence, hush these versifiers and that loud-speaker at Beadon Square.

O God, give us compassion to love our brothers, give our brothers compassion to love us, give the mind's nostril the smell of plain purity—poetry may come later.

To start with poetry, when the subject of discussion has been pre-fixed as short fiction, may seem irrelevant. But there are two important reasons why it is meaningful. First, thematically and even from the point of view of form to a certain extent, the gap between poetry and the other genres of creative writing is becoming increasingly narrow. Quite a large section of the contemporary Bengali poetry is not only being written in prose, but the subject matter of such poetry, however short its outward form may be, has often a spiritual affinity with what could also inspire and be tackled by, though in a limited way perhaps, a fiction writer of today.

The second reason, of which the first reason is an extension, is that both the poet and the fiction writer live in a growingly one world of social tensions and spiritual frustrations which, being common to all categories of creative writers, are part of their inner existence and which provide them with their basic material. The present society is like an impersonal steam-roller, which mercilessly levels down, among other things, the inequalities of feeling.

While this process aimed at equalizing the various layers of feeling is visibly at work, the only point of controversy might relate to the extent to which the process can be said to have already achieved results.

One obvious sign of the growingly diminishing gap between poetry and other well defined literary writings is that an alert reader and lover of literature today finds himself, more or less equally, at home with practically all kinds of creative literature : poetry, fic-

tion, plays, etc. Gone are the days, at least temporarily, when a poetry lover, for instance, could proudly ignore the existence of a much talked about play being staged somewhere in the city or a contemporary novel which had generated a stir among some sections of the reading public. This situation was especially true of Bengal where, shortly after Rabindranath Tagore, each of the many sections of literature tried hard to develop such an exclusive personality of its own that it soon became the sole object of patronage by a marked coterie of individuals. Even the other day, the present writer recalls, a prominent Bengali novelist was claiming—and he was certainly not ashamed of the fact—that he had not read a single line of poetry written after Rabindranath Tagore.

But if there is now a relatively more unified approach towards creative writing in general, it should not mean that the various categories of literature are losing their characteristic identities at a sure and steady speed. In other words, whatever the exterior signs may apparently indicate, we are not heading towards a drab oneness of literature where poetry will soon resemble short fiction or short fiction poetry to such a degree that they will have the possibility of being taken as completely merged in one another.

If we come back to the tone of the rebellion, there is a lot of it nowadays not only in poetry, but also and equally remarkably, in short fiction. The first number of one of the newest Bengali magazines devoted exclusively to short fiction announces, on the cover page itself, these proudly felt intentions: 'This is a mouthpiece of anti-conventional short stories'; 'Whoever still trying to find narrative in a story will be shot dead'; 'In our stories we will talk about ourselves alone'; 'We are now tired of realism'; 'The great creations of the

past may be great only for the past, but are certainly not so for us'. On page one of this number the editors of the magazine, entitled in Bengali *Ei Dashak* or 'This Decade', explain the same intentions in the form of a brief and candid preface, which says: 'It's time now to discard whatever that is old, to be prepared for whatever that is new. Bring all those books down from your almirah. Empty your shelves, for we must now occupy that place. Hurry up, dump all those so-called great novels and short stories into the old trunk. They aren't necessary any more. They have no appeal today and are now positively vexatious. Remember that famous statement by Antonin Artaud: 'Masterpieces are good for the past, not good for us.'

Elsewhere, in the same issue, an editorial note clarifies once again—like repeated insertions of an advertisement for itself—the paper's objectives: 'From today short story will defy all conventions. It has now freed itself from its well defined, age-old barriers. Short story is as independent and as unfettered today as poetry. Short story is whatever we will write, in whichever way we decide to write it. In the field of art, we are like the 'Bauls' (the Bengali word 'Baul', literally meaning mad, is the name of a well-known mystic sect whose *raison d'être* is to defy all social and religious conventions), we do not obey the rules and conventions of the sacred texts on art. We are not inspired by the concept of social responsibility and say, just like the 'Bauls': All responsibility ends when you die—so please consider us as dead. Like the mystics, our business is with feeling and the subject matter of our story is the unfolding of the mysterious experience of our own complex, inner being.'

While the rebellious nature of the above proclamations is obvious, a careful reader will

be able to detect an essential difference between their contention and what our first example of poetry wanted to convey. If in the poem there is still room for hope for a possible healthy life and the poet's desire—indisputably sincere—for a harmonious reconciliation with his surroundings, the proclamations of *Ei Dashak* offer no constructive formula to rebuild life in a meaningful way. The latter's love for rebellion appears to be an end in itself, its sole objective being to defy the present for the sake of defying it. Moreover, there are a few reasons why the editors of this magazine might not be taken too seriously.

First, many will hasten to point out that *Ei Dashak* is an isolated example of an exception and that it does not represent in any way the characteristic stage of the present Bengali short fiction. Its contributors, it might be argued, are all immature, and most of them are publishing their stories for the first time. Secondly, when in this slim volume of only thirty-six pages the editors take two complete pages, in addition to the cover page, to explain their objectives, the paper seems rather propagandist than of any significantly creative value. Thirdly, the usual fate of such magazines in Bengali is only too well-known, their first number being often the last.

However, in reply to these criticisms it may also be added that while any disproportionate emphasis on such a magazine could quite conceivably be interpreted as unjustified, the case of *Ei Dashak* is presented here only as an example—among many others—to illustrate some of the spiritual malaise that is growingly engaging the attention of the younger short story writers in Bengali. What is important is that the point, however vaguely raised by the contributors to this issue, is of some contemporary relevance and being so, it hardly matters whether they are all immature

and little known writers or this first number of the magazine will most probably be its last.

In connection with the absence of any constructive approach towards life among these writers, it might be stated that literature being an essentially social product, the society which produces such writers has, in the last analysis, not only a lot to do with the development of their personality, but is often the sole decisive factor which constantly moulds—like the potter giving shape to a particular piece of pottery—and in a way even gives birth to that mental horizon which the writers seem always ready to mistakenly interpret as independent, individualistic and their own. Calcutta, the problem city of India, where the contributors to *Ei Dashak* and many such 'rebellious' writers of the younger generation reside and which is also the place of publication of this particular magazine, offers a most fantastically complete image of despair. The living conditions in this city, which have remained totally unacceptable for a long time, have reached a stage now when, however regrettable and unfortunate it may sound, despair and violence seem the only means through which the citizens can feel a kick of life and assert their existence. Had they not already been too well-known to merit refutation, thanks to newspapers and other mass communication media, the intensity of violence and its various devastating modes of expression that so often rage the city at the slightest provocation, would have been unbelievable for anyone not having the direct experience of such a thing. In these circumstances, it would perhaps be understandable and a relatively pardonable offence if the writers born and brought up in such an essentially desperate and violent society fail to develop a sustaining faith in life and instead, cultivate an irresistible love for defying the present only for the sake of defying it. Though the contributions to *Ei Dashak* and many such

Bengali writings of today may not outspokenly indulge in acts or thoughts of grim violence, their almost universal and unconditional rebellion against all accepted codes of existence should be appreciated in this context.

The objective of the present discussion being confined mainly to illustrating a few relevant points relating to the form and thematic content in a representative section of the new short fiction in Bengali, any naming of individual authors might be out of place and hence, is best avoided. However, as the example of *Ei Dashak* has been especially chosen here for presenting a point of view, it is but fair to mention the names of its five contributors, who are Subrata Sengupta, Ramanath Ray, Sekhar Basu, Kalyan Sen and Asish Ghosh. The length of their stories—if at all they can be called stories—ranges from 500 to 2,000 words approximately. Both thematically and from the point of view of form, the stories have one principal thing in common: they are essentially surrealistic, containing no finality of any event in particular and at the same time demonstrating a deliberate disregard for the development of characters or situations. They are a record of a given, fleeting moment of experience expressed poetically, and would have equally suited the editorial content of a poetry magazine. Which again goes to prove our earlier contention that the gap between poetry and short fiction is becoming increasingly narrow and a matter of guess.

One striking feature of most of these stories—which is also common to much of contemporary Bengali fiction—is the employment of a stream-of-consciousness technique in the third person singular. The 'I' of the author or of the principal character in a story never directly intervenes, but a latent identification of the author with the character concerned is continuously suggested.

Of these five stories only one—the lengthiest in the issue—can still be considered somewhat conventional in the sense that its author has not been able to free himself completely from the temptation to tell a narrative. But if the editors of *Ei Dashak*, following their avowed intention, have not yet 'shot him dead', it might be because of some other redeeming features of the story which make it remarkably unusual. They are, according to the present writer, the imageries used in the story, which have a distinct resemblance to those found in the works of some of the 19th-century French symbolist poets like Baudelaire, Verlaine and, more notably, Rimbaud. As seen from the example of *Ei Dashak*, the new direction to which a sizable portion of the present-day Bengali short fiction seems to devote itself is, therefore, towards progressively eliminating the story element from the short story form and making it more and more subjective, suggestive and pronouncedly poetical.

Before it reached this stage—in fact, strictly speaking, it is yet to reach it—the theme of the post-Tagore Bengali short fiction could be very broadly divided into two main categories: psychological and realistic. Particularly, psychology—especially the well defined meaning this term has come to acquire since the appearance of Freud and some other recent mental scientists—was the darling child of much of the post-World War II literatures in the West, and Bengali writers were happy to discover its indisputable appeal mainly through a rewarding knowledge of not so much what those scientists wrote as what was happening in the Western literature. But as in the West now, so in Bengal, there is a gradual feeling of disenchantment concerning the exclusively psychological approach to literature, and fiction writers of today—at least a considerable class of them—seem more and more enamoured of a new

philosophy, which they think would establish their creation, like much of the present poetry, as the record of a total experience of the individual mind. In this connection, one relevant example that immediately suggests itself is that of the *nouveau roman* in France, which has already had an impact on some Bengali writers. For instance, a close scrutiny might reveal spiritual affinities between the stories in *Ei Dashak* and the pieces in *Tropismes*, the first significant book by Nathalie Sarraute, one of the most prominent French writers of the *nouveau roman* school.

It would not always be proper to explain away the Western influence on Bengali literature as mere imitation—though in many cases imitations, devoid of any connection with the realities of current Bengali life, are, of course, there. The fact is that the example of the West is a very vital point, influencing at each step the new course and form of contemporary Bengali literature. One obvious reason why we cannot ignore the West in our literary efforts is that the urban life in India is growingly acquiring the same ambivalence as characterizes many of the fundamental issues of existence in the contemporary West.

The present effort here has been limited to describing the mental picture of a section of today's Bengali short fiction, without analyzing the merits or otherwise of this literature. But while fully admitting that there is now an

imperative need for new experiments in every field of creative writing and for saying new things relevant to the age, two pertinent observations might be permissible. The first is that this literature, by its very nature, addresses itself exclusively to only one minor and highly sophisticated class of urban readers, and completely ignores the existence of that infinitely vast majority of people who live in the villages and lead a life essentially very different from that in the cities. This situation is particularly true of India where literature-reading adults are not only an infinitesimal minority, but where exists, mentally and simultaneously, an unbridgeable gap of several centuries between the cities and rural areas. If the primary objective of literature is to establish a communion or rather a common sharing of experience between the reader and the writer, that objective in this particular case seems deliberately violated.

The second observation is that any short fiction of any age or country, which purposely avoids telling a story and, instead, tries to become a merely clever and aggressively cerebral exercise, proclaims its own death-warrant. The art of storytelling is not only as old as man himself, but man's yearning for stories is also as old as time. If man has to survive, short story must again be restored to its original place, where it will, above all, be a story and will reflect the simple verities of the human heart.

DEVALUATION OF THE RUPEE

Prof. Dr. KHETRA MOHAN PATNAIK

Devaluation of a currency means reduction of its gold parity. This can be brought about by simply fixing a higher price for gold in terms of the currency in question. On the 6th June, 1966, our rupee was devalued by reducing its par value from 18.66 grams of gold per hundred rupees to 11.85 grams of gold. This involves a reduction in the gold parity of the rupee by 36.5 per cent. In practical terms, this means that the value of a U. S. dollar will be Rs. 7.5 as against Rs. 4.76 so far and of the pound sterling Rs. 21.00 as against Rs. 13.00 and one-third. In other words, the rupee has been devalued in relation to dollar by nearly 57.5 per cent.

Announcing this decision of the Government, the Finance Minister outlined a number of arguments in favour of the step taken. In the first place, he pointed out that the par value or the exchange rate of a currency is a price. Hence, as in the case of any other commodity, the price of foreign exchange should be fixed on the basis of strictly economic considerations. It should reflect economic realities as they are today. Only so can it serve the main purpose of a price which is to enable and facilitate the right allocation of resources. There is little doubt that the value of the rupee today is not what it was on the 20th September, 1949 when the 21 cent rate of rupee exchange came into being. Even though the general level of prices in India has gone up by more than 80 per cent, the official par value of the rupee has remained unchanged since 1949. Prices have not risen to anything like this extent in the main countries of the world with whom we trade. Consequently our exports have been meeting

increasing resistance in foreign markets. To overcome price resistance to many of our exports in foreign markets, the Government has tried many measures. The Government was subsidising exports by measures like import entitlement to exporters, by direct subsidies and by tax credit certificates. These measures succeeded only to a limited extent. Therefore a more drastic step became necessary to boost exports due to the unabated price-rise in the country, which could not be held in check during the last so many years. Mr. C. Rajagopalacharia aptly remarks that the devaluation of the rupee is the "consequence of the mismanagement during the last 15 years, and we cannot help it".

Devaluation of the rupee as explained above, has been brought about as a more enduring and reliable means of restoring and indeed increasing the competitive power of our exports. An American purchaser would now be required to pay only 9 cents, as against 21 cents previously, for a commodity worth one rupee. Thus our goods would become cheaper in the foreign market, resulting in an enlarged demand and a stimulus to our export industries. Apart from restoring the competitiveness of our exports, the lower rupee is expected to provide a strong inducement for the flow of investment into export industries and thereby progressively strengthen our export base.

The second argument of the Government in favour of devaluation is that it will quicken the pace of import substitution. The cost of imports in terms of rupees will now automatically go up. This will make it really

worthwhile and attractive to invest in those of our industries which produce goods to replace imports. It is hoped that the encouragement to exports and import saving industries would enable us to move faster towards self-reliance all-round. The new rate will apply not only to exports and imports but also to inward and outward remittances which are called 'invisibles'. Therefore, remittances into India will be encouraged and remittances out of India will be discouraged. Our country will become more attractive to foreign tourists whereas foreign travel by Indians will become costlier and, therefore, less attractive. All these would help restoration of the equilibrium in the balance of payments of our country.

Third, devaluation is likely to put an end to some of the anti-social practices prevalent in the foreign exchange market. At the older rate for the Indian rupee, unhealthy practices such as under-invoicing of exports, over-invoicing of imports, sale of travellers' cheques in the unofficial markets, remittances through unauthorised channels, smuggling of gold and other articles, were becoming increasingly attractive. At the new rate, all these anti-social activities will become substantially less attractive and widespread. With the reduction in the leakage of foreign exchange through these means, our official foreign exchange reserves should get strengthened.

The Finance Minister thinks that devaluation would have no adverse effect on the budgetary position of the country. It is no doubt true that the burden of debt repayment in terms of rupees, the cost of Government imports and other foreign expenditure will go up. But against this the budget will also benefit from devaluation in a number of ways. Following this step, export duties have been imposed on twelve items like jute manu-

facture, tea, coffee, black papper, oil cakes, tobacco, raw cotton, cotton waste, raw wool, mica, hides, skins and leather and coir and coir manufactures. These export duties are likely to yield substantial revenue. Similarly, the rupee value of foreign aid will also go up. On the assumption that the revised import duties would not reduce significantly the revenue from these duties, devaluation, on balance, can be presumed to leave the budgetary position unaffected.

We have analysed above the reasons that led our Government to devalue the rupee. The principal plea for the measure has been export promotion. But there is no guarantee that exports would increase to the extent of balancing the higher import bill and foreign debt servicing charges. Theoretically, devaluation no doubt improves the competitive capacity of the export industries. But the reality of it is to be tested against the actualities of the situation. The plant, machinery, stores, equipment, raw materials and consumer goods that the country would import from abroad will now be substantially costlier. If a businessman previously imported Rs. 100 worth of machinery and paid 45 per cent duty in all, his total cost would have come to Rs. 145. Now the same importer will have to pay Rs. 157.5 for the capital goods and would have to pay import duty at the revised rate of 27½ per cent ad valorem. The latter amounts to Rs. 43.3 on the value of the import, making a total import bill of Rs. 200.8. This would push up the capital costs of new enterprises by nearly 39 per cent and thereby hit the development projects of the country. The enhancement of the cost of raw materials and equipment would naturally add to the cost of production. And if the costs of production rise, selling prices will also rise automatically. In other words, prices of indigenous goods are likely to soar as a result of devaluation. So, part of the theoretical

benefit to be derived by the export industries as a result of devaluation will be eaten up by the higher cost of production. Only those industries which entirely depend on indigenous raw materials and equipment will be benefited to some extent. But such industries are rare in this country. Even here there is the likelihood of a sympathetic rise in price. The net of all these is clear. Devaluation will make another spate of heavy inflation and a consequential spurt in prices inevitable.

The argument of export-promotion also does not seem to have much validity when we look at the problem from the angle of the price-elasticity of demand in foreign markets for India's traditional export goods. Therefore, Sri Manubhai Shah, the Commerce Minister, was stated to be one of those who opposed devaluation. His argument was that about 80 per cent of India's exports did not need any incentive; as such, devaluation could not have a major impact on our export earnings. World demand for most of our exports is relatively inelastic. The levy of the export duties also shows that it was not necessary to offer price advantage at least to the full extent of the devaluation. So far as imports are concerned, a lower rupee rate was uncalled for as a disincentive, as we had been already working on the minimum import requirements of unreplaceable raw materials, spares, equipments and consumption goods. Over the years the imports of non-essential commodities have virtually been banned. Our imports are mainly of capital goods, spare parts and raw materials. These would now cost 57 per cent more, which would be a big drag on the tempo of development and creation of export capacity.

It follows, then, that devaluation is not likely to improve India's balance of payments position. On the contrary, its effects on the balance of payments of the country would be

likely to be more adverse. This can be explained. During 1965-66 the estimated value of exports from India was Rs. 840 crores and our imports amounted to Rs. 1,383 crores roughly. Even if the exports were increased now by 50 per cent, the value of exports would remain more or less unaltered. On the basis of the devalued rupee, the same quantity of import is likely to cost Rs. 2,000 crores. Consequently the gap would probably be wider now.

From a budgetary point of view, the effect of the devalued rupee would be most unfortunate. India's foreign debt position which came to Rs. 2629.18 crores as on March 31, 1966, would go up to nearly Rs. 4,000 crores. In the current year's budget the extent of repayment of foreign debt has been estimated to be Rs. 120.59 crores. The lower the external value of the rupee, the higher would be the burden reflected on the Indian Government's budget for their interest payments and debt repayment. Devaluation has also necessitated an upward revision of the total outlay of the Fourth Plan from Rs. 21,500 crores to Rs. 23,500 crores. The Government will now be compelled to incur more expenditure for imports of food and machinery for the public sector enterprises. The rupee cost of the projects will go up, resulting in upward revisions of the plan estimates. All these would put additional burdens on the budget.

It is claimed that devaluation would check the foreign exchange drain on account of remittances of profits. This would result in increased re-investment of profits and more production. As against this, its possibly adverse effects on the flow of foreign investment has to be reckoned with. Foreign investors are not interested in how many rupees their investments in this country earn but what return in terms of their own

currencies they get. If these profits now in terms of foreign currency come down, the flow of foreign capital is, over a period, bound to go down. Such a situation would be disastrous from the point of view of the industrialisation of the country. The foreign investors already existing in the country would have to increase their profits by at least 57 per cent in terms of rupees so that they can repatriate profits on a scale comparable to that before devaluation. For example, the sterling companies like Indian Copper, Calcutta Electric, Calcutta Tram ways etc., which are incorporated in England but work in India, will now find their earnings automatically reduced by 36.5 per cent. The reduced earnings will thus bear a smaller ratio in relation to capital than before. As these companies declare their dividends in sterling, the reduced percentage of earnings to capital will force them to declare a smaller percentage of dividend than before. Consequently the flow of British capital may be discouraged.

We have analysed above a weighty catalogue of injuries that may be sustained by our economy under the impact of devaluation. But amidst these dark clouds surrounding the economy now, there is a silver lining. Our calculations, given above, show that imports of capital goods and raw materials would now become 39 per cent costlier. At the same time our goods in the foreign markets would be cheaper by 57.5 per cent. Therefore devaluation would lower the prices of our goods to foreigners though not to the full extent of the depreciation in the exchange value of the rupee. This is likely to enlarge the foreign demand for our non-traditional exports. The consequent stimulus to such export industries coupled with the policy of import liberalisation assured by the Govern-

ment, affords an opportunity to the private sector for fuller utilisation of their industrial capacity, increased production, enlarged exports and larger earnings of foreign exchange. Therefore devaluation poses a challenge to the private sector.

To sum up, devaluation by itself and unaccompanied by other measures cannot put the economic house in order. There is no likelihood of an expected increase in exports so far as the traditional export commodities of India like jute, tea, raw hides etc. are concerned. These commodities do not face much competition in the international market and do not need further incentive. The inevitable increase in the prices of imported commodities would result in a further spurt in the general price-level in the country. Hence there is a legitimate apprehension that the lower rupee would aggravate the hardships of the common man. The peculiarity of the position is that India has been compelled to devalue its currency in the hope that the aid sought would be forthcoming and the programme of industrialisation pushed forward. But devaluation will itself create conditions in which it will be difficult to speed up the process of industrialisation through planned efforts. Nevertheless devaluation along with the policy of import liberalisation gives private enterprise greater scope to make its contribution to the development of the country through larger production and export of non-traditional goods, provided the Government pursues with renewed vigour the policy of holding the price line and increased production of foodgrains. If this hope materialises, the country would consider the immediate hardships undergone as the legitimate price paid for the long-run benefits.

BUDDHA AND GANDHI : A STUDY

DIPAK KUMAR BARUA

Buddha, the Blessed One, who brought a revolutionery change in Indian life and thought, was really a perfect embodiment of love, charity and non-violence. Mahatma Gandhi, a product of the twentieth century, like a true disciple of Buddha, also followed the same path. Both of them had a radical view of social reforms and so endeavoured much to drive out the evils that had crept into the social organism. They not only protested against the existing socio-economic abnormalities that were apparent in many directions, but also actively did much to eradicate the social anomalies. Buddha's activities in this sphere were, however, to some extent passive while those of Gandhiji were direct and demonstrative. The reasons for this difference between the two lie in the fact that Buddha studied the problems from an ethico-spiritual standpoint while the Mahatma looked at the same from a social point of view. Thus each of them represented the age and social environment in which one was born and brought up. Yet Gandhiji was a humble follower of Lord Buddha. He showed us an outstanding example of how the teachings of his Master might be realised. With his unusual simplicity and serenity of mind he offered an antidote for all social evils.

It is interesting to trace the process by which Mahatma Gandhi was spiritually influenced by Lord Buddha. Gandhiji thought : "Buddhism had a reforming effect upon Hinduism, somewhat similar to that of Protestantism upon Catholicism, but there

was a great difference in the spirit underlying that reform". The almost divine Buddha taught and practised the glorious doctrine of self-sacrifice that took deep root in Indian life. He proclaimed that animal sacrifices were despiritualising and that the highest form of love was expressed by extending that toleration, which was already a tenet of their faith, in the direction of refraining from killing or otherwise destroying living beings. For all such lofty ideals Gandhiji believed that Buddhism never declined in India. Although the number of the followers of Buddha and his religion are few and far between and Buddhism survives now-a-days in distant lands like Tibet, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon and other south Asian countries only, yet the spirit of Buddhism still survives in India, influencing even the life of a staunch Brahman.

Mahatma Gandhi did never take Buddhism as a new Faith. He said that "in India, at any rate, Hinduism and Buddhism were but one and that even today the fundamental principles of both are indetical". He further observed that Lord Buddha, himself a son of a Hindu king, renouncing the worldly life after prolonged meditation to solve the highest riddles of human life, was much moved to pity when he saw that the religion of the Hindus was overcast by all sorts of meanesses passing for orthodoxy.

Non-violence (ahimsa) plays a vital role in Buddha's doctrine. Thus in the

Dhammapada is found : "Not by hatred is hatred calmed, but only by non-hatred (loving kindness) , that is an old-time law". Literally speaking Ahimsa means non-killing. But to Mahatma Gandhi "it has a world of meaning" and takes him "into realms infinitely higher". It really means : one may not offend anybody ; one may not harbour an "uncharitable thought even towards one who considers himself" to be one's enemy. Thus as to the importance and significance of non-violence Mahatma Gandhi followed Buddha out and out. The sacred duty of Mahatma was only to develop the former understanding of Ahimsa and thus he brought to flower what was previously merely in bud.

Although Gandhiji held a very high opinion about Buddha, yet he differed widely in some respects from the latter. Buddha was serene and a Man of meditation, while Gandhiji was a man of action and movement. One travelled in the world

of spiritualism and enlightenment while the other roamed on the mundane earth with all its faults and foibles. But the greatest difference between the two lies in their very outlook. One thought only of moral uplift, while the other considered the people in their social environments.

Thus, in the end, it can be said that in spite of certain negligible differences between the two, Gandhiji was an ardent follower of Lord Buddha. Mahatma Gandhi, throughout his career, gradually was almost overpowered by the noble doctrines of the perfectly Enlightened One. He not only studied the Buddhist ethical principles laboriously, but also took every opportunity to demonstrate these in his life and activities. Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, with all his limitations associated with this century, alone held up the burning torch of liberty, equity, fraternity, non-violence, truthfulness and kindness.

FACTORS OF FOREIGN POLICY

M. V. SUBBA RAO

The foreign policy of a country is the bulk of principles and practices that regulate the intercourse of a state with other states.¹ Every foreign policy consists of objectives, factors and policies which are closely inter-related with each other. Factors in any foreign policy are elements of power necessary to enforce a policy and to reach an objective. The foreign policy of any nation is dictated by its national interest. The promotion of the prevailing concept of national interest is the prime objective of the foreign policy of every state since the supreme interest of any state is its security. The national security is thus the irreducible minimum for the defence of which every nation is to be prepared even to risk a war.

Interests are either vital or secondary. Interests which are to be protected at any cost are vital interests. All other interests are of secondary importance which form the brick and mortar of diplomatic skill. A compromise is possible on secondary interests, if it helps to promote the vital interests of a country. Even on secondary interests a compromise becomes impossible if they involve national prestige. Therefore, the first and the foremost task in formulating a foreign policy is to clearly identify the national interests of not only one's own country but those of others also with their proper significance.

Struggle for power supremacy is widely regarded as the guiding theme in world politics.² Most international politics demonstrate a mixture of power politics and ideological factors.³ The

last two wars were marked by such a mixture. Machiavelli taught that a prince ought not to be concerned with ethics but only with the best way of achieving his ends. Mahatma Gandhi stated that both ends as well as means should be good. All ideologies contain value preferences with respect to ends and means. Communists argue that Marxism-Leninism is anti-imperialistic and democratic. Western states see Communism as inherently aggressive and authoritarian. Each attributes its own motivations to its ideological opponent. In fact both American and Soviet politics seem to represent the same age-old western imperialism in the most modern form under their respective ideological disguises. They differ in degree but not in kind. Very frequently the justification of imperialism has been the ideology of anti-imperialism. In 1914 as well as in 1939 both sides went to war in order to defend themselves against the imperialism of the other. The relationship between the interests and ideology makes the problem more complex: whether the interests of a nation create its own ideologies or vice versa is still a debatable point. But ideology is still only one of the several factors which influence international behaviour.

The geographical situation of a country largely determines the character of its foreign policy. Wide rivers and high mountains, generally, form the natural frontiers between states. Absence of such natural frontiers between the states frequently breeds border conflicts. The geographical factor is one of the most discussed factors of foreign policy and it has been a corner stone of international politics by statesmen for almost a century. Nations grow on soil. The fertility of land differs from region to region. Also the 'strategic opportunities' throughout the world are unevenly distributed. Here is a vital source of constant struggle among nations. In Mackinder's theory, Eastern Europe is the key in the strategy of the 'great continent'. He considered that he who rules East Europe controls

1. Ruthnaswamy, M., *Principles and Practice of Foreign Policy* (Popular Book Depot, Bombay) 1961, p. 1.

2. Morgenthau, Hans J., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*; Third Edition (Alfred A. Knopf, New York), 1963, p. 27.

3. Friedmann, W., *An Introduction to World Politics*, 4th Edition (Macavillan & Co. Ltd., London), 1962, p. 9.

the 'heart land' and control of 'heart land' is the key to the control of the world. This theory greatly influenced Hitler as is clearly evident from his expansionist ambitions in East Europe. It has considerable influence on the efforts of Communist Russia for world domination through the control of East Europe. However, this theory is disproved by history. It fails to explain the power of the United States and its increasing influence in international politics.

Geography by itself does not determine the nature of its people. Man's influence on his environment largely depends upon his social organization and technology. Great oceans which once formed formidable barriers between continents, have now become channels of Communications and commerce. The invention of the airplane has profoundly changed our geographical outlook. But technology is man made. It can be used either for war or for peace.

The economic factor in the formulation of a country's foreign policy is of major importance. If a state is self-sufficient in its resources it generally pursues a policy of peace and friendship with all nations. If not, it is likely to turn to aggressive designs under one pretext or other. In the 17th and 18th centuries cotton was an international interest and a cause of international tension. In the present century oil replaced cotton. Oil is of paramount significance in the foreign policy of any country either for national reconstruction or for aggressive designs. Iran is rich in oil resources. Hence its importance in present day world politics. Recently atomic energy and nuclear-fission weapons of warfare pushed oil to a secondary importance. There is a keen competition for the control of fissionable materials among the great powers of the world.

Raw materials, capital accumulation and man power form the essence of the economic factor. Tariffs, trade controls, investments and foreign aid significantly influence the foreign policy of any country. The abilities of a people are instrumental in the proper use of its potentialities. The economic factor is to be evaluated in its relation with other factors. For example Luxemburg is a country with a high economic potential but with a small population. On the other hand, India is a country with a large population but with a relatively low economic potential. The inference is that much of the signifi-

ficance of Luxemburg's high economic potential is reduced in view of its limited population.

The demographic factor is as important as the economic factor in the formulation of a foreign policy. Nations with a rising birth rate might have a different foreign policy, and might undertake different risks than a nation with a declining birth rate.⁴ Also population is a continuously changing factor. In certain conditions the population factor assumes major significance while in the other it remains less significant. Mass exterminations by Nazi Germany is illustrative of this fact. Over population often results in expansionist policies. However, over population by itself does not lead to expansionist policies. Its significance is to be assessed in relation to its social institutions and cultural standards. The differences between the foreign policies of over-populated India of Nehru's Government and over-populated Japan under a militaristic rule clearly shows the utility of social institutions.

A country with a huge military organization and many discontented citizens might still be weak, and a country with few regiments but many loyal and happy citizens might still be strong. The displeasure of the masses can easily be exploited by demagogic leaders through irrational and dogmatic ideologies. Hence, not the institutions alone but the institutional behaviour of the people is also highly relevant. A responsible statesman should evaluate the pattern of political behaviour of a nation which is either his partner or his adversary in evolving a sound foreign policy. In every nation attitudes towards democracy, patterns of political behaviour and political movements play a vital role. The institutional behaviour of a nation mirrors its democratic and non-democratic ways of life. It presents ample scope for understanding its techniques of adjustments. The foreign policy of a country is an integral part of its domestic structural system. The political system of a country determines the mechanism of decision-making in its foreign policy. The mechanism of decision-making in a democracy is different from what it is in a dictatorship. The fact that in a dictatorship a foreign policy decision is

4. Gross, Feliks., *Foreign Policy Analysis* (Philosophical Library, New York) 1954, p. 108.

made secretly, without controls and restrains, contributes to the speed of the decision and provides the initial advantage of surprise. In a democracy foreign policy decisions are made in public; their enforcement is slow and subject to moral restraint. The Soviet dictatorship has the advantage of initial surprise over the American democracy.

In addition to the study of domestic power patterns of a nation, a close observation of its various pressure groups such as political parties, religious missions, chambers of commerce, cultural associations, is also necessary to ascertain a full and faithful picture of its social set up. Modern anthropology and sociology have made initial contributions for a better understanding of national cultures and patterns of political behaviour.⁵

The military factor is perhaps the highly delicate and the most complex of all the factors of foreign policy. The discovery of thermo-nuclear weapons changed the character of warfare not only in degree but also in kind. The change in the degree does not require much elaboration. War in itself is an evil. But it has been accepted in the last resort as a necessary evil to avert a greater evil with minimum possible loss of human life on both the sides. A civilized war is that in which the process of homicide is limited to a stage where the enemy is compelled to prefer either to surrender or to retreat. The scope of destruction through thermo-nuclear weapons is unlimited and its effective area of annihilation is as wide as the world itself. Thus in such a changed context the very purpose of war is totally defeated. Theoretically war has become a matter of history. War has lost its major significance as an effective institution to solve international disputes in a civilized way. But the precise problem is that no device has yet been discovered to take its place. Today the policy-makers face the dilemma⁶ whether to use or not to use force to pursue their national interests. If force is used, it may result in total extinction of the human race. If force is not used, it may be mistaken for weakness and may constitute an invitation for aggression. Thus, it is very delicate to handle and

most complex to resolve. The solution appears to lie in perfecting the apparatus of peaceful settlement of international disputes by encouraging the increasing use of the procedures such as negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement and such other means

However, the discovery of thermo-nuclear weapons does not necessarily preclude the possibility of limited war with limited objectives as is evidenced in Palestine, Kashmir, Korea, Congo and Vietnam. The world's two leading nuclear powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, opposed to each other both by ideology and national interest reached parity in the possession of nuclear weapons. Now an uneasy peace hovers over the world which appears to be the result of 'mutual terror'. Given such a precarious peace there is every danger that a small conflict may develop into a major clash and explode the globe. Also the magnitude of the danger increases with the increase in the number of nuclear powers. Obviously the super-powers will not be limited to two for a long time.

The unlimited power of thermo-nuclear weapons does not totally dismiss the importance and function of the conventional weapons in view of the possibility of limited wars. A policy in order to be effective must be backed by the necessary power. Hobbes considered that covenants without swords are but words. A defenceless position and a distinguished love of power is the surest invitation to war. Therefore, no nation can afford to ignore its military strength except at the cost of its own independence. If military weakness is an invitation to invasion, a large army, too large for the defence of the state, is a temptation to aggression.⁷ Also it encourages other states to an arms race. The armies of the present day are differently constituted from those of the past centuries. Armies

5. Gross, Filks, *Foreign Policy Analysis* (Philosophical Library, New York), 1954, p. 120.

6. Appadorai, A., *Dilemma in Foreign Policy in the Modern World*. R. R. Kale Memorial Lecture, 1962 (Asia Publishing House, Poona) 1963, p. 2.

7. Ruthnaswamy, M., *Principles and Practice of Foreign Policy* (Popular Book Depot, Bombay) 1961, p. 15.

of illiterate recruits, long hours of marching, belong to the past. The American Air-force is an army of officers. Today at least a minimum knowledge of technology is essential even for a land's corporal. Counting numbers of divisions hardly gives a full picture of the military factor. Even figures of military equipment such as air-planes are not sufficient. The estimates which include air-bases, planes in operation, air-force man-power, are more complex. A clear grasp of all these aspects is essential for a person on whose shoulders devolve the great responsibility of defending a nation.

The foreign policy of any country is the product of its history. Its origins are deeply rooted in the past. It is nourished by the traditions and customs of the country. No foreign policy can divorce itself from the history of its country since it is the sum and substance of the decisions taken over a long period of time. It is aptly said that our ancestors rule us from their graves.⁸ The foreign policy of a country cannot be independent of its history, for that history is the history of the ideas, the influences, the relations that have shaped its foreign policy through the centuries. Even the most anti-traditional Soviet Union is not an exception to this rule since its interest in East Europe bears an eloquent testimony to this fact.

A statesman in charge of foreign affairs should necessarily have a sound background of history of not only his own country but also of the other countries with which he is concerned. In fact, under the present context of improved communications and increased interdependence in all aspects of life no nation can ignore the developments of any part of the world which presupposes a thorough knowledge of the history of the entire world itself. The purpose of the study of history in this context is to correctly identify a country in terms of its internal and external history, particularly those aspects of its history which have a significant influence on its present foreign policy. This purpose will be well served if such a study of history includes the economic development, cultural and social development, political and ideological development and

persistant foreign policy interests and tendencies of the countries concerned.⁹

The importance of diplomacy as an essential factor of foreign policy is more pressing today than at any time in the history of the world because a nation which under present conditions is either unwilling or unable to take the full advantage of diplomacy condemns itself either to the slow death of attrition or to the sudden death of nuclear destruction. An all-out nuclear war is suicidal. So successful diplomacy provides the only certain chance for survival.¹⁰

The purpose of diplomacy is to create out of the conflicting interests of the contestants a community of interests, a compromise which cannot satisfy all parties completely but with which no party is left completely dissatisfied.¹¹ A nation which is incapable of pursuing its interests successfully and peacefully through diplomacy is of necessity compelled either to foresake its interests or to pursue them by war. Modern diplomacy is called 'open diplomacy'.

Open diplomacy is based on the Wilsonian principles of 'open covenants openly arrived at'. The older states of Europe which elaborated the customs, traditions and laws that became accepted principles of international intercourse have largely declined in power. Two factors have greatly changed the nature of traditional diplomacy. One is the interests of the states which form the subject matter of diplomacy are greatly multiplied. The other is the number of states participating in the diplomatic activity have been greatly enlarged. The decreasing number of European states as centres of power conflict and the appearance of the new states of Asia and Africa in the field of international politics greatly affected the nature of traditional diplomacy.

9. Almond, Gabriel A., "Introductory Comparative Study of Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy in World Politics*, edited by Roy C. Macrides (Prentice Hall, Inc.) 1958, pp. 6-7.

10. Margenthau, Hans J., "The Permanent values in the old Diplomacy" *Diplomacy in a Changing World*, Edited by Stephen D. Kertes and M. A. Fitzsimons (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame) 1959, p. 7.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Almost every country either directly or indirectly is coming under the umbrella of one or other of the two super powers i.e., the United States and the U.S.S.R. Communications, technology, trade and the impact of western ideas have closely welded the world into proximity that would normally contribute to the formation of a community.¹² But the lack of consciousness prevented the present world from developing into a community. Generally diplomacy presupposes a common belief in each other's word, in certainty of ultimate understanding and the possibility of compromise between the conflicting claims.¹³ But in a world devoid of consciousness and divided by ideologies the basis for diplomacy seems to be absent.

In the field of foreign affairs, the tree is judged according to its fruits.¹⁴ In other words, the character of diplomacy is judged not by its process but by its results. Morgenthau is of the view that "no negotiations of any kind... can be carried out in public without defeating their very purpose: the transformation of conflicting or inchoate interests into a common purpose of the contracting parties."¹⁵ For example when a leader of a democratic nation takes a certain stand in public on any given issue his position becomes rigid and he cannot retract except at his own peril. This is the chief flaw in open diplomacy. Morgenthau states that "the

United Nations and traditional diplomacy are not mutually exclusive alternatives between which nations must choose. Rather they supplement each other."¹⁶ Recent events in international relations substantiate this statement. The Cuba missile crisis, the most dangerous of the post-war era, was settled by an exchange of letters between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev. Of the three subsequent agreements which involved the great powers two were reached outside the United Nations. They are the nuclear test ban treaty and the decision by the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom to cut down the production of nuclear materials for weapons. The third, the agreement not to instal nuclear weapons in space vehicles, was embodied in the General Assembly resolution adopted unanimously. But this was mainly a product of prior exchanges between Washington and Moscow. Therefore a prudent statesman will not fail to exploit the advantages of traditional diplomacy too in the pursuit of his national interests. Most of the wars can be averted by allowing the passions to gradually subside. It is rightly said that "often in history nations have indeed avoided war over their vital interests by allowing time to take the sting out of their conflicts."¹⁷ Ultimately good diplomacy may produce solutions on a regional, continental and global levels which will increase security through co-operation and peace that will create strength. Supranational institutions of Europe such as the European Economic Community appear to move in this direction.

Professor Feliks Gross introduced another factor, 'Factor X' which in this context means the 'unexpected.'¹⁸ He pleads that especially in politics the element of chance, accident such as miscalculation, irrational elements in human motivations, play a significant role. Evidence is not enough to show that either the United States or the Soviet Union sincerely wants a war in the context of changed circumstances. But it is evident that each is constantly haunted by the specter of fear. The present armaments race be-

12. Kertesz, Stephen D. and Fitzsimons, M.A. (ed.) "Introduction" *Diplomacy in a Changing World* (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame) 1959, p. 7.

13. Ruthnaswamy, M., *Principles and Practice of Foreign Policy* (Popular Book Depot, Bombay) 1961, p. 48.

14. Bourban-Busset, Jacques de. "Decision making in Foreign Policy" (translated by Professor John U. Neb, University of Chicago) *Diplomacy in a Changing World*, edited by Stephen D. Kertze and M. A. Fitzsimons (University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame) 1959, p. 78.

15. Morgenthau, Hans J., "The Permanent values in old Diplomacy" *Diplomacy in a Changing World*, edited by Stephen D. Kertze and M. A. Fitzsimons (Univ. of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame) 1959, p. 11.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

18. Gross, Feliks, *Foreign Policy Analysis* (Philosophical Library, New York) 1954, p. 124.

tween them is more fear oriented than ideology oriented. But a small error—although insignificant in itself—may lead to gross miscalculation and may ultimately result in the destruction of the entire human race. Therefore a prudent statesman will take the necessary precautions by expecting the so-called ‘unexpected.’ The reverses suffered by the Indian regiments in the Sino-Indian border clashes is a telling example of unpreparedness. The policy-makers in India sincerely did not expect the Chinese aggression. But it cost the country very dearly.

The Indian Student

We have received a copy of the above fortnightly. It is well written and well got up. Its objects are :

- 1) To create a healthy public opinion among Indian students residing abroad.
- 2) To promote their general intellectual, moral and spiritual culture.
- 3) To keep them in touch with the deeper currents of the life and thought of their homeland.
- 4) Generally to represent their interests and views upon questions affecting their life and activities.

Provided always that all discussions of Current Indian Politics shall be absolutely excluded from the columns of this paper.

There are many periodicals which do not discuss current politics. It is necessary and practicable for some to specialize in this way. But we do not understand how the objects of this particular periodical can be gained without discussing politics. For instance “the interests” of “the Indian students” cannot be properly represented unless one considers why ordinarily their prospects are confined to the Provincial Services, whilst their British fellow-students of equal or inferior merit enter the Imperial Services. How, again, can their intellectual culture be promoted if the politics of their country be such that their intellects cannot have room for full play and development ?...

What is the definition of current Indian politics ? How many years old must Indian politics be to cease to be considered *current* ? Mr. P. Bannerjee gives “A brief history of Indian Commerce.” He writes : “The foreign trade of India is now steadily increasing but Indians have very little share in it.” This raises the question of decay of indigenous shipping early in the last century, which Mr. Banerjee does not enter into. But had he done so, which he might well have done, ... would not that have been Indian politics ? While all other students in England freely breathe a political atmosphere, it is a queer notion to keep Indian students segregated from politics... We have always held that touch with politics... is not only innocuous but necessary for the proper education of youth.

Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*, August, 1911.

FUTURE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

A plea for New Dimensions

R. K. BARI

Perhaps it is because of its association with the name of Gandhiji that the case of cottage industries has come to invite very strong emotions. Its admirers are as uncompromising as its critics are unrelenting. The one would not admit of any deficiency, the other would not acknowledge any merit. The one dreams of ushering in a millennium, the other sees nothing in it but the very antithesis of progress and civilisation. To make the case even worse, doctrinaire evidences are not lacking on either side, and this has only helped to confuse the issue rather than clear it up. The net result of the impact is that it has produced more heat than light and one is rather tempted to keep clear of it for fear of burning one's fingers.

But it is time we should make a dispassionate enquiry and see what lies beneath. It is only at our peril that we could avoid it.

Let us take the latter case first—that of the critics. In season and out of season we are faced with the remark that the days of cottage industries are over, that this dear old planet of ours has outlived that age when Adam delved and Eve span. There is no dearth of critics, amateur or professional, who would bang their table and pile up facts and figures to prove that the cottage industries, to-day, are fighting a lost battle, and any attempt to revive or develop them is nothing short of trying to put the wheels on the reverse gear. Such attempts, they would emphatically assert, are doomed to failure. History, they argue, is not going to reverse its course, and, in the field of industry, the economics of production shall have the ultimate say. Eventually, the

cottage industries, with their old and outmoded production techniques, will have to yield their place to large-scale industries, using modern machines and scientific technology. Therefore, they conclude, cottage industry is the wrong horse to stake one's fortune upon, and a nation's future is not something to be pawned for some elusive and doubtful benefit. It is not only that it will lead us nowhere but it is also unwise in that the handicaps forced upon others for its sake might prove to be too heavy for them to contend successfully for a comparable position in the world market.

Another oft-repeated criticism coming from that camp is that the cottage industries of this country are still lingering on in their death-bed only because of the fact that they are being spoon-fed by the present administrators who are pre-disposed in their favour. Once that protection is taken off, these industries will hardly get any breathing time before they meet their most natural death.

Such dogmatic criticism is decidedly lopsided even if it is well-meant. It smacks of a sweeping generalisation and takes little account of the developmental problems of an underdeveloped economy. But, then, if one side of the picture is misleading, the other is not edifying. Most of the champions of cottage industry prefer to forget that an industrial venture is **basically an economic activity** and must be judged as such. More oftener than not, they bring in all sorts of extraneous considerations—philosophical, ethical, cultural and even sentimental—to argue their case. The other day I was reading an interesting article in a recent issue of a local journal. The writer happens to be

an ardent votary of the cottage industries programme. He breathed confidence throughout, and with admirable competence pleaded for an extension of human values in the field of production. He preferred, however, to liken the cottage industries to one's old parents and concluded that a sane man can never think of putting an end to the life of his "old and unproductive parents". He would rather maintain them even at the cost of his personal comfort.

The present writer does not propose to take upon himself to question the validity of such a statement. But this much he humbly submits that this is at best an apology for their continued existence rather than a vindication of their right to exist. Blindness is said to be an attribute of true love and it is amply in evidence here. Otherwise, the learned writer would not have failed to see that by comparing cottage industries to one's old parents he is but playing into the hands of his opponents. He is pained at the lack of reverence due to an old age, but how can he deny the charge of senility—an essential accompaniment of that age? Does he mean to say that Cottage Industries have come to outlive their age and utility and we owe nothing more to them than an ungrudging respect due to their hoary hair and shrunken skin? Surely he would not have liked the idea, had there been a proposal to preserve these age-old industries as museum specimens—as pieces of antique interest only?

Barring a few notable exceptions, the case for cottage industries almost invariably goes the way of solicitations for favour and appeals to sentiments. The arguments advanced too, are based not so much upon valid economic grounds as upon nostalgia and romanticist ideas. Perhaps the promoters want to win their case by stirring up popular enthusiasm for their cause. It must be admitted that popular emotions, if sufficiently aroused, can work wonders. But history teaches us that such emotions are proverbially fickle, and any edifice built

on that foundation shall have as much stability as sand castles which children build on sea shores.

The present writer refuses to accept that the case for cottage industries is as hopeless as is made out to be. It does offer certain well-known advantages which a developing nation cannot ignore with impunity. But that fact in itself hardly allows any room for complacency. Neither does it provide any excuse for being apologetic or to go abegging for charity.

It is in the interest of their cause itself that the promoters of cottage industries should seek more solid grounds. If they desire that these industries should fare somewhat better than maintaining a limping existence at others' expense, then they must also be prepared to accept the proposition that it must hold its ground by its own inherent strength. If it fails, no amount of spoon-feeding will help it ever to stand on its own legs in this highly competitive world that is ours.

They must also get reconciled to the fact that whether they like it or not, large-scale industries have come to stay; and, not only to stay, but also to expand their scope and sphere immensely in the foreseeable future. Cottage industry, if it is to exist even in that changed set up, must exist by its own right and not as a mark of indulgence or favour.

Moreover, it will not help them much to be squeamish about criticism. Rather, they should try to read what the others hold in their hands and see what it signifies for them. If they do not object to pick up the cue from their opponents, they will not fail to see that there is more to it than meets the eye.

The main arguments of the critics centre round the charge that the cottage industries embody the very negation of what has been achieved by the advancement of science and technology, and have thus rendered themselves totally unfit for survival in this scientific age. Such criticism

shows but a poor appreciation of the needs and problems of a developing economy and takes little account of the capacities and capabilities of its subjects. But, nevertheless, it focusses attention on certain basic points which it would be unwise to brush aside. Some recent trends in the field of industry and technology seem to lend some substance to their assertion.

The Post-war world witnessed an era of technological development quite unprecedented in the whole history of human undertaking. In the field of industrial production, newer and yet newer machines and techniques are coming out in rapid succession and old order of things and old modes of production are being continually pushed back to the forgotten past. But of greater import is the emergence of a large number of synthetic substitutes which hold out an immense prospect for industrial application.

One great advantage of these synthetic products is that they have made the problem of raw materials independent of the fetters inherent in the natural source and have thus brought in a greater freedom and elasticity in the field of industrial production. But their greatest advantage lies in their cost factor. In case of natural raw materials, the supply being limited, the cost rises with every increase in demand. But in case of synthetic products the position is just the reverse. The economics of large scale production, operating in their case, helps to reduce the cost factor with expansion of demand and production. These two advantages, more than anything else, have been responsible for the fact that synthetic substitutes almost always show a tendency to usurp the position of natural raw materials in the field of industrial production.

Now, the impact of a technological advance in the tools, techniques or raw materials of a given industry is felt by all its sectors. But the hardest hit is the cottage industry sector—specially that section of cottage industry which uses natural

raw materials to produce consumers' necessities. Perhaps the position would become clear if we examine it in a bit of greater detail.

Cottage industries, as they exist today, may broadly be classified into two distinct groups: one is Handicrafts, and the other—Consumer Industries. Handicrafts have a characteristic charm of their own. Their appeal lies in the fact that, in them, we feel the creative genius at work, unalloyed and unspoilt by sophistication. But, then, their charm and appeal are inherent in their process of production. The materials used too, have come to be imbued with a traditional flavour which contributes to that charm. Mechanisation of the production process or replacement of the materials used by cheaper substitutes will only help to take away that distinctive charm and the products will lose their appeal altogether. This peculiar character of these products have saved them from being wholly pushed out by technological encroachment and have left them in a fair state of preservation throughout the centuries of their existence.

But the consumer industries present a different picture. Here the market is highly competitive and cost and quality are the two determining factors. What technology is primarily concerned with is to effect improvement on these two points. It may seek to introduce new tools, machines or techniques at the processing stage, or it may come forward with cheaper or better substitutes for raw materials. Either it brings down the cost or it brings in a superior product; and in any case the advantage gained is salutary.

But it is not all the sectors that can hope to partake of the advantage. Only the large and medium units possess the requisite technical and financial equipments needed for the change-over; and, naturally enough, it is they who reap the harvest. In some cases, even the small units can hope to glean a handful. But the unfortunate cottage units have neither the capacity

nor the competence to take any advantage of the innovation and get but the worst of it in this crushing struggle.

In the case of new tools or techniques, however, the unfortunate victims try to fight it out to the last, even though that may mean a tightening of their belt. But in the case of synthetic substitutes, they do not get even a chance to fight. When these products first appear, their implications are not immediately clear to many of us. It is more so in the case of the unlettered cottage artisans. But, even if they foresee any danger ahead, they do not find any way of countering it. Thus, it so happens that whenever a synthetic substitute appears, the cottage units are forced to close their shop and go out of business.

A recent such case is the appearance of plastic. It has already displaced many of the established industries of the past. In this part of the country, only yesterday, shell buttons and horn combs had enjoyed a very flourishing existence; but, today, the victory of plastic over them is so complete that only a collector's zeal can find them out.

It hardly needs to elaborate further on instances. The point would become clear even to a casual observer, if he cares to read it. Now the question comes—what can we do to avert the tragedy?

But can we really do anything? We may deliberately deny ourselves the use of machines even at the cost of sacrificing some of the amenities of modern life; but how long can we debar a synthetic product from entering into the field? And, still then the question remains—whether we should!

Let me place a poser to clarify my point. As has already been mentioned, the advent of synthetic resins (plastic) had been the root cause for the disappearance of many of the well-known products of the past. Today, it is gradually extending its sphere and has already replaced glass, wood and even metals to a partial extent. Now,

the only way to save these age-old industries is to ban its production and bar its entry into the market. But will it be wise, in the context of wider national interest, to take that extreme step in respect of a product which holds out so much promise and potentiality?

I doubt whether even the most ardent advocate of cottage industry would unhesitatingly nod his assent. But, even if we chose to go to that extreme limit, there is hardly any surety that we will be able to keep it at bay for all times to come. Our neighbours may not see our point and may decide to go the other way about. We may, however, try to go it alone. But an isolated existence is something less than a possibility in a world made infinitely smaller than what it was a century or even a decade ago.

However, for better or worse, we have preferred not to follow the course. Synthetic products, if not always encouraged, are at least allowed to have a free play in the field of our industry and trade. But it is doubtful whether we are fully aware of its implications; or, at any rate, we have not given any proof of such awareness. Products like synthetic resins and synthetic fibres will surely open up a vista of new industries to develop and thrive on our soil, but have we ever thought that at the same time that they will cut at the very roots of many of our established industries? Or have we given them up for lost?

If we be honest to ourselves, we cannot escape the inevitable conclusion that we cannot really save them, howsoever we may try. We may devise ameliorative measures to provide temporary relief but it will not save these industries from their ultimate doom. Synthetic products will eventually replace natural raw materials in the field of consumer industries, and we have already analysed the reasons why, under such circumstances, it is mostly the cottage units that are forced to surrender their ground whenever a substitute appears in the field.

Are we then to remain but helpless spectators in this tragic drama? Can we not do anything to save the cottage units when we do realise that they offer certain benefits and advantages which we cannot have otherwise?

Perhaps we can. Perhaps it is not yet too late to act, if we decide to act with vigour and foresight. But for that we must denude our mind of certain inhibitions in relation to cottage industries.

Cottage industries of the future must not come to mean something old and antedated—something that a modern man of science would be ashamed to own. They cannot remain static in a dynamic world. If they are to survive, they must draw their sustenance from the development of science and technology as much as the large-scale sector, and at the same time, they must be economically viable. And for that, if the present field be not wide enough, they must explore new fields and win new laurels.

There is nothing visionary or far-fetched in the idea. Possibilities are there still for cottage industries to attain that height. Much of their ground they have lost; but yet there are fields where they might be useful to us without being a burden or a liability. By way of examples, "I would like to list here a few which suggest themselves at the moment to my limited understanding.

Our first consideration should go to handicrafts. These crafts, as we have seen earlier, can hold their ground more or less unaffected by technological advance. Rather the curious thing about them is that the most advanced countries are the greatest admirers of handicrafts. The reason behind it might be that they can afford that luxury, or it might be that, in these products, they find a welcome relief from the irritating monotony of machine-made products. But, perhaps, there are psychological reasons, even more potent, to explain this paradox. In handicrafts we feel a vicarious satisfac-

tion of the creative impulse that is inherent in man. Perhaps that is why we admire it so. But whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that handicrafts will exist and thrive even in a society dominated by machines and automation. In our country it is heartening to see a growing awareness about the importance of these crafts in our national economy. But there remains much to be desired yet, specially, in the field of marketing which even now is dominated by middlemen.

But, with all its promise, the handicrafts can absorb only a fraction of the displaced artisans. It is only the consumer industries which can provide a wider and surer field for a fuller rehabilitation. Our previous analysis of that field however, does not present a very happy picture. But, then, we have tried to evaluate the performance of the cottage sector only as an alternative to its large scale counterpart, and have never seriously considered what it might have achieved in a supplementary or subsidiary role. Indications are there that in that role cottage units may prove their worth and usefulness even in a highly industrialised society. But for that what we need primarily is to explore the avenues by which cottage industries might be fitted in to the industrial texture of the community and may develop a system of harmonious co-existence with the large-scale sector without any great prejudice to the efficient functioning of either. There are reasons to believe that not a few such cases will present themselves, if only we deign to pick them up. But I propose to limit my discussions here only to three such cases:

In the first instance, let us take a leaf out of recent history. The case history of handloom industry is only too well-known. In spite of its past records of glorious achievements, the industry had been facing a crisis during the post-war days. But thanks to the timely rescue operations launched by our national Government, the industry was helped on to find its feet and, today,

it is by far the largest industrial venture in our countryside. But, perhaps, it would not be right for the State to take a full share of the credit. The consumers also rallied round; and that contributed no less to the spectacular success. On closer analysis, however, it will be seen that the products of the handloom did possess some qualities which had a peculiar appeal to the consumers. State help came in to accentuate that appeal and helped it to crystallise into a system of consumers' preference. Today, that preference has developed into a bias and shows all the signs of a permanent settlement.

Now, what are these qualities which helped the handloom to achieve such singular success? It is that the products of handloom do offer a wide range of individualised selection against the dull monotony of mill-made products; and secondly, even more than that, in their innumerable motifs and designs we feel the creative genius of the artisan at work, which we miss even in the most intricately designed mill-made products. Perhaps these two qualities, more than anything else, helped the handloom product to endear itself to the consumer. If that be so, we may expect to get the same result wherever these two factors would be present. We will have, of course, to look for them. From a cursory glance it seems that hand printing of textiles present such a possibility; and I have often wondered whether jute and coir carpets could not have been exclusively left to the cottage artisans to produce richly decorated products suitable for middle class homes.

Now I will come to my second point. It is not always that a technological improvement leads to an economic advantage. In such cases, it would be to the advantage of the large scale sector itself that the cottage units should maintain a flourishing existence. Armature winding in electric fan and motor industry might be cited as an instance in point. In and around Calcutta,

not a few families earn some extra money that way to add to their family income in these hard days. And what is more, it is mostly done by women members in their spare time. I have also seen a big fan manufacturing concern in Calcutta doing much of their business, besides wire winding, in small cottage units outside their factory premises. They must have found it profitable for themselves to do so and their product is one of the lowest-priced amongst the comparable lot. I have heard also that there are certain points in the manufacture of radio receiving sets where cottage units may advantageously step in. But I leave it to experts to say whether it is a fact.

My point, however, is that what is happening is only sporadic and unplanned, and much more to the interest of the large-scale producer who holds all the trump-cards in this bargain. Had it developed in a little more planned manner, a legitimate share of the benefit could have been secured for the cottage units. It would have been better, perhaps, had the State come forward to provide the lead in exploring such avenues and integrate into these industrial pattern of the country as a matter of policy.

Lastly, I propose to deal with those prospective new industries which we may profitably develop with those synthetic raw materials which science has brought to our door. These products have played quite a havoc in our traditional sector, but, nevertheless, they also present some possibilities for some newer types of cottage industries to be developed and introduced in our countryside. The case of plastics has already been mentioned. Its emergence had been the root cause behind the disappearance of many of the well-known products of the past. But I am told on good authority that small cottage units might be developed for production of plastic toys, and small utility articles—like buttons, combs, soap cases, electrical accessories etc.; and it will have some advantages too. As a matter of

fact, a few such units have actually come up that changed order. They may perhaps and have already made some headway in also require a bit of technical and environ- Calcutta and its suburbs. But my point is mental adjustment. But that in itself should that what has been achieved by a few not dissuade us. Gandhiji, than whom a resourceless and illiterate workmen, might greater champion of cottage industries the have been done immensely better, had there world has yet to find, once dreamt of an age been a planned approach and the sanction when the artisans in their village homes and patronage of the State behind it. What would be happily plying their small tools I would like to emphasise further is the with the help of electric power. Electricity, need to take such industries to the villages of course, has yet to go a long way to reach and semi-urban areas where the unemploy- the villages. But why should we not plan ment problem is more acute. in advance and usher in that age rather than leave it to chance, which does not

Perhaps it would be hard for the village artisans to reconcile themselves to present itself in a very bright light at the moment?

Rift Relief Fund

"... Though we are Moslems, our sympathies are wholly with the Riffs in their struggle for liberty against Spain. They, therefore, deserve all the help that can be sent from India.

What is deplorable is that though Bengal contains more Musalmans than any other province of India, than in fact many independent Moslem countries, yet on no occasion when these Bengali Musalman millions have been stricken with famine, flood, earthquake or epidemic, have the Agha Khan, Syed Amir Ali (who is himself a Bengali) and other big leaders opened relief fund for them, or themselves contributed a pice to the relief fund opened by non-Muslims. What is the explanation ? Non-Muslims are to keep alive the occasionally starving Muslim peasantry of Bengal, and the big Muslim leaders are to exploit these co-religion- ists of theirs for their own purposes—does the division of labour run along these lines ? If so, one must admit that these big men are very cute and deep."

Ramananda Chatterjee in
The Modern Review for Jan., 1965.

INLAND WATERWAYS IN THE "ECAFE" REGION

K. N. RAMANUJAM

Cheaper System

Inland water transport is a cheaper system compared to road or rail transport. Mr. Lionel B. Wells, formerly engineer to the Weaver Navigation told the Royal Commission (1909) in Britain that "a railway train loaded with 200 tons costs £3,360 and a steam barge to carry the same tonnage £1,600. The steam barge can tow three barges each carrying 200 tons and each costing £1,000. The cost, therefore, of the steam barge and three dumb barges is £4,600. Railway rolling stock to carry the same tonnage costs £15,000." For example, in India, the cost of construction of new railway lines varied from Rs. 6 to 10 lakhs per mile and the maintenance costs per mile were about Rs. 12,000 and Rs. 17,000 in the Eastern and the North Eastern Railways respectively during the year 1957-58. Similarly road construction costs may run to a few thousand rupees for inferior road surfaces and Rs. 3 to 4 lakhs per mile for national highways including cost of bridges and land acquisition charges. The cost of maintenance of roads varies from Rs. 800 for major district roads to Rs. 3,600 for black-top roads. But in the case of river transport the amount involved will be less. It has been estimated that it is enough to spend Rs. 350 per mile for the cost of maintenance of these waterways. It is true that in the case of navigable canals some expenditure may have to be incurred in the initial stages. Even this cost is negligible, compared with that of railways and roadways. The wear and tear due to increase in traffic is negligible in respect of inland waterways unlike the railways system. Inland water vessels have a carrying capacity of nearly five to six times of their own weight, but the weight of railway wagons ranges between half and three-quarters of the weight of the load it can carry. For example, the biggest railway wagon cannot carry more than 50 tons whereas an average sized steamer can easily carry 1,000 tons of cargo. Since water offers low resistance to ships and boats we have less fuel cost, lower

risk of damage to cargo and lower insurance cost. Thus inland water transport offers all the advantages except desirable speed.

Transport Position in the Region

So, it is very appropriate to make an attempt to study the significant role of inland waterways of the ECAFE (Economic Commission of Asia and the Far East) region which refers to the restricted group of countries covered by the Economic Commission's terms of reference namely, the Associated States of Indo-China (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam), British Borneo Territories (North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak), Burma, Ceylon, China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Korea, The Federation of Malayasia, Singapore, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand. Japan has been safely omitted here, because these countries with the addition of Japan, constitute the wider "AFE" region. Since the majority of these countries are underdeveloped, the need to develop their transport system in general and the inland waterways in particular to transport the bulky goods at the cheapest cost is greater. When we consider its vast area and population, the ECAFE region is lacking proportionate inland transport facilities. The following basic statistics indicate this fact clearly:¹

Region	Heads of Population per	
	Route km. of railway in 1948	Registered Motor vehicles in 1947
ECAFE countries	9,700	2,440.0
United States	390	3.8
Western Europe (excluding Germany)	980	43.4
Japan	4,200	665.0

1. *The Economic Survey of Asia And The Far East* (1950) Part I (Resources, Income and Development), p. 254.

This deficiency has been one of the major features of the economic backwardness of the region. However, the restoration and improvement of transport facilities, in many over-all post-war development plans of the countries of the region, have been distinctly improved and the progress in this field in the region has been commendable. At the same time we cannot forget that political difficulties continue to put back the clock of development of transport and thereby hamper its progress in some of the countries of the region.

Among the countries of the region only a few such as India, Pakistan, Burma, China, and the Associated States of Indo-China (Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam) have ample opportunities to augment inland water transport, as they have been endowed by nature with excellent river systems like the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmaputra, the Irrawady, the Mekong, the Hwangho (Yellow river) and the great Yangtze. As the rest of the countries have been blessed with natural harbours and ports, they are improving their oceanic water transportation to increase their sea-borne trade.

India

In India at present the length of perennial waterways is 41,000 miles out of which canals account for 15,000 miles and the remaining 26,000 miles are rivers. But an estimate made by the Government of India in 1961 states that the total length of important navigable inland waterways is about 10,620 km. comprising (a) rivers navigable by steamers and large country vessels : 2,500 km. ; (b) rivers navigable by medium sized country boats : about 3,940 km. ; (c) canals and backwaters navigable by country boats : about 4,184 km. These exclude small tidal creeks on the coast which are not connected with any waterways system.

There are, in India, a few important long distant navigable rivers like the Ganga with its tributaries, the Brahmaputra and the Mahanadi. Rivers like the Godawari, the Krishna, the Cauvery, the Narmada and the Tapti are also navigable for short distances from their estuaries. Besides there is extensive navigation in the coastal and on the backwaters of Kerala, Orissa and Bengal. The Orissa Coast Canal, the Bucking-

ham Canal in Madras and Andhra States, the Vedaranyam Canal in Madras State and the West Coast Canal in Kerala and Mysore States are important canals constructed solely for navigation. In addition to these, there are some irrigation-cum-navigation canals like the Ganga canal from Hardwar to Kanpur, the Yamuna canal in U.P., the Son canal in Bihar, the Mahanadi delta canal in Orissa, the Krishna and Godawari canals in Andhra Pradesh, the D.V.C. canal and the Rajasthan canal.

In the early part of the 19th century, the introduction of steam vessels gave a great fillip to inland water navigation. So it assisted in the growth of the indigo and saltpetre industries in Bihar, the jute industry in Bengal and the tea industry in Assam. Steamers used to ply as far as Garmukhteswar on the Ganga, Ajodhya (Fyzabad) on the Ghagra and Agra on the Yamuna. Kanpur looked like a small port due to its possession of large numbers of vessels on the river. So heavy was the traffic that passenger berths had to be booked three weeks in advance.

Even in the beginning of the present century traffic between Calcutta and Assam, which was mostly handled by the Joint Steamer Companies, was very heavy. The number of vessels utilised on this service was increased at the cost of other services. The Joint Steamer Companies have for many years operated a river service connecting Bihar with Assam and Calcutta via the Ganga and Brahmaputra rivers. They operate approximately 1,000 vessels of various types and sizes over about 5,000 miles of waterways. During the year 1957 total average monthly traffic by river from Bihar to Assam was approximately equal to 145 metre-gauge railway wagons at 15 tons per wagon and from Calcutta to Bihar 100 broad gauge rail wagons at 22 tons per wagon. Due to irregularity of the services there was a decline in the traffic and so the number of vessels on the upper part of the Ganga and on the Ghogra rivers remained as one. The Joint Steamer Companies have stopped their services on the Gandak river from the year 1958. However, on setting up co-ordinating committees, the concerned State Government, the Steamer companies and the railways will be represented to review transport problems each month. The conditions in respect of coun-

try craft have never changed to any great extent. Still there is a fear among the country-boat owners to travel to Pakistan because of the uncertain conditions prevailing.

During her Five Year Plans India has showed genuine interest in developing domestic water navigation. The Third Plan allocation was Rs. 7.5 crores and the proposed Fourth Plan allocation is Rs. 20 crores. But the Transport authorities are of opinion that the allocations are much too meagre to give them any real scope due to the shortage of finance. They also consider the Fourth Plan allocation of Rs. 20 crores as far short of the outlay of Rs. 50 crores recommended by the Gokhale Committee. Since Indian waterways are navigable by mechanically propelled boats for a length of 1,587 miles and the remaining length by sailing vessels, they carried 2.5 million tons of cargo at the end of the Second Plan. They are expected to carry 3.5 million tons of cargo by the end of the Third Plan. It is also hoped that they may carry a total of 4½ million tons at the end of the Fourth Plan.

Pakistan

Like India, Pakistan also is fortunate in possessing natural waterways since the Indus and the Five Rivers (Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Beas) partly flow into the territory of West Pakistan. East Pakistan territory is fed by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and their tributaries. In East Bengal the Brahmaputra is known as the Jamuna and the Ganges as the Padma, while the river Meghna is the name assigned to a big river formed by the confluence of their waters. The other rivers are the Surma and the Musiyara. East Pakistan is endowed by nature with a miracle system of water communications. A very complete steamer service plies upon these rivers. Goalundo at the junction of the Padma and Brahmaputra rivers, is the terminus of a great steamer traffic up the Ganges to Ghazipur, up the Brahmaputra to Dibrugarh and up the Surma to Silchar. So, inland navigation is helpful to move men and merchandise in addition to the other modes of transport.

Due to the scarcity of timber repair of war damage to the fleet of country boats in Pakistan

was limited. Side by side mechanically operated crafts are being introduced gradually. In order to augment the clearing capacity from Chittagong port, the Government of Pakistan has started a service of river-cum-sea craft and it carries mainly jute from internal riverine points to Chittagong, whose capacity is increasing rapidly. It is also proposed to install lightbuoys in the river Karnafuli on which the port of Chittagong is situated, so as to institute pilotage of ships at night. Recently a new anchorage was established near Chalna on the river Pussur, at about 25 miles downstream from Khulna. Cargoes will be loaded and unloaded in stream and taken to internal riverine points by lighter craft. The capacity of the anchorage is 500,000 tons per year.

Burma

The rivers of Burma fall into three groups and there are numerous short, rapid streams, such as the Neat, Kaladam, Lemru and An, which flow down from the Arakan Yoma into the Bay of Bengal. Central Burma is drained by the Irrawady and its tributaries; the Shan plateau is drained mainly by the Salween and its tributaries. In Tenasserim there are a large number of short rapid rivers flowing from the hills into the Gulf of Martaban and the longest is the Tenasserim river. No doubt from time immemorial the principal highway of Burma has been the Irrawady and its tributaries. In Burma even today railways tend to supplement rather than replace the rivers as highways of trade.

So now two-fifths of all inland water transport is handled by the state-owned Inland Water Transport Board which has increased the traffic as conditions became peaceful after the war. The Board not only restored the regular Rangoon-Mandalay service and its tugs were also employed in towing thousands of timber rafts to the important milling points along the river. The Inland Water Transport Board is nothing but the pre-war fleet of the Irrawady Flotilla Company, which had a capacity of about 170,000 gross tons. The present strength of the same fleet has been reduced to 78,000 gross tons, of which almost 10 per cent was constructed during 1950. It is clear that this present fleet will not be able to cope with the demand after normal economic conditions have been prevailing, since more than

10 per cent of the fleet consists of military vessels, lacking commercial value. Moreover, the upkeep of diesel craft has been hampered by the lack of proper facilities and by the time lag in obtaining the necessary spare parts. The Burmese Government has chalked out plans for building a modern diesel repair and overhaul shop. But even now lack of proper river conservancy causes frequent groundings in channels of the Irrawady and the Chindwin main rivers.

China

China has always made great use of her rivers. When Japan invaded China in 1937, the Chinese Government felt a great need to improve her important inland waterways. There are two large rivers, running east and west, which have been joined in many places by a system of canals which run north and south. Linking up the river system with the canals is mainly to serve to carry the quaint little junks which are crowding the Chinese rivers in large numbers. In short, millions of Chinese people know no other homes than these junks which have earned them a living generation after generation.

Through Northern China flows the river Hwangho (Yellow river otherwise known as "China's Sorrow") which is shallow, loaded with silt, and very changeable. Hence it is not navigable. The rivers like the Great Yangtze, its tributaries and the Si Kiang are steady, dependable and navigable in China. In spite of rapids for thousands of miles from its mouth, the Yangtze is the great artery of trade for the busiest part of China; Shanghai, the most important port in the Far East and the centre of China's manufacturing industry, is situated at the mouth of the Yangtze. That is why Shanghai is growing day by day. The Yangtze valley is the home of nearly half the Chinese and the river handles half of China's commerce. Along its lower course crops flourish all through the year, China's finest silk is grown and here is her best cotton, rice and tea districts. In Southern China Canton is the trading centre and it is fed by the Pearl River. From Canton the produce may be transported through the Pearl River and then it can be shipped to Hong Kong on the Canton-Kowloon railroad. Another important inland waterway of China is the beautiful Grand Canal which ever since the 6th century B.C. has carried

goods from the Yangtze Basin northward. It extends altogether about a 1,000 miles from Hangchow to Tungchow. The changing course of the Hwangho often has made it impossible to use certain parts. Though it has fallen out of repair due to the Japanese war, still it is useful to carry freight and passengers. Thus the rivers of China have been supplemented by canals from the early stage of Chinese history.

An outstanding feature of 1950 in China was the "grain reshuffle" to move grain from surplus to deficit areas. A total of 250,000 tons of foodgrains were moved via the Yangtze River from Szechuan to Shanghai. Therefore there was sheer necessity to organise water transport along the Yangtze and to form special transport committees to look into the problem. As already mentioned, a transportation link inaugurated from Shanghai to Canton, using river craft to Hankow and thence railway transport to Canton.

In China, maintenance of domestic waterways was much neglected in the past. It was decided to establish a Navigation Bureau under the Ministry of Communications to unify the direction of navigation work, when a navigation and highway conference was held in Peking in January, 1950. During the same year, in March, the State Administration Council also decided to improve navigation facilities in practically all respects. It further decided to improve the harbours in Yingkow, Tsingtao, Shanghai and Foochow and to continue the construction of the new Tangku Harbour.

The Associated States of Indo-China

Now, the then Indo-China has been split into three individual nations viz., Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Cambodia is intersected by several streams and links with the Mekong by a channel at Pnom-Penh, through which it receives the Mekong flood waters. It is not unusual for the waters of the Mekong river to rise to a height of 40 to 45 feet during the month of June. Steamers ply between Pnom-Penh and Saigon which is Cambodia's foreign trade outlet. Similarly, Laos has been benefited by the river Mekong and its tributaries together with numerous inland streams through which steamers can ply to transport cargoes. In Vietnam, the river Coi, which is otherwise called Songkai or Red River flows through Tonkin to the Sea. This river is a heavy silted stream with a wide fertile delta. The Coi and its

tributaries constitute the main channel of trade with China. Several small steamers cross Annam to the sea; the harbour of Camrank Bay is the finest among the harbours and there the French built a formidable naval base. From Cambodia into Cochin China (South Vietnam) flows the great Mekong River. It is gratifying to note that its broad plains provide some of the most productive rice land in Asia.

In these countries indigenous craft was destroyed due to civil disturbances. However, they have been balanced by the construction of new craft. The modern fleet of steel tugs and barges is two-thirds of its pre-war strength. With the help of this fleet traffic can be easily handled provided that the amount of traffic should be limited. Anyhow there was a slight improvement in the traffic in 1950 when the amount of rice transported from Pnom Penh to Saigon reached 330,000 tons, which was almost double that in 1949. On this route there is a keen competition between water transport and land transport. In order to transport rice during the peace time a scheme has been developed for rapid construction of steel barges, etc. The larger tug companies are trying to supplant gradually the smaller companies after having perfected their equipment.

Because of the frequent disturbances and political instability, the maintenance of internal waterways remains at a standstill. It is not an exaggeration to state that the waterways have not been dredged even once between 1945 and 1950 with the result that the average depth of waterways in South Vietnam, which must be normally 3 to 3.5 metres, was reduced to 2 to 2.5 metres, adversely affecting the speed of inland vessels or craft.

Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East, (1950) observes that, "although no accurate statistics are available, it would appear that the inland water traffic in the region has increased. The most notable increase was shown in Burma, where the number of ton-kilometres performed by the regular navigation services is estimated to have been about 300 per cent more than in 1949. In the Associated States of Indo-China the volume of traffic remained small although a slight increase was noted due to improved security measures. In the case of India and Pakistan considerable changes have occurred in inland water transport."

We can also say that there has been no appreciable increase or decrease in the total length of navigable inland waterways. The rise in the cost of materials and labour hampers the river and canal conservancy work in most of the countries of the region. However, there will be a bright future for the inland waterways of this region if they will be attended with utmost care and utilization. China has drawn out plans for improvement of navigability of the Huai River and the Grand Canal. Thailand has received funds for the construction of a dam in the Chas Phya river and there is a possibility of improving the navigability of the upper part of this river as soon as the construction of the dam is over. In India the Government has chalked out master plans to harness the navigability of her inland waterways in the years to come. Similarly, Pakistan also is conscious of the need for improving her domestic water navigation especially in East Pakistan. There is ample opportunity to make use of these waterways for the inland traffic to move men and materials at the cheapest cost and there is a considerable saving in the transportation cost which may ease the tightening condition of the national economy of these countries. We find a lot of war activities, hostilities, and aggression among the countries of the region. We can cite examples starting from the Japanese war against China in 1937, the involvement of Japan and other Asian countries in the Second World War, the Korean War, Sukarno's 'Crush Malasiya' campaign, the Chinese aggression against India, the hostilities between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir issue and never ending North Vietnam Vs. South Vietnam struggles and so on. Only when the clouds of war and hostilities disappear from the countries of Asia and the Far East and only when they begin to trust each other and to live in co-existence with mutual goodwill and understanding, they can focus their fullest attention towards constructive purposes and enable the national economy to grow, to build them up to a desirable level of development. Then they will have to develop their inland waterways compulsorily because the time will come to realise the saying of Emerson—"the most advanced nations are always those who navigate the most". Let us hope for the dawn of that time in the ECAFE region in the near future!

Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Devaluation And After

Devaluation of the rupee was reported to have figured as the principal topic of discussion at the Congress Committee meeting held in New Delhi on July 19, when all of five hours in two sessions were reported to have been entirely devoted to the matter. The meeting, however, was reported to have ended inconclusively and the question, it was decided would again be reviewed by the Working Committee at its forthcoming meeting late in the following month. From reports of the discussions at these two sessions of the Working Committee it appears that while Mrs. Gandhi, very wisely perhaps, did not take any part in these discussions—in fact the only Treasury spokesman was the Union Finance Minister Sachin Chaudhuri who, very handsomely it must be conceded, took upon himself the entire responsibility for advising the Prime Minister to accept this decision—most senior members and invitees who participated in the discussions were reported to have been extremely critical of the decision. The critics included former Finance Minister Morarji Desai, former Defence Minister Krishna Menon, former Orissa Chief Minister Bijou Patnaik and the immediate past Union Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari who was reported to have been the most vehement among all these prominent leaders none of whom could be said to have been only mildly critical of this decision.

Mr. Sachin Chaudhuri was reported to have again repudiated that the decision was the result of outside pressure and was one which was entirely and voluntarily initiated by himself on account of the compulsions of the economic situation. This was flatly contradicted by Morarji Desai and in a note circulated to the Working Committee members Bijou Patnaik was reported to have quoted from Schlesinger's book on Kennedy to demonstrate this was the very first plank in the strategy of the US Government which used devaluation as a means of interference in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries. But the most vitriolic indictment of Sachin Chaudhuri's repudiation of alleged American pressure came from T. T. Krishnamachari who in a long and well documented narration was reported to have presented a picture of the long building up American pressure during his last term of office at the Finance Ministry to devalue the rupee.

Speaking earlier in a different context, Mr. J. R. D. Tata was reported to have averred that while conceding that devaluation—already undertaken—was an irreversible step, "it is perfectly clear that unless in the next two or three years we increase substantially our export earnings in foreign exchange while reducing or, at least, stabilizing our imports, and at the same time effectively control inflation and thus maintain prices at a reasonable level, the heavy sacrifice involved in the devaluation

of our currency will have been in vain and we shall find our selves in the same or a worse situation than before."

Mr. Tata was reported to have heavily underlined the paramount need to firmly hold the price line, especially in respect of essential consumer commodities, but he doubts with reason—as we did in course of our discussion of the subject in these columns last month—the efficacy of mere physical controls in achieving this vital purpose. Says Mr. Tata :

"The price line must be held, particularly in regard to food, fuel, clothing and other essentials. It is, I fear, not sufficiently recognized that short of total rationing and draconian price controls.....the only effective means of preventing prices from rising must lie, on the one hand, in limiting the pressures of purchasing power through avoidance of non-essential expenditure and deficit financing and, on the other, in producing enough goods to meet the essential demands of the people."

Underlining the need and the present opportunities of increasing production, Mr. Tata observes: "now that on account resumption of foreign aid idle capacity in industry will have an opportunity for fuller utilization, this can, however, be no more than a temporary pump priming; non-project foreign aid should be kept to the barest minimum necessary to boost production, mainly those of the essential category and which are exported or are exportable. At the same time all endeavour must be made to attain self-sufficiency in industrial raw materials, spares and components and the present reckless manner of licensing non-essential projects consuming raw materials and components totally stopped."

Whatever the financial pundits in the pay of the Government of India may say to the contrary, the primary fact that the present need to devalue the rupee has directly flowed from the thoughtless, reckless, haphazard and unrealistic efforts at plann-

ing is a fact that should be obvious to even the least discerning. Very rightly, therefore, Mr. J. R. D. Tata continues that "The concept of Planning must also change fundamentally.... While no one disputes the almost unlimited needs of our people, it should be clear by now that this type of extravagant and unrealistic planning has not only failed to provide the people of India with improved living standards but, by encouraging inflation, has virtually given them nothing in return for their sacrifices and, in the case of the middle classes, which form the backbone and the strength of any nation, has actually reduced their standard of living."

Concluding his indictment, Mr. Tata sums up: "Unrealistic and wasteful planning, excessive bureaucratic controls and crippling taxation have been the three principal factors responsible for our present economic plight" and, so far as the private sector is concerned, bureaucratic controls and crippling taxation, according to Mr. Tata, have been the most damaging.

So far as fiscal and monetary measures as an inescapable corollary of devaluation are concerned, Government's intentions do not yet seem to be quite clear. The first essential in this connection would seem to be not merely the negative decision to abrogate wholly and irrevocably any further deficit financing and to contain the size and pattern of the Fourth Plan to within the limit of resources actually available (and not based upon fanciful estimates with large, unexplained and usually uncovered gaps as heretofore), but also the more positive measure of reducing the money supply with the public to conform to a reasonable measure of the economy's basic absorption capacity. The announced decision that the Government of India will slash their consumption expenditure by 3 per cent during the current year and that State Governments have, likewise, been advised to slash their expenditure bill by 3

to 4 per cent at the same time, is, of course very welcome. But this would seem to go only a little way in dealing with the present price menace. In spite of what official statements issued to the public from time to time may claim, the fact remains that there has been an over-all 25 to 30 per cent increase in the retail price level of essential consumption commodities; and it is at the retail level that the evil operates with the utmost destructive effect. Physical controls over prices and supplies may have been relaxed at certain points, but the over-all position still remains quite murky and confused. The atmosphere must be cleared as an essential pre-condition to measures which might be devised for effectively dealing with the situation. Apart from the fact that there are grave questions about the rectitude and efficiency of administration even at the highest levels so far as mere administrative measures are concerned, the basic fact is also undeniable that in a situation of the character and magnitude with which we are currently faced, they would be inevitably found wholly inadequate however honestly, and ruthlessly applied. It will have to be fiscal and monetary measures alone backed by ruthless administrative measures to deal with all kinds of anti-social speculative and black-marketing activities, that might be expected to break the present vicious circle of the price-spiral at some point or other which can be the only means to effectively hold the price line.

In the meanwhile it is also necessary to draw up a factual (not the type of fanciful accounts that the Planning Commission are used to publishing from time to time) balance sheet of the directions, magnitudes and net effects of the results that have so far flown from our current exercises in planning to enable a really clear picture to emerge.

The Fourth Plan

Following devaluation speculation about the possible size and contents of the Fourth Plan would appear to have been following an erratic course. In the first instance there appears to have been a considerable difference of opinion between the whole time members of the Planning Commission and the Union Finance Minister on what the size of the investment on the Fourth Plan should be. It may be recalled that when the Planning Commission submitted its first draft of the Fourth Plan Outline to the consideration of the National Development Council in September last year, it envisaged a gross Plan outlay of Rs. 21,500 crores at 1963-64 prices, Rs. 14,500 crores in the Public Sector and Rs. 7,000 crores in the private sector. Incidentally it may be pointed out that this Rs. 14,500 crores, assuming a 24 per cent rise in the wholesale price index during the intervening period, would actually mean no more than Rs. 11,130 crores or thereabouts at 1960-61 prices; and 14,500 crores at 1963-64 prices, assuming a 24 per cent rise in the wholesale price level, would mean approximately Rs. 17,500 crores at current prices. After a great deal of controversy and not a little opposition from the Union Finance Minister who appears to have been stoutly backed up by former Planning and now Home Minister Gulzarilal Nanda, the Planning Commission are now reported to have arrived at a gross Rs. 23,000 crore Fourth Plan size envisaging investments of the order of Rs. 16,000 crores in the public sector and Rs. 7,000 crores in the private sector at current prices. The Finance Minister was reported to have been in considerable doubt as to whether resources to cover this size of the Plan, much attenuated though it may be compared to what was envisaged in the Autumn last year, would be available. He was quite firm—a view with which the Planning Commission, also

appeared to have been in complete accord—that there must be no deficit financing at all for raising resources and that the Plan must conform to the actually available physical resources. He was also very doubtful that the Rs. 1,800|Rs. 2,000 crore gap between resources actually in sight and the investment target of the Fourth Plan could be effectively covered by additional taxation. The level of corporate taxation and that on individual income was already so high that any increase in these sectors of taxation is fraught with the probability of acting as a disincentive to production and may even be loaded with further inflationary contents. It was only at the intervention of the Prime Minister who was reported to have presided over the final meeting of the Planning Commission that some sort of a consensus appears to have been arrived at accepting the Rs. 16,000 crore public sector investment target, although doubts would still seem to be deeply entertained as to the ultimate feasibility of sustaining this order of investments in the present circumstances.

Reference in this context to the Supplementary Economic Survey prescribed to Parliament by the Union Finance Minister, would appear to be relevant. One rather refreshing aspect of this document would appear to be the candid admission that “devaluation does not solve any of the real problems of the economy.” This is good, so far as it goes, as indicative of a sense of an unwonted sense of realism in the Union Finance Ministry and which would seem to take the sting out of the rather extravagant claims earlier made of the benefits that would flow to the economy from the decision to devalue the par value of the rupee.

The document has hardly anything new to contribute to the already rather massive discussions held on the question of devaluation. But on the question of prices its approach would appear to be both more cogent and realistic in that it admits that holding all

prices unchanged would amount to a negation of the purposes of devaluation. The whole object was to secure a change in **relative prices** to benefit exports and penalise imports. But care must be taken to ensure that these desirable changes do not degenerate into a general inflationary rise in prices. This could be done, it is claimed by keeping a tight rein upon money supply. Fiscal and monetary policies, it is conceded will have to be employed with far greater vigour than in the past (which would seem to imply that the present stringent level of taxation and the credit squeeze will continue unabated), and an income policy linked to productivity will have to be evolved and pursued and a far greater degree of budgetary discipline will have to be observed.

On this last point, however, the Finance Minister's survey appears to be overlaid with a great deal of confusion and contradictions. At one point it is claimed that devaluation is expected to have the effect of reducing anticipated deficits in the Central Budget—which obviously does not take into account promised assistance to certain export industries and subsidies to certain essential imports like foodgrains, fertilizers etc.—while at a later stage it is apprehended that the Centre's budgeted deficit may, in the end, turn out to be even larger than anticipated on account of a smaller contribution from the public sector than assumed earlier and additional expenditure on consumer co-operatives etc.; thus assuming that the increased deficit may be quite as high as Rs. 40 crores in the end. The document does not make any specific mention of economies in Government's revenue and capital expenditure of which assurance was held out earlier and only makes the generally wishful point that “inescapable increase in some items of expenditure will have to be substantially balanced by economies in others.” The words spelling out this postulate, however, appears to be only tentatively phrased which may per-

haps indicate a lack of confidence in the assurances held out by the spending Ministries and the States in this behalf.

In one other rather vital aspect also the supplementary economic survey presented by the Union Finance Minister would appear to be only tentative and imprecise; this is in respect of its comments on the prospects of post-devaluation exports. The whole question would appear to have been summarily dismissed by the words that there was "little reason" to apprehend that there would be likely to be any decline in exports as a necessary consequence of devaluation. Such a statement obviously ignores the fall in foreign exchange prices that has taken place during the last six weeks following the announcement of devaluation and would seem to ignore the over-all pattern of our existing export trade. The Finance Minister would appear to have indulged in an obvious quibble in this matter when it is found that he winds up his argument in this behalf by saying that price cuts made possible by devaluation would, in any case, have been necessary even otherwise. The worsening of India's trade abroad made plain by price movements following devaluation and even more overtly by the terms of the Indo-Soviet trade agreement recently concluded, would seem to have been ignored or evaded when the Finance Minister rather hypocritically states that "we do not have to export more to discharge our existing debts."

On the question of holding the price line, the survey frankly concedes that devaluation does not, so far, appear to have made any marked impact. During the four-week period until July 2, wholesale prices are admitted to have risen by 1.5 per cent against 2.4 per cent during the immediately preceding four weeks. The rise in the prices of food articles is conveniently ascribed to traditional seasonal factors although it is arguable as to whether at the

peak level at which these prices had already risen, seasonal factors by themselves might have pushed up prices to the extent they have risen during this period. The cost of intermediate goods have risen by 3.5 per cent which may be due to the country's substantial dependence on imports of metals, raw cottons, edible oils etc., and wholesale price of machinery are frankly acknowledged to have risen by 8 per cent since June 6. The survey also reveals that industrial production had been rapidly declining from quarter to quarter during the last year as import shortages begun to have their fuller effect upon the productive machinery. From a rise of 10.6 per cent in industrial production during the quarter April-June 1965, it fell to 4.3 per cent in July-September, 1.2 per cent in October-December and virtually came to a dead-end by January-March of the current year. There was further deceleration in April and the desperation that may have consequently led to the Government decision to humour our foreign creditors' demands for devaluation of the rupee so that substantial resumption of foreign aid may eventuate, would be obvious.

It is in the background of this admittedly desperate situation that the exercise of Plan formulation for the period 1966-67-1971-72 has to be viewed and judged, with especial reference to our performances in this particular field of adventure and the effect of these exercises in planned development upon the economy as a whole.

It has to be realised, in this context, that planning has, all through, been primarily inflation-oriented. Apart from any other criticism of planning in the manner it has been pursued in this country so far, this one aspect alone would appear to have caused the most significant imbalances in the economy. General wholesale price indices are acknowledged to have risen by

more than 24 per cent during the period 1950-51 to 1955-56 and, as recently conceded by the Union Finance Minister, by more than 80 per cent during the decade 1955-56 to 1965-66. If the over-all growth rate of the economy is conceded to have been of the order of 18 per cent during the First (1950-51 to 1955-56) Plan period in terms of 1955-56 prices; 24 per cent during the five years from 1955-56 to 1960-61 at 1960-61 prices and by 12 per cent during the period 1960-61 to 1965-66 at current prices as indexed by the rise in the national income, the net growth rate at constant prices with 1950-51 as the base year would work out to just about 26.7 per cent over the entire fifteen year period of the three Five Year Plans. According to Plan targets assumed in the 3 successive Plans, the estimated increase in the national income during the First Five Year Plan was put down at 25 per cent at 1950-51 prices, during the Second Five Year Plan at 30 per cent at 1955-56 prices and at 36 per cent in the Third Five Year Plan. If Plan targets were achieved in this behalf, the growth of the economy as indexed by the rate of rise in the national income should have been of the order of somewhere around 65.8 per cent at 1950-51 constant prices over the entire period of the first three Plans; actual achievement in this behalf would appear, as worked out above, to have been barely of the order of only 26.7 percent. Paradoxically, however, the estimates of financial outlay targets in all the three Plans were more or less fully reached with the results as stated above. The heavy inflationary impact of Planning should be obvious even to the least discerning. Now, even an elementary student of economics knows that inflationary prices entail sacrifices by the many for the benefit of the very few. In India with her vast and chronically deficit agriculture, more than 82 per cent of the total population of the country still

belong to the most vulnerable agrarian sector and of the balance more than another 11 per cent belong to the fixed wage earning lower middle classes who are almost equally vulnerable to price pressures upon their basic and usually only rudimentary living standards. It is only 7 per cent of the population who comprise the affluent classes and who alone have benefited from inflationary prices. It is primarily for their benefit, it is popularly suspected, that Planning in the manner in which it has been and is being pursued has been undertaken. It is not conceivable that Government did not have adequate economic-intelligence services at their disposal to caution them of the possible consequences of their particular methods of planning, which would harden the popular suspicion that all this was undertaken with deliberate intent and with clear estimates of its possible consequences in their minds. For the only beneficiaries of this inflation-oriented planning are also those who have been financing the Party that has constituted the Government of the country at three successive general elections in spite of all their obvious faults into their seats of power and, presumably, will do so once again.

The bonafides of the Government and their **Super-Cabinet**, the Planning Commission would continue to remain suspect so long as Planning does not begin to pursue realistic lines of policy and programmes. And even the mildest critic of the particular methods and contours of planning would have to agree with the indictment that our methods of planning, so far, has borne no relation whatever to the actual realities of the basic patterns and dynamics of the residual foundations of the economy of the country upon which this super-structure of **so-called** growth was ostensibly being sought to be erected. We have again and again stated in these columns over the last so many years that the basic problems of

our present economy are : (i) too heavy a burden upon our agricultural resources, undeveloped and chronically in deficit as it is, which has to sustain, either directly or indirectly very nearly 80-82 per cent of the total population of the country ; (ii) virtual total lack of most producer-bases and an adequate infra-structure ; (iii) a rudimentary living level of the average population of the country and only microscopic areas served by institutional public social services ; and consequently, (iv) a very slow and inadequate rate of capital formation with increasing armies of unemployed waiting for suitable jobs. In other words, while our potential resources in the shape of minerals etc, and man-power are almost illimitable, we have not the resources to properly exploit these resources and provide gainful employment to our people ; agriculture has to support by far the most unconscionably heavy burden which it is unable to sustain and has, in consequence, been in chronic deficit. In such a situation the basic objective of planning should be to provide as wide an employment coverage for every given unit of capital invested as possible subject only to the over-riding consideration of minimum productivity and avoid as far as possible the introduction of sophisticated machineries and methods of production in any field of enterprise, whether agricultural or industrial. Apart from the fact that we simply have not got the capital resources for the purpose, situated as we are, even in those areas where the establishment of sophisticated capital-intensive production bases are wholly inescapable, it may not be altogether possible to avoid a primarily labour-intensive employment structure, which would spell loss of productivity. Besides, use of sophisticated modern means of production presupposes a comparatively educated or, at least a fully literate labour force which we have not got. Above all, the employment of up-to-date production technology in industry,

and agriculture is, it has to be clearly recognized, basically a concession to labour shortage and its employment in a virtually underdeveloped economy may prove quite ruinous in the end. With additions to our labour force at the rate of some 5 million employment-seekers every year, to think of modern sophisticated labour saving machinery in our production structure is not merely foolishness, it is sheer madness. And, unfortunately, this is exactly the pastime in which our Government and their Planning Commission have been indulging over the last fifteen years at the cost of immense sacrifices to the people and tragic distress to most of them. Unfortunately, in spite of the recent jolt that has been administered to our rulers by our foreign creditors by compelling us to reduce the rupee (whatever the Finance Minister may say that he had to do it under foreign compulsion is too obvious to be ignored), a sense of realities does not appear to have as yet dawned to the olympians of the Yojra Bhabana. The reason may be political primarily ; but whatever the immediate reason may be, consequences of the refusal to accept realities at their intrinsic value in further planning adventures would be bound to spell all-enveloping disaster in the not too distant future.

Mechanization Of Office Routine

The introduction of mechanical aids for replacing manual labour in carrying out routine jobs in large offices and industrial organizations has, so far, followed a somewhat slow pace over the decades in this country. The reason, so far as pre-Independence India was concerned was, perhaps, that the sizes of individual organizations was never very large and would not, consequently, justify the large capital outlay and corresponding depreciation expenses that would be involved in the process. Only some leading insurance companies and a

few other similar large organizations had, in those days, only partly mechanized their routine work. An important ancillary reason was also, perhaps, that supply of human labour was both abundant and cheap and the large capital investment that would be called for mechanizing routine could be more profitably utilized for setting up new productive organizations.

After Independence and especially after the country has started on the process of development planning under Government aegis and direction, the country has been more and more leaning towards the introduction of more sophisticated methods of business administration. Not that there has been any scarcity in the supply of human labour which is destined to remain almost illimitable in its quantum. The cheapness of human labour at the same time has, however, begun to be recently questioned in many quarters for, it is alleged that the unit productivity of labour in this country is so low that it has a direct bearing on the rising costs of production. This may, however, be only a garbled version of the whole truth. Government investment and employment policies may have a great deal to do with these rising costs of labour vis-a-vis its unit productivity. The question does not seem to have been adequately investigated and the real answer found, so far. But on the face of it, it appears incontrovertible that while the investment structure in some of our more modern and large public sector industries has been following an increasingly capital-intensive trend, the pattern of employment has continued to follow a comparatively overwhelming labour-intensive bias. This may, at least in part, explain why the unit productivity of labour in these industries have remained low and uneconomic.

In fact the question is currently being seriously asked as to whether, considering our basic economic resources and problems, it is at all a wise policy to pursue a course

of industrialization along highly sophisticated modern labour-saving lines. In the first instance it would call for increasing intensification of the capital structure of industry which in a country with very scarce and slow capital formation like that in ours may prove to be a very expensive luxury and may be proved, in the long run, to impede rather than accelerate a process of rapid and broad-based industrialization. Secondly, there is the paramount question of employment opportunities. If the present trend in new employment opportunities continue unbroken—an apprehension which could not be dismissed as either remote or unreal in current circumstances—we would have an accumulated back-log of unemployment of the order of a little more than half a hundred millions by the end of 1975-'76; this does not take into account the large and wide-flung areas of chronic under-employment among those who are formally listed as employed. Sophisticated industries employing modern technological processes which postulate a high degree of mechanization and, further and eventually, of automation, must be regarded as basically a complement to scarcity in the supply of human labour of which we have, in this country an abundant, almost an illimitable supply.

Introduction of mechanized and automated devices for replacing human labour in carrying out routine chores in large offices and business administrations would, on the basis of the facts discussed above, seem to be a wholly uncalled for measure which, for more than one reason, would be likely to prove a great deterrent to the progress of the economy rather than of assistance to it. It is announced that the Life Insurance Corporation of India, among a few other Government and business organizations have decided to introduce electronic computers in their offices. It is said that the type of electronic computer that the Life Insurance Corporation has decided to intro-

duce in its offices would, altogether, replace the work of between 15,000 and 17,000 men. The figure may be something of an exaggeration; but that large numbers would be replaced is certainly without question. The authorities are reported to have given the assurance that no one employed in the organization of the LIC would be thrown out of employment. Other public sector organizations have held out similar assurances to their temporary construction employees in the past which they have, in many cases, failed to redeem later. The employees of the LIC cannot be blamed if, in the circumstances, they cannot feel greatly reassured.

What would seem to be the most deplorable aspect of this decision is that the whole thing is not merely unnecessary but is, on the face of it, a far more expensive luxury than any the country can afford in her present circumstances. The argument that the introduction of these electronic devices in carrying out certain routine jobs in the organization would assist in the development of error-free efficiency, would seem to have very little substance. The manual process, it may be conceded, would be slower and would be subject to frequent

errors. The slowness of the manual process should, we feel, be a welcome feature in the present economic circumstances of the country; for it would offer wider employment coverage to a larger number of the unemployed which is one of the basic problems of the current Indian economic situation. So far as errors are concerned a process of cross-checks should eliminate them. All this would, of course, conceivably increase labour costs, but when the cost of depreciation, interest charges etc are fully taken into account, considering the high cost of these equipments, the basic difference should not be a great deal. But even if it were quite substantial, the wider employment potential of the continued manual handling of these jobs would fully compensate for the additional costs from the national point of view. Above all, this would save very precious foreign currency not a single farthing of which we can afford to spend wherever it is at all avoidable in our present sorry circumstances. The glibness with which our public sector business and industrial organizations seek to go in for modern, highly sophisticated aids to business and industry, it would seem that we have never had any balance of payments problem at all!

PANCHAYATS IN BIHAR A Critical Study

Prof. B. S. BHARGAVA

"Panchayati-Raj is a mighty experiment. It might not succeed in every part of India, but the conception is a tremendous one. It is succeeding somewhere and it will succeed in the major part of India. You can pick out here and there and say that it has not succeeded. Some Panchayats might have misbehaved as anybody misbehaved. I would beg of the House to consider the entire background, this enormous country with an enormous population on the move, in a certain direction which I think is the right direction. Many people stumble and fall. Many people make mistakes. Many people betray the objective we aim at. All this is happening, and yet the whole trend is forward and in the right direction, what we are rather worried about is the pace of change..... for, there is the danger of our thinking that we lay down a policy, it will automatically be implemented. Laying down high policies is not adequate. That is an important thing, of course, but the more important thing is their implementation, keeping the pace fast enough."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

* * * *

Local Self-governing Institutions are found in almost every civilised country. According to Professor H. J. Laski democracy cannot succeed in a country without a sound system of self-government. In India self-government institutions have been in vogue since a long time past. We know of very advanced self-governing institutions like 'Sabhas', 'Samitis' and 'Panchayats' from the ancient Indian classical literature. Sir Charles Trevellyn remarks "one foreign conqueror after another has swept over India, but the village municipalities have stuck to the soil like their own kush grass." Sir George Birdwood also observes the historical continuity of the Indian rural republics in these words: "India has undergone more religious and political revolutions than any other country in the world. But the village communities remain in full municipal vigour all over the Peninsula. Scythian, Greek, Saracen, Afghan, Mongol and Maratha have come down from its mountains, and Portuguese, Dutch, English, French and Dane up out of its seas, and set up their successive domi-

nations in the land; but the religious trades, union villages, have remained as little affected by their coming and going as a rock by the rising and falling of the tide". Thus, village panchayats are entirely India's own institutions.¹

Bihar (one of the states in Indian Union) like many other parts of the country has a long tradition of having panchayats, operating in the villages as local self-governing institutions. But an organised village local government, in its modern sense, does not have a long history behind it. The Royal Commission on Decentralisation set up in 1906, for the first time strongly urged upon the government to organise self-government in villages. With the result that efforts had been made by the then British Government in India to organise village panchayats. In Bihar besides Panchayats, Union Boards were also set up. But nothing substantial could be

1. B. S. Bhargava; *Panchayats In India* —*The Snow Ball*, January, 1966, Issue (I.S.S., The Hague), Page 11.

accomplished because of the typical political atmosphere created by the feeling of liberation of the country from the long paws of British imperialism and colonialism.

The land mark in the history of Panchayats in Bihar is the Bihar Panchayat Raj Act which was passed in 1947 and its implementation started in 1949. By now the whole of the state is covered with a net work of Gram Panchayats. The state has 10,702 Panchayats covering 67,510 villages (Rural population covered 421 lakhs), with an average population of 3,934, per Panchayat. In this way Panchayats cover 99 per cent villages and 99 per cent rural population of the state. Average number of villages per Panchayat is 6.3.²

The Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, has been amended.³ The new law has introduced several new features.

One of the remarkable features of the Panchayats in Bihar is that they are categorised into three classes, namely Pratham Varg Gram Panchayat (Panchayats of class No. one), Dwitya Varg Gram Panchayat (Panchayats of class No. two), and Tertiary Varg Gram Panchayat (Panchayats of class No. three). The Principle on which this classification is to be based, is to be decided by the rules and regulations made by the State Government. Initially all Panchayats are placed in class No. three. However, there is a provision of their promotion on the basis of periodical evaluation.

As empowered by the Bihar Panchayat Raj Act, 1947, the executive government of the state has decided that in North Bihar districts a Panchayat should be established on the basis of 5000 population

whereas in Chotanagpur districts the minimum population should be 2500. If a village has the prescribed number of inhabitants necessary for establishing a Gram Panchayat, then it is established. But in most of the cases two or more villages are grouped in one for the establishment of a Gram Panchayat.

The set up of Panchayats in the State of Bihar is given as follows:

The Village Assembly⁴ is the general body of the Village Panchayat and consists of all the voters or adults residing in the jurisdiction of the Panchayat, which may cover one or more villages. It has one annual general meeting and one half-yearly general meeting after the Kharif and Rabi harvests respectively. The Act also makes provision for emergency meetings. The budget of the following year is passed at the annual general meeting and at the half-yearly general meeting the accounts of the preceding year are to be considered and passed. At both these meetings reports on progress of the work done and the programme of work for the future are to be considered and discussed. The Village Assembly is charged with such vital matters as taxation, budget and programme of work to be taken up. This body is generally called a 'deliberative body'.

The Executive Committee⁵ is charged with the executive functions of the Panchayat. Under the provisions of the Bihar Gram Panchayat Raj Act, there are nine members to constitute this organ including the Mukhiya (Head of the Executive Committee). Of these 9 members, 4 persons and the Mukhya himself are directly elected by the village electorates. Other 4 members are nominated by the Mukhiya.

There is also a provision for a upa-Mukhiya (Deputy Head of the executive. The

2. (As on 31.3.1965).

For Figures and other details see 'Statistics—Progress at a Glance'. *Kurukshetra*—A monthly journal, October 2, 1965 Issue.

3. As amended by the Bihar Panchayat Raj (Amendment and validating) Act, 1959,

4. The Village Assembly is known as the Panchayat corresponding to the Gram/Gaon Sabha in other States.

5. 'The Executive Committee' is known as Gram Panchayat/Panchayat in other States.

members of the executive committee elect one of their members for this post.

The term of office of a member of the executive committee in the cases of Pratham Varg Panchayat, Dwitya Varg Panchayat and Tritiya Varg Panchayat shall be for 5 years, 4 years and 3 years respectively.

The State Government appoints a chief administrative assistant to the executive committee. He is known as **Gram Sevak** (Village Servant). He is a permanent servant. He acts as a constant adviser to the executive committee. His job is to advise and to carry out the decisions of the executive committee.

He is also the agent of the State Government. In this capacity his duty is to see that Mukhiya and the executive committee do not do anything in contravention of the law and the rules.

As regards the powers and duties of the Panchayat, they have been classified into two categories: (i) Obligatory and (ii) Optional. Obligatory functions are compulsory functions which should be performed by the Panchayat and optional functions are those which may and may not be performed by the Panchayat. The functions of the latter category can be performed by a Panchayat only if a majority of the members of the executive committee so decide and if the State Government so directs.

There are nineteen items specified in the **obligatory list**. Some of the important items are sanitation and conservancy, medical relief and first aid, supply of water and cleansing and disinfection of services and storage of water, bringing waste lands under cultivation, the protection and improvement of irrigation works in the village, and organising voluntary labour for community work.

There are in all twenty-eight items specified in the **Optional List**. Some of the important functions are primary education, improving the breed of cattle, the construc-

tion of wells, ponds and tanks, assistance to the development of agriculture, commerce and industry, the introduction and development of co-operative farming, the establishment and maintenance of libraries, maternity and child welfare, organisation and maintenance of clubs, and other places for recreational games, and the allotment of places for storing manure, radio sets and gramophones.

The financial resources of the Panchayat are of varied types. There are two compulsory taxes which every Panchayat could levy subject to the prescribed rules. These two taxes are labour tax and tax on immovable property. Besides, there are several imposts in the form of taxes, rates, licences and other fees, tolls etc. They may be levied subject to the rules made by the State Government.

The Executive is authorised to levy emergency tax on the occurrence of an emergency. Another source of revenue may be collection charge for collecting state taxes and dues on behalf of the Government or any other local authority. Grants-in-aid given by the State Government, account for more than half of the total income of the Panchayats.⁶

Panchayats, in this way, have been functioning for the last near about nineteen years in the State of Bihar.* Although their activities in many fields (water supply, rural sanitation, village roads, schools, arrangements for vaccination and inoculation of persons against small pox and cholera and organising voluntary labour etc.) are commendable yet the over all picture of their activity is not very satisfactory. As regards their formal structure, Panchayats are in many respects subject to vehement criticism, and on the operational side, they

6. For detailed description, see Dr. Chetkar Jha's Book—'Indian Local Self-Government', Fourth Edition 1965. Page 119.

The System of Judiciary in the villages of Bihar has not been covered under this study.

work under different types of limitations. Some of the criticisms have been enlisted below :

First, the Panchayats have been organised on the basis of population. Thus, "It is the principle of number and not the feeling of community which is the basis of the organisation of Gram-Panchayats in Bihar. The method of organising Panchayats on this principle is arbitrary and betrays appalling ignorance of the basic nature of Local Self-governing institutions on the part of the government. Physical facts such as the number of population and the density of population may be important factors but they cannot be given preference at the cost of the sociological factors. Adoption of this principle may mean some times dividing a village which has a population of more than 5000, but in most cases it is a grouping of two or more villages."⁷

"A multi-village organisation" is in the words of the Balwant Rai Mehta Committee Report,⁸ "generally lacking in emotional unity and, therefore, is likely to evoke less response by the people inhabiting more than one village in development work."

Secondly, it is argued that the size of the Panchayat is a big one. Near about one half of the total population (5000) would be over 21 years of age. Thus, a Panchayat would have a strength of nearly 2500, which cannot be said to be a manageable size. It is more true when we take into account the fact that nearly six hundred members constitute the quorum.

Thirdly, the composition of the executive committee is not free from criticism. The time has come to think anew whether the composition of the executive committee might be so oriented that all the members could be elected by the people themselves and made answerable to them. "It is

because the apprehension has been that other 4 members, who are rather nominated by the Mukhiya himself might not be upto the mark of championing the people's cause. The people themselves do not also seem to feel quite happy about these four members, who have not been chosen by them. Mutual apathy exists. It is admitted that these 4 members who are expected always to support the Mukhiya will thereby stabilise his position by lending continued support necessary for executive action. But the democratic values have got to be upheld above the question of mere stability. Moreover, assured stability of position may lead to rigidity of approach and arbitrariness of action which are not in consonance with the dynamic interests of the community. Democracy and nomination go ill together."⁹

Fourthly, Gram Panchayats are working under administrative limitations. The administrative limitations mainly relate to the non-availability of trained personnel. For example, the Chief Executive Assistant to the executive committee at Panchayat level i.e. Gram Sevak, has to do multifarious activities. In fact, his duties and responsibilities are too heavy in relation to his qualifications and emoluments. No doubt, the Gram Sevak receives a training of eight weeks, but this short-term training could not be considered adequate.

Fifthly, meagre financial resources remain as the main stumbling block. "Financial limitations relate to paucity of funds. That is due to the reluctance on the part of the Panchayats to levy and collect taxes. There is general aversion against making use of coercive measures to realise taxes. Many Panchayats do not levy the compul-

7. Dr. Chetkar Jha, 'Indian Local Self-Government,' Fourth Edition 1965, Page 111.

8. Report Published in 1957, Vol. 2, Para 6, P. 3.

9. A. B. Datta, M.A., 'Democracy in Action in the Villages of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal, published in Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government, Institute (Bombay), July Sept. 1965, Page 98.

sory taxes and fewer still are able to collect them with any degree of efficiency."¹⁰

Sixthly, there are internal factions and feuds which mar the smooth working of the Panchayats. It has been observed that though the candidates do not seek election to Panchayats on party basis, yet actual election takes place on party affiliations. The net result of electioneering has been that the village people are divided in many cases and village factions and feuds are intensified. Factions are an antipode to the growth of 'community-spirit,' which is very essential for the smooth running of local self-governing institutions.

Lastly, the villagers in general have an attitude of indifference and have very little enthusiasm for their own local bodies. The enthusiasm has remained confined to only a few office-bearers and here too, the genuineness of their leadership is not beyond doubt. Thus it can be said without any doubt on the basis of observations that the social atmosphere in villages is not congenial enough to the emergence and growth of genuine leadership.

After discussing the structural pattern of Panchayats in the state of Bihar, and some of the important criticisms levelled against their structure and working, let me narrate the structure of two other tiers which form an integrated scheme of the 'Three-tier-system of Panchayats'¹¹ (Panchayat being the lowest tier in the scheme of Democratic Decentralisation).

The Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act, 1961,¹² got the assent of the

10. Dr. Chetkar Jha, 'Indian Local Self-Government, Fourth Edition, 1965, Page 131.

11. Three tier System of Panchayats in the field of Rural Self-Government have been introduced in almost all the states of the Indian union. These three institutions at Village, Block and District levels, have been established, on the lines of the recommendations of the Balwant Rai Mehta Study Team for Community Projects and the National Extension Service. (Report of 1957).

12. The Act is being enforced in four districts to start with. It will be extended to other districts gradually.

State Governor on the 17th February, 1962 and, thus, it became Law.¹³

The **Panchayat Samiti** will consist of :

- (a) Mukhiyas of Gram Panchayats in the Block in ex-officio capacity.
- (b) Chairmen of municipalities and Vice-chairmen of notified Area Committee falling within the block in ex-officio capacity.
- (c) Three representatives of co-operative societies elected by Secretaries thereof from amongst themselves.
- (d) One of the members of the managing committee of the Central Co-operative Bank.
- (e) Two persons residing in the Block whose experience in administration, public life or rural development would be of help to the Panchayat Samiti to be co-opted.
- (f) Two women residing in the Block, if women were not otherwise members, to be coopted.
- (g) Two persons from each of the following categories to be co-opted if their population exceeds ten per cent of the total population and one such person when it does not exceed ten per cent but exceeds five per cent, if such persons are not otherwise members :
 - (1) Scheduled Castes,
 - (2) Scheduled Tribes,
 - (3) Persons other than of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

Members of the State legislature and parliament of the area shall be associate members. They do not possess the right to vote, nor are they entitled to be elected as a Pramukhs (President) or Upa-Pramukh

13. For detailed analysis, see the article—'Towards a democratic administrative Pattern for rural development(A study of the Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act, 1961, By Prof. Sant Lal Singh, published, in a monthly magazine—'The Modern Review', August, 1963, P. 101-110.

(Vice-President) or Chairman of any standing committee.

Co-opted and indirectly elected members will have a term of 3 years.

Members of the Panchayat Samiti are to elect a Pramukh and an Upa-Pramukh from amongst themselves. They will have a term of 3 years from the date of their election. The Upa-Pramukh will take over the functions of the Pramukh during his absence. The Pramukh will not only call meetings of the Samiti but will have supervisory powers over the Block Development Officer for giving effect to the decisions of the Samiti or its standing committees. He will even submit annual reports to the Collector of the District on the work of the B.D.O. In emergencies the Pramukh will have the power to take decisions on behalf of the Samiti or of its standing committees in anticipation of the approval by the Samiti or the standing committee.

As regards the powers and functions of the Samiti, they are being given in an Appendix of the Act. The functions cover a wide field including agriculture, animal husbandry, public health and sanitation, education including social education, rural arts and crafts, co-operation, rural housing, duties in times of national calamities or emergencies, maintenance and collection of statistics, social welfare, formulation of plans for and supervision of the work of Gram Panchayats, and any other matter that may be entrusted to the Samiti by the State Government.

The Samiti has separate standing committees to deal with the problems of agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and minor irrigation, education, public health etc.

The State Government may direct that Village Panchayats shall submit to the Panchayat Samiti their budgets for approval. The Panchayat Samiti shall within one month approve the Panchayat budget with such modifications as may be considered necessary.

A Panchayat Samiti may with the prior approval of the Zilla Parishad, make by-laws for carrying out any of the purposes of the Act.

The sources of income of a Panchayat Samiti have been enumerated in the Act. Some of the important sources are grants and aids received from the Government, ad-hoc grants received from or through the Zilla Parishad (the upper-most tier, at the District level), share of local cess and share of land revenue and other sums received from the Zilla Parishad; incomes from lease granted by Panchayat Samiti of public ferries, fairs, hats and the like and such contributions as the Panchayat Samiti may levy from Gram Panchayats, Notified Area committees and Municipalities.

The State Government appoints a chief executive officer of a Panchayat Samiti, known as the **Block Development Officer (B.D.O.)**. He is to act as Secretary to the Samiti as well as to all standing committees of the Samiti. He is responsible for executing the decisions of the Samiti and its standing committees. He has also been given many supervisory powers over Village Panchayats etc. He may be entrusted with other functions by the State Government.

Coming to the control over Panchayat Samiti, it is being exercised by Zilla Parishad, the District Collector, and the State Government. As a matter of fact, Zilla Parishad exercises decisive control over Panchayat Samitis.

The upper-most tier in the three tier scheme of Panchayati Raj is the body, known as **Zilla Parishad**. It functions at district level.

Every Zilla Parishad will consist of :

- (a) All Pramukhs of Panchayat Samitis in the district.
- (b) All members of the Legislative Assembly and all members of the Lok Sabha (House of the People) whose constituencies lie wholly or partly in the district.

- (c) All members of the Legislative Council of the State and of the Rajya Sabha (Council of States) who are residents of the district.
- (d) One person from the scheduled castes and one person from the scheduled tribes will be co-opted if the population of such castes or tribes exceeds five per cent of the total population of the district and if such persons are not otherwise members.
- (e) Three persons elected from and by an electoral college consisting of numbers of municipalities and Notified Area Committees of the district.
- (f) Two persons elected from and by an electoral college consisting of the members of managing committees of all the Central Co-operative Banks in the district.
- (g) Three women to be co-opted if they are not otherwise members.
- (h) One person nominated by the Bihar State Panchayat Parishad.

The term of office of members who are elected and co-opted will be three years and other members who will be there in their ex-officio capacity will continue to be members so long they hold the offices by virtue of which they are members of the Zila Parishad.

The Zila Parishad will have an Adhyaksha (Chairman) and an Upadhyaksha (Vice-Chairman), elected from amongst its members except the legislators, municipal commissioners and the nominees of the State Panchayat Parishad. This will be for a term of three years.

Like the Panchayat Samiti, the Zila Parishad has standing committees for the different subjects in its charge.

The functions and powers of the Zila Parishad shall be :

- (a) Allotment of funds granted by the State Government, among the Panchayat Samitis or Blocks.
- (b) Scrutiny and approval of the budgets of the Samitis.
- (c) Scrutiny and co-ordination of plans drawn up by the Samitis and general guidance of their activities.
- (d) Regulation of relations between Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samities and
- (e) Formulation of plans for the district as a whole and to act as an adviser to the State Government in relation to development work. The State Government may, of course, charge the Parishad with other functions as well according to need.

The State Government appoints an officer, known as the District Development Officer (the D.D.O.). He will act as secretary to the Parishad, and standing committees and will be the chief executive officer of the Zila Parishad. The D.D.O. performs the same functions and exercises the same powers in relation to the activities of the Zila Parishad as the B.D.O. in relation to the activities of a Panchayat samiti. The D.D.O. too has emergency powers as the B.D.O. has.

As regards sources of income, they consist of funds allotted by the Union or State Government, grants from All-India bodies and institutions, donations and contributions from Panchayat Samitis or from members of the public, income from endowments and trusts administered by the Parishad, proceeds of the local cess and such share of land revenue as may be given by the State Government, and proceeds from taxes and fees which the Zila Parishad may levy will be the sources of

income of a Zila Parishad. It may be noted here that the state Government will determine what share of local cess will be allowed to the Zilla Parishad. The budget prepared by the D.D.O. and approved by the Parishad will be submitted to the State Government for final sanction.

The State Government exercises decisive control over the Zila Parishad. Till now the Bihar Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act, 1961 has not been implemented, with the result that the two democratic institutions of rural local government i.e. Panchayat Samiti at Block level and Zila Parishad at District level have not yet started functioning. However, it is to be noted at this juncture that steps have been taken by the State Government in this direction. When these two tiers will start functioning along with the lowest tier (Village Panchayat), already existing, then

the object of 'From Loka Sabha (House of the people) to Gram Sabha (Village Assembly)' will be achieved. It is correctly observed, "The establishment of representative institutions of the people at the Village, Block and District levels fills the vacuum below the level of the state legislatures in the democratic set-up of the country, while from the village to the district level there is a pattern of interconnected democratic institutions, above that level are directly the state legislatures and Parliament. The members of Parliament and the legislatures are usually associated with the District and or Block councils. Panchayati Raj thus links the Parliament at the national level with the Panchayat at the village level."¹⁴

14. 'These Pillars of Democracy', Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Government of India, New Delhi, 1964, Page 5.

Communist Propaganda in India

"The 'upper' classes of Hindu Society ought long ago to have done justice to and fraternised with the masses, including the so called depressed and untouchable classes. It is to be regretted that they have not done so. These classes have now become self-conscious. If Bolshevic propaganda reaches them, and there be any social or political revolution, or both, the fate of the Indian 'upper' classes may not be dissimilar to that of the Russian bourgeoisie and aristocracy after the revolution. It would be wise for us therefore to put our house in order betimts. There is still time, but soon it may be too late."

Ramananda Chatterjee in
The Modern Review, 1925.

THE GOVERNMENT OF UNION TERRITORIES

Prof. AKHILESHWAR SHARMA

The Government of Union Territories Act, 1963,¹ is a land mark in the Constitutional History of India. It seeks to confer on certain Union Territories the same status as was enjoyed by the former Part C States.

Before we discuss this Act elaborately it is worthwhile to discuss the circumstances which led to the present position. Before 1947 there were politically two Indias—British India and the Indian States. With the inauguration of the New Constitution, the Indian States had been liquidated and the country was welded into a single political unity.

The constituent units of the Union of India were divided into three categories—Part A States, Part B States and Part C States. The Part C States were not really States in the Federal Union. They were territories directly administered by the Centre on a unitary basis. These Part C States were all ten in number. Some of these were the former Chief Commissioners' Provinces. Some of these were allowed from 1952 to have a Legislative Assembly of their own and Ministers responsible to them. But the powers of these Assemblies were directly under the control of Parliament. The Union Executive was responsible to Parliament for their administration. The constitutional provisions establishing the three-tier state-systems were the product of expediency. Public opinion had been critical of this constitutional anomaly which seemed to go against the principle of equality of status between the constituent units of a federation. The prevailing system con-

tradicted the principle of equal rights and opportunities for the people of India.

The States Re-organisation Commission was impressed by the above argument. The Commission maintained: "The only rational approach to the problem in our opinion will be that Indian Union should have primary constituent units having equal status and a uniform relationship with the centre, except where, for any strategic, security or other compelling reasons, it is not practicable to integrate any small area with the territories of a full-fledged unit."²

As regards the further set-up of the Union territories three alternatives were left, "first, to recommend the continuance of Part C States and make them equal in status to the Part A States; secondly, the status quo to continue; thirdly, to abolish them as separate entities and merge them with the neighbouring States."³

The Commission observed:

"The position is that there is a general consensus of opinion that the existing set-up of Part C States is unsatisfactory. The solution is suggested by the official representatives of Part C States, namely, a constitutional status which is identical with that of Part A States will only remove the constitutional anomalies. The small units will still continue to be economically unbalanced, financially weak and administratively and politically unstable..... Taking all these factors into consideration, we have come to the conclusion that there is no adequate recompense for all the financial, administrative and constitutional difficulties which the present structure of

1. Received the assent of the President on 10. 5. 1963. Act published in the Gazette of India, 11. 5. 1963.

2. Report of S.R.C., para 237.

3. M. V. Pylee—Constitutional Government in India, p. 509.

these States present and that, with the exception of two, to be centrally administered, the merger of the existing Part C States with the adjoining States is the only solution of their problems"⁴

The deliberations of the Commission thus contemplated two categories of component units of the Union: (a) "States" forming primary federating units of the Union; and (b) Territories centrally administered.

The Plan of the Commission was accepted. The States Re-organisation Act, 1956 and the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956 fulfilled this purpose. The following became six Union territories: (1) Delhi (2) Himachal Pradesh (3) Tripura (4) Manipur (5) Andaman and Nicobar Islands (6) The Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands.

The Territorial Councils Act, 1956 provided for the establishment of Territorial Councils in Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura. These Councils were elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. These were responsible for the conduct of local affairs.

But again there has been a swing in the pendulum. By means of the 14th Amendment (1962) and Government of Union Territories Act, 1963, some of these Union Territories have been given the status of former Part C States.

The Union Territories Act, 1963, provides for the establishment of Legislative Assemblies and Council of Ministers in the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Goa, Daman and Diu and Pondichery. Delhi has no doubt felt sore that it has been divested of the privileges of having a legislature and a Council of Ministers. But being the seat of the Union Government, it has a special interest in its administration. Moreover, unlike the other territories, it is a compact urban area. So its problems may best be handled by a

municipal body. It sends five members to Parliament and has no cause to fear that its case in any matter will be ignored.⁵

Except Himachal Pradesh, which will have a 40 member Assembly all other territories will have 30 elected members each in their legislatures.⁶ The Legislatures in these territories will be partly nominated and partly elected. The maximum number for nomination is 3 for the Legislative Assembly of a Union territory. Seats shall be reserved for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Legislative Assembly of every Union Territory other than the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. The matters relating to the duration of the Legislative Assembly, Speaker and Deputy Speaker, procedure for passing of Bills etc. are all similar to the provisions relating to the State Government in the Constitution. There shall be an Administrator who will be the Head of the Union Territory. He shall be appointed by the President. He will have some legislative powers. He would summon the Assembly and might address or send messages to it whether with respect to a Bill pending in the Assembly or otherwise. When a Bill has been passed by the Legislative Assembly, it shall be presented to the Administrator and the Administrator shall reserve the Bill for the consideration of the President. It means that the Administrator himself has not been given the power of assent to Bills.

The Act provides for a Council of Ministers in each Union Territory with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Administrator in the exercise of his functions in relation to matters with respect to which the Legislative Assembly of the Union Territory has power to make

5. It has been proposed to transfer executive powers to Metropolitan Council and the question regarding the power of the Metropolitan Council would be further considered.

6. Article 3(2).

4. S. R. C. Report, Pp. 74-75.

such laws except in so far as he is required by or under the Act to act in his discretion.⁷ Every Minister shall have the right to take part in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly but shall not be entitled to vote.

In case of difference of opinion between the Administrator and his Ministers, the Administrator shall refer it to the President for decision and act according to the decision given thereon by the President, and pending such decision it shall be competent for the Administrator in any case where the matter is in his opinion so urgent that it is necessary for him to take immediate action, to take such action or to give such direction in the matter as he deems necessary.⁸

The Administrators of the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura shall discharge special responsibility for the security of borders and for that purpose he may issue such direction and take such measures as he may think necessary.⁹ Regarding the relationship of the Administrator and his Council of Ministers to the President, Article 50 says, "Notwithstanding anything in this Act, the Administrator and his Council of Ministers shall be under the general control of, and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given by the President."

Article 52 provides for the establishment of a standing committee for Manipur only. It would be formed only to preserve rights, customs and traditions of scheduled tribes. Naturally it would be composed of members from the scheduled tribes area.

The Union Territories Act does not seek to create any State but only envisages a pattern of local autonomy for the Union Territories.

Except for Goa where elections have been held recently.¹⁰ Representative governments at the local level have already been introduced on July 1, 1963, in the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura and Pondicherry. As provided under the Act, the Territorial Councils of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura and the Representative Assembly of Pondicherry have become the Provisional Legislative Assemblies.

When the Union Territories Act was taken up for discussion in the Parliament, members were critical of its provisions. These various criticisms may be summarised as follows :

(1) It was maintained that the provision for nominating three members to the Legislature was fundamentally wrong and undemocratic. It might be utilised for political considerations by the Government. Similarly reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was not desirable.

(2) The validity of the Bill itself was challenged by some members. It was urged that the Bill contravened Article 39A of the Constitution of India which envisaged an elected or a partly elected and partly nominated legislative body. The Bill sought to convert the existing Territorial Council into a Legislative Assembly which would become in effect wholly nominated. Elections to the Territorial Council had been held under an old 'moth-eaten' Act which was later amended. Under the old Act, anyone above the age of 21 could contest election to the Council while under the Peoples' Representation Act, a candidate should be of at least 25 years of age.

10. A three-man Council of Ministers headed by Mr. Dayanand B. Bandodkar for the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, was sworn in by Lt. Governor, M. R. Sachdev in Punjim on December 20. The firstover Ministry in the former Portuguese possessions has been formed by the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party which won 14 seats in the recent elections.

7. Article 44(1).

8. Proviso to Article 44(1).

9. Article 44(2).

(3) An Administrator was being imposed on the people making the Council of Ministers a mere rubber stamp. It was apprehended that the wide powers given to the Administrator would lead to a perpetual conflict between him and the Ministers. The Government in the Union Territories would be something like glorified District Boards or branches of the Home Ministry. Administrators as the agents of the Central Government had been given more powers than Governors in States. This was against the spirit of democracy or responsible government. Proviso to Article 44(1) was criticised as it involved Central interference in the State administrative affairs. The proviso postulated that in case of acute differences between the Administrator and the Council of Ministers the matter was to be referred by the Administrator to the President of India. According to Article 50 the Administrator and his Council of Ministers were to be under the general control and were to comply with such particular directions as from time to time be given by the President. The cumulative effect of all these provisions was to affect the autonomy of the legislature and the executive of the Union territories.

The criticisms discussed above were met by the Government. Arguments in favour of the impugned provisions are summarised as follows:

(1) It was urged that the reservation for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was provided in the Bill to give representation to those backward people who might not be represented otherwise. It was further held that the provision for nomination of three members to each Assembly in the Union territories was not basically or fundamentally wrong or undemocratic when the nominations were made for Parliament and State Assemblies. Nominations specially in these areas were very important. Nominations to give represen-

tation to women, educationists, engineers and other specialists was essential.

(2) It was contended that the Bill was not unconstitutional. The Constitution provided for similar arrangements during the transitional period and it could not be argued that the Legislative Assemblies would be wholly nominated when the elections for the Councils had been held on the basis of adult franchise. It was true that the Bill was trying to continue the Territorial Councils and term them as Assemblies. But in reality "conversion was also creation."

(3) It was pointed out that the amendments made in the Bill by the Select Committee vested additional powers in Ministers and curtailed the powers of the Administrator. The Administrator would not preside over the cabinet meetings and participate in the Assembly proceedings. The Bill did not preclude the Administrator from consulting his Ministers even in matters of border security. He would, however, be responsible for taking a decision.

Differences of opinion on account of temperament or personal judgment was natural some times between a Governor and a Chief Minister and so also between the Administrator and the Ministers. But these need not interfere with the efficient conduct of affairs so long as each took care not to encroach on the other's field.

As regards the provision to Article 44(1) it was maintained that the Union Government had powers to interfere in the matters of the Union Territories. The retention of the proviso was necessary because the Centre would be spending a lot of money in these territories for development and must have some powers in case the administration was not allowed to function properly and a situation like the one in Kerala some years ago was created. However, the Government would have very rare occasions for interference.

The necessity of the Central control

over Union Territories seems to be justified. Himachal Pradesh, Tripura and Manipur lie in border areas and the Central Government has a special responsibility for their security. The new Ministries should not complain if certain fields of administration have been kept outside their jurisdiction and even if the Assemblies are debarred from discussing matters which are the exclusive responsibility of the Administrator to be appointed by the Central Government.

The way restrictions on powers of the Union Territories are qualified suggests a desire to secure to the Union Territories reasonable discretion in administering themselves and to the Union Government a reasonable check against the absence of such discretion.

That the Central Government has no interest in smothering genuine local initiative has been proved by the total change in its policy on the Union Territories which until a few years ago did not contemplate the restoration of Ministries after the discouraging experience before 1956 and the subsequent acceptance of S.R.C. Report. The appreciable feature of the Act is that, unlike old Part C States, some of which had legislatures and ministries and

others only Advisory Councils, all the Union Territories will now have an identical set-up.

However, there are some points of warning. The provision for nomination should not be misused for political purposes. The main trouble with the Act is that it is a kind of compromise. The imperfections in the system of Dyarchy that it has introduced may be seized upon by both sides to justify their misgivings. The first step is to create right conventions. **The Statesman** very pertinently observed:

"The gradualness of growth (which facilitated a basic sturdiness) and the organisational changes under way should stand the territories in good stead in the years to come. Even so, there is need for vigilance, as political progress seems to pce, although somewhat differently, as many problems as economic. A delicate plant, democracy, needs careful tending; a technique which judged from incidents reported from time to time, some legislatures and corporations have yet to master. The first step obviously is to build up right conventions."¹¹

11. *The Statesman*, New Delhi, July, 1963 (Dak Edn.).

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

JINNAH AND GANDHI—THEIR ROLE IN INDIA'S QUEST FOR FREEDOM: By S. K. Majumdar, Barrister-at-Law, Patna, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 61A, Banchharam Akur Lane, Calcutta-12, Demy 8 vo, Pp. 310 plus Index p. 8., Price Rs. 20/-.

It was impossible in the immediate wake of that cataclysmic event, the attainment of Indian independence on the basis of a truncated India and the creation of the new State of Independent and Sovereign Pakistan, to begin to get down to a dispassionate assessment of the historical process that had led to such an untoward result and the part played in the process by the two individuals who, perhaps, played the most crucial role in the tragedy. For, we have been too near the event and a certain perspective of distance is admittedly one of the inescapable needs for any kind of a correct historical judgment. Ignorance, as Lytton Strachey so cynically puts it, would seem to be a first requisite of a historian; ignorance which simplifies and clarifies, which selects and omits, with a placid perfection, unattainable by the highest art.

For the matter of that, we are still too perilously near the times and any dispassionate assessment of events, especially of the roles assumed by popular heroes in the process of historical unfoldment, might yet generate emotional reactions which, though they may not distort the true historical picture, might still be fairly devastating to the historian concerned, even supposing that he were able to rise above the tides of popular feelings and emotional distortions to arrive at a correct evaluation of events and their relevance to the historical process.

One must concede, therefore, a certain measure of unusual courage to the author of this present book under review, when he undertook the task of analysing the true facts about the respect-

ive roles played by Gandhi and Jinnah during the penultimate decades of India's struggle for political emancipation, and to fit these facts into the general process with a view to evaluate their appropriate impacts upon the historical consummation at which we would appear to have arrived in these respective countries, India and Pakistan.

In the interest of truthfulness and historical accuracy, the fundamental fact about both Gandhi and Jinnah, which we find both fully acknowledged and underlined in the book under review again and again, is that while the one was primarily a mideavalist wedded to certain almost esoteric faiths—one could hardly call them ideals—and a jumble of certain borrowed beliefs and techniques hardly relevant in a modern world in which the freedom of thinking and opinion of the individual is accorded the highest place in the social polity, the other was out and out a product of the modern age of parliamentary democracy with his almost fanatical adherence to the ideals of liberty. It is from this basic difference in their respective mental processes and their respective outlook on life, that would appear to have stemmed the unresolvable cleavage between Gandhi and Jinnah which were destined ultimately to bear the disastrous fruit of a vivisection of the country on frankly and unashamedly communal lines.

And, yet, Jinnah's whole background and his earlier political activities, which were not inconsiderable before Gandhi insinuated himself into the leadership of the Indian National Congress after the death of Tilak, did not demonstrate any taint of communalism in either his politics or his character; on the contrary, they evinced a clearly anti-communalist stance. Such an assessment of Jinnah's earlier political role in the leadership of the Congress would be borne out by the role he had played at the celebrated Lucknow All Parties Conference of 1916 and his influence

in whittling down as far as possible the communal contents of the Pact arrived there, that are clearly demonstrated by the proceedings of the Conference. Even as late as 1924 following his election to the Indian Legislative Assembly as an Independent candidate, we find Jinnah leading an Independent group in the Assembly—which formed a minor opposition group as distinct and separate from the powerful and popular Swarajist Party under Motilal Nehru's leadership—which included such of our elder statesmen among its membership as Bepin Chandra Pal, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, the Hon'ble G. S. Khapade; Dr. B. S. Moonje and, some time later, also the late Lala Lajpat Rai. If Jinnah were really communally oriented then it would be impossible to expect such a bevy of brilliant and wholly independent men to accept his leadership in the House.

The cleavage between Gandhi and Jinnah would really seem to have stemmed from the sickly communal colour under which Gandhi had initially launched upon his career of popular leadership in this country. On his return from South Africa Gandhi had flirted with several alternative political platforms to gain a foothold in the public life of his native land. He tried the Servants of India Society and although Gokhale appears to have been somewhat ready to indulge this strange but forceful young man from the wilds of South Africa, his colleagues and followers in the Society could not quite stomach what appeared to them as a poseur sporting a loin cloth and a naked body. In the larger Congress organization of which Tilak was then the undisputed master, his overtures appeared to have been simply brushed away. There was, perhaps, a certain measure of desperation in his eventual decision to throw in his lot with the Ali Brothers—brothers Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali—in their notorious Khilafat movement. This, frankly, sickened Jinnah and all through the decades following the liquidation of the Khilafat movement and Gandhi's ascension to the undisputed leadership of the Congress and the country after Tilak's decease, he has never been less than contemptuous of this 'mediaevalist adventurer who so delighted in sporting the nakedness of his body and his mind' to the public view.

History, it is said, works its way through devious channels. It would be a matter of quite

futile speculation to imagine what the course of this country might have been if Gandhi had never returned to his native soil from South Africa, or if Jinnah was not driven away from the leadership of the Congress by his cleavage with and contempt of the ways and outlook of Gandhi and his disciples. The main reason, perhaps, for Jinnah's having finally abrogated all his previous faiths and convictions about the political future of India and turned frankly and vituperatively communal, who was the father of the deadly "two-nation" theory, was his overbearing ambition which he would appear to have placed far ahead of the ultimate good of the country. Similarly, Gandhi would appear to have placed his esoteric beliefs in so-called non-violence and his mediaevalistic abhorrence of the industrial age, far ahead of national well being, or a compromise between the two for an integrated leadership of the country towards an agreed goal might not have been altogether impossible. To say this does not, of course, mean that none of them was wholly honest; for whatever their respective faiths and beliefs, and however wrong they may be assessed to have been in the light of modern thinking, they, both of them, obviously believed that theirs was the only way to the salvation of the country and its peoples.

In a sense Jinnah had no other way open to him if he did not choose to accept political oblivion, except to accept the position, that all that he could possibly expect to salvage out of the devastating impact of Gandhi's overwhelming public popularity which really verged almost on the devotional, by confining himself to merely sectoral leadership; for he could never hope to attract the affections of a traditional people like ours to whom such modern shibboleths as democracy and freedom connoted hardly any clear image. In Gandhi they found a kinsman whose way of life was substantially their own and they were ready to not merely do obeisance to him but even to go all the way to wherever he might chose to lead them; Jinnah, on the other hand, appeared to be an alien with his European ways of living and the frankly western orientations in his thinking and ideals except, perhaps, to the city-bred and English educated intellectuals who constituted less than one half of one per cent of the population. It was, perhaps, in the sheer desperation bred of the fear of inevitable and utter poli-

tical oblivion facing him that Jinnah woke up for the first time, to an awareness of the fact that he was born a Muslim and that there was a political body called the Muslim League which had sued for his support, even his leadership on many an occasion in the past. That he did wrong in so vitiating the atmosphere in which the national struggle for political emancipation had so long been carried on by his elders and then by himself and his colleagues and contemporaries, were to have been proved later. While inaugurating Pakistan Jinnah frankly told the citizens of the new State he had helped to create, that it was not meant for a traditional theocratic State in which none but the believer would have any status; the eventual goal, he said, was a parliamentary democracy in which all communities and members of different religious groups must equally share. He went so far as to declare that religion was the personal concern of the individual and had nothing to do with the social organization or the political machinery of government. He had lived long enough to have clearly realised that the monster he had helped to create was no longer prepared to do his bidding—Pakistan had frankly grown into a most fanatical theocratic State, where none but the Muslim can have any political right or social status.

Similarly, Gandhi also clearly saw the ruins of his beliefs and ideals being brought by his own erstwhile disciples and followers. It would appear that his so-called disciples offered lip-allegiance to his ideals and beliefs in order to gain their own separate ends which they could never have hoped to gain on their own lone strength. Gone were the ideals of *sarvodaya* and a reversion to the idyllic *bullock-cart* days to which Gandhi had so ardently looked forward all his life, as the very ultimate consummation of all his struggles and sacrifices through life. As soon as they got hold of the reins of power in their hands which, incidentally, they only succeeded in doing by sacrificing one of the most fundamental creeds of their master that they would never be a party to the acceptance of the vicious "two-nation" theory of Jinnah and his followers, Gandhi's own disciples and followers began to follow their acquired occidental orientations and began to think in terms of and plan for ushering in the modern industrial age in this country; of course, they have preserved museum models of *sarvodaya*, *nai talim* and cottage

and village industries for popular adulation. But their principal preoccupation has been with monster machines, power pylons and jet planes. Gandhi, naturally, was a frustrated man during the short two and a half years he survived; then he also realised what a frankenstein he had nurtured in his bosom, but the assassin's bullet fortunately carried him away to prevent further future discomfiture and derogation.

What is most deplorable is that the tragedies in the personal lives of these two great sons of India should have deeply involved the whole country and her peoples, so that posterity may have to continue to pay the price of the tragic consequences for untold generations in the future. People vainly hope for a reunion of the two Indias, a consummation much to be desired but utterly impossible of achievement unless another cataclysm like that of a global war may intervene to breakdown the insuperable barriers of prejudice, hatred and fear that have grown up dividing the two.

Mr. Majumdar has painstakingly collected, studied, assimilated and used all available materials to assess the respective contributions of Gandhi and Jinnah to the struggle for India's national emancipation; to evaluate the corners at which they had taken the wrong directions and to analyse separately and conjointly in their relations with one another, the mass of conflicting and confusing factors, that had ultimately to lead to the tragic destination to which the country has eventually been led. It has been an honest study and a very painstakingly undertaken one considering, especially, that the writer is not a professional writer but a busy practising Barrister. It is also a fascinating study. There is, no doubt, a great deal of room for controversy, especially in the matter of interpretation of events; in places the materials presented might have been a little more balanced with a bit of whittling down of extraneous details which may not be regarded as quite relevant to the study. All these minor exceptions notwithstanding, the book must be accepted as having very painstakingly put together a great mass of authentic facts and events in their appropriate juxtaposition with one another which should prove very valuable to the future student Indian political history.

Karuna K. Nandi

Indian Periodicals

SOCIALIST? WHO, INDIA?

On the alleged monopolistic tendencies of big business and the increasing concentration of wealth, income and economic power in Congress-ruled **socialistic** India, a great deal in both attenuation as well as deprecation has been said and published from time to time. When the Monopolies Enquiry Commission's findings were published last year-end, some even went to the length of reading into them the admission that "there were no monopolies in India in the accepted meaning of the term." Commenting on the fact under the above legend, the **Economic Weekly** states:

Setting about its task in a text book fashion it has made a study of 100 selected products to find that in 65 of them "a high degree of concentration exists in the sense that the share of the three top producers of a particular product is more than 75 per cent of the total production." As for concentration of economic power over the economy as a whole—what the Commission calls countrywide concentration—it finds that the top 75 business groups the total assets of companies under whose control is not less than Rs. 5 crores, account for 44 per cent of the paid up capital of all companies in the corporate sector and for 47 per cent of their total assets.

....R. K. Hazari's painstaking research into ownership and control of corporate enterprise had shown a high degree of concentration of economic power. And about concentration in particular industries the Commission draws its results from data regularly supplies by the office of the Director General of Technical Development. But while these facts may not be as commonly known as they might have

been but for the tendency of "that section of the press that is under the control of big business to "present too rosy a picture of the performances and practices of big business", it has been plain enough all along that the very logic of planned development of a predominantly private enterprise economy could not but lead to greater concentration. Rightly does the Commission mention among the main causes of the growth of concentration of economic power "the Government's programme of planned development which necessitated a system of industrial licensing, control of capital issues and regulation of imports, as well as exchange control in the face of difficult balance of payments position. Predictably "big business groups with better resources found themselves in a more advantageous position to deal with the controls and to start new ventures than the smaller man who often found these controls too formidable to overcome."

It would be obvious that what the Government really had in mind when they appointed the Monopolies Commission was not so much as to assess the degree of concentration of economic power, the causes that had led to this result, and to recommend the measures that, in its view, would be calculated to obviate this tendency, but more to establish the notion in the public mind that the Government were duly seized of the problem and had been seriously setting themselves to deal with the matter. One of the major and avowed purposes of planning and controls has been to foster the rapid growth of capital formation in the private corporate sector, and in the achievement of such a purpose, it is clearly an absurd paradox that the powers and privileges of this sector of the economy

could, at the same time, be effectively curtailed or attenuated.

As Dr. A. R. Gadgil pointed out fully ten years ago in a note to the panel of Economists, the fundamental inconsistency of our industrial policy has been that it had sought, on the one hand, to lean on modern private enterprise for capital formation and, on the other, to set itself the goal of preventing concentration of wealth and economic power.

It is pointless to talk of the need to reduce concentration of economic power. Even if the Congress did not take a single

rupee for its election funds from business groups, the Government will not be one jot more willing or able to curb the power of these groups. The financial support that it extends to the ruling Party is more an expression of the power of big business. less its cause. The fact is, concentration of economic power involves control of large resources and also of large areas of production and those who have such control are in a position to influence policy in a large measure—including the decision whether or not to curb concentration of economic power!

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Foreign Periodicals

Vietnam And The Aid Bill

Vietnam has long been an extremely sensitive spot in world diplomacy. That it had not already escalated into a holocaust of global proportions in spite of its obviously high explosive potential must be ascribed to the patient diplomacy of other global powers who are fundamentally opposed to the policies of President Lyndon B. Johnson and his team of advisers in the Capital as well as in the Pentagon.

That U.S. Public opinion also does not generally endorse the President's policies in Vietnam has long been obvious. Even the U.S. Senate, generally, would not seem to quite like the increasing measures of commitment in Vietnam. Felix Bolair writing in the **New York Times** of June 19 holds that the recent changes made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to President Johnson's Foreign Aid Authorization Bill and which, for all practical purposes, was a slap on Secretary Dean Rusk's face was an expression of its disapproval of the Administration's Vietnam policy:

The Administration learned long ago to expect the worst when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee comes to grips with its foreign aid legislation. Ambivalence has given way to disenchantment among the Committee members, and gradually the group has replaced the House Appropriations Subcommittee under Otto E. Passman as the bogey-man of foreign aid.

But nothing in their experience could have led Administration officials to anticipate the collective mayhem completed this week against the President's \$3.4. billion "bare-bones" foreign aid request this year. Disenchantment no longer described the mood of the Committee. This was rebellion.

more than a month the Committee had been making its will on the companion economic aid bills with all the finesse

of a hung-over watchmaker with the six-inch shakes. In the process of "marking up" the Bills, former staunch supporters of the aid programme became its severest critics. And when the Committee voted 17 to 2 to send the battered measures on to the Senate, Chairman J. W. Fulbright was the first to say the majority just wanted to be rid of the interminable haggling.

Policy distrusted

It required no psycho-analyst to identify the source of the trouble. There would always be plenty to complain about in foreign aid, because the techniques of economic development are still new and there would be mistakes. But the real cause of the trouble was not in the foreign aid program itself. At the base it was a distrust of the foreign policy course on which President Johnson has been embarked since his commitment to the Vietnam War and the big build-up of United States forces there.

The attitude of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the matter of foreign aid generally would appear to have been largely influenced by the rather obviously shabby attempt made by Johnson's chief policy adviser, Secretary Dean Rusk, to justify the escalating U.S. commitment in the Vietnam war on the plea that when the Committee went on almost continually authorising increasing funds for South Vietnam, it must also be taken to have endorsed, at least by implication, the Administration's policies in that region. Felix Bolair continues:

A policy divergence is one thing. But when a Senate Committee finds itself powerless to do anything to correct the difference, the only question is how damaging the ultimate explosion will be.

If it did nothing else to the foreign aid authorization bills, the Committee's resentment toward the Administration was clearly indicated in the changes it ordered in the legislation.

One change was a direct slap at Secretary of State, Rusk. The Committee provided that the

furnishing of any aid was not to be construed as a commitment to provide troops in defense of the recipient. The Secretary had argued, among other things, that the continuous authorization of funds for South Vietnam over the years could be regarded at least as acquiescence in the Administration's course in that area.

Another change tore out of the military aid bill a policy declaration asserting that the peace of the world and the security of the United States was endangered so long as Soviet Russia and Communist China continued by subversion and aggression to attempt to impose their domination on free and independent peoples. In the same deleted preamble was a passage stating the intention of Congress through military aid to improve the "ability of friendly countries and international organizations to deter or, if necessary to defeat aggression, facilitating arrangements for collective security, and creating an environment of security and orderly change in friendly developing countries."

Lest the purpose of the Committee in striking the amendment be lost, Senator Fulbright explained that the group sought to avoid "any fancy rhetoric" that might be made the basis of some future policy in which it did not concur.

Area Restrictions

The rebellion of the Senate Committee against the Administration's policies would appear to have been so full-blooded that even apart from substantially slashing the amounts recommended respectively under the heads of "loan funds" and "supporting assistance", the Committee also placed restrictions on the area of aid giving in any particular year. Bolair continues:

There were other restrictions as well—some never before imposed. After cutting \$.45.4 million from development loan funds and \$.47.2 million from supporting assistance, the Committee limited to 10 countries the number that might receive aid from either source in any year. (The Administration had planned to make development loans to 19 countries in the new fiscal year and to 14 others from supporting assistance.) A similar limitation on technical assistance grants to 40 of the 47 listed for such help by the Agency for Inter-

national Development (AID). The Committee's purpose here was greater concentration of economic aid in fewer countries.

Debt Service

But even apart from the measure in which the Committee's slashing of the aid bill would appear to have been influenced by its disapproval of the Administration's Vietnam policies, there would appear to have been very fundamental and quite cogent reasons why it felt a selective and more judicious approach to questions of foreign aid would be more beneficial to the aid-receivers themselves. So long foreign aid would appear to have been mainly conditioned by considerations of world political alignments; frankly for purposes of endeavouring to prevent the newly emancipated and developing countries of Asia and Africa from seeking alignment with the Communist bloc. The Committee would now appear to have turned its attention to more relevant and basic economic considerations. The writer continues:

Then came the blockbuster. Aid officials have been trying for years, and with some success, to get other donor countries to provide assistance on more liberal terms. The reason was clear. A World Bank study indicates that by the time new AID loans to developing countries begin to bear interest 11 years from now at the present 2½ per cent rate, the recipient countries will have to use all their foreign earnings, plus aid capital, to service their external debts. (This would appear to have been already happening to India!) Put another way, if debt service requirements continue to climb at present trends, and if total aid from the advanced countries remains at present levels, the developing countries will have to use all the aid from the donors, plus all their own export earnings, just to stay where they are.

Against this background the Committee ordered an increase in the interest rate of AID development loans from 2½ per cent to 4.8 per cent or whatever it cost the U.S. Treasury to borrow money. When the Committee realised what this might mean, it reduced the increase to a rate of 3 per cent. That, however, would still mean a \$.100 million increase in interest charges for the recipient countries at present loan levels.

Vietnam And The Aid Bill

The turn of the tide in Asian politics or political and ideological alignments would appear to have just begun to follow a slow and, at present, extremely gradual albeit a distinctly discernible course away from the centres of Pekingese influence. At least that is the estimate Harrison E. Salisbury in a despatch to the *New York Times* under date line Rangoon, June 18, would appear to have arrived at :

The tide appears to be running against Communism—particularly against radical Chinese Communism—in Southeast Asia. This impression is general in a wide swath of territory as far-east as Hong Kong and west to Rangoon in an area which has been dominated in the past year or more by the crescendo of the Vietnam war. The most notable facet of the pervading conviction that “the west wind is prevailing over the east wind” is that some statesmen in the region believe this has occurred in spite of rather than because of, the Vietnam war.

This correspondent has travelled in recent weeks in several countries around Vietnam—Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Burma. In conversation with diplomats of a variety of nationalities, many foreign ministers, government leaders, army men and editors, there's hardly any disagreement that, for the immediate future, Southeast Asia has turned its back on militant Communism. There is also no disagreement on the event that has dramatized this generally altered posture. Again and again Indonesia is cited as the watershed that has changed the course of Asian political orientation, possibly for the coming decade.

Other developments are also cited : the shift in the Indian policy in recent years from one of accommodation to confrontation with Communist China ; the deepening split between the Communists of Peking and Moscow that has divided and confused the Communist movement in many Asian lands and weakened the influence of the Communists in others, and by no means least important, the new and radical eruption in Peking of a possible power fight and a drift to ultraism.

Confronted by the evidence of the growing strength in anti-Communist orientation in Southeast Asia, Americans naturally want to know what role has been played by the colossal intensification of the American effort in Vietnam.

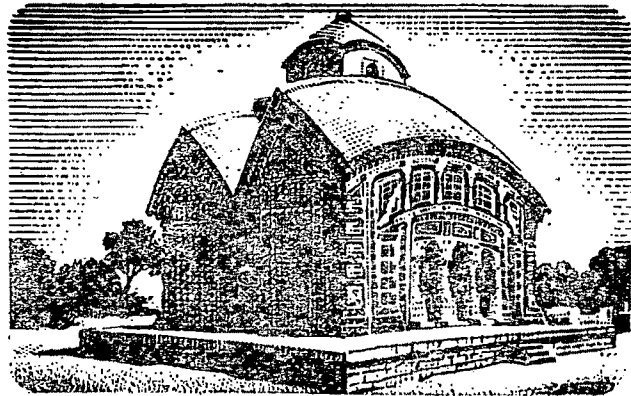
On this point there is sharp disagreement. American military men are certain that the impressive fight they have mounted against the Communist led Vietcong, the visible evidences of Vietcong difficulties against the powerful United States forces, and the occasional hint that North Vietnam may be lessening in its determination to carry the battle to the end, all have played a major role. This view point is supported by many American diplomats deeply involved in the Vietnam war. It is backed strongly by Thailand's Foreign Minister, Thanat Koman, who is emerging as one of Asia's most persuasive statesmen.

However, it is challenged in countries like Cambodia and Burma which have made enormous sacrifices to avoid being sucked into the war. Some diplomats from a number of European nations closely aligned with the United States concur. With some exceptions they take the view that the United States is unnecessarily complicating the situation by its massive military effort. These efforts have a tendency to destroy land that supposedly the Americans want to save ; and swamp surrounding countries in tidal waves of inflation, overheated economies and overbalanced military development because of fantastic infusions of American funds and material. Never in Asia's history has money and means been flung about with the colossal abandon that has characterized the U.S. effort in Vietnam.

One shrewd observer in pseudo-neutral Laos commented “Americans seem determined to carry the whole Vietnam battle on their own shoulders. Don't they understand that their so-called allies will simply bow out under these conditions ? Why should the Vietnamese risk his neck if the United States infantrymen are to carry the whole burdens of the fight ? You are going to end up being the only ones fighting.”

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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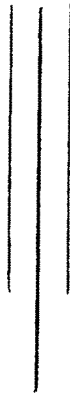
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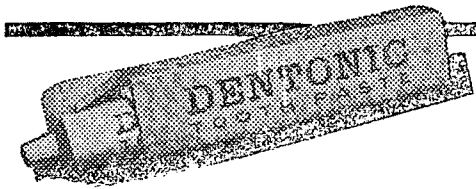
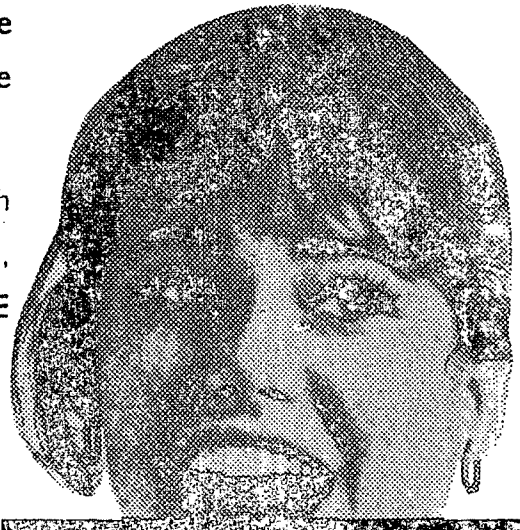
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NOTES

Sovereign and Suzerain

As long as there have been organised communities of human beings with all kinds of people living together, there have been workers, masters, teachers, priests, soldiers, officials, the poor, the rich, the good men and the bad. One may not be able to clearly re-enact those various incidents, experimental trials of methods and evolutionary processes, which eventually led to the formation of civilised councils, political states with kings, chiefs or rulers; of wise men, senators or bodies of important persons; generals, high priests, philosophers and lawgivers; but all persons forming the upper strata of human society slowly came into existence over a long period of unrecorded history and the masses who drew water, hewed wood and wielded the spear or the axe, learned to obey the big men and to carry on life through the millennia. Whether dynastic kings came first or elected commanders and whether minor chiefs just formed an inner circle of top men round the great chief, or leaders of groups from afar were sent to represent their people, are questions which we cannot answer precisely. But human society has been organised with commanders and common soldiers, with men who ordered and men who obeyed for many thousands of years. The communities were small at first; but the ideas of kings, kings of kings and lords of the Earth came into existence at least ten thousand years ago.

A sovereign state could always put up a topmost ruler or body of rulers who only gave orders and received none. For if a person or group of persons were absolute rulers of a state, that person or group of persons could never take any orders from any other wielder of power. Sovereign power means something that functions in an unrestrained manner. A power that requires external sanction cannot be called sovereign in the true sense of the term. Sovereign states and absolute rulers have never agreed to accept any control over their actions by other powers. But greater powers have come into operation from time to time everywhere in the world

which dictated to other states and their rulers by reason of greater might. These superior powers were called imperial and their rulers emperors and they had many states and kings to take orders from them. In Egypt, China, India, from very ancient days, mighty rulers sent out armies to conquer the world and to bring many independent nations and their rulers under their command. Such conquests often led to the formation of empires and sovereign states became subservient to suzerains who exercised over-lordship by force of arms. These empires have existed throughout the historical period and though these have dominated the earth, or portions of it, at times, in a subtle and disguised manner, they have exercised control over the sovereignty of independent states quite extensively and in an unashamed manner. Hegemonies of states with a central power, have been formed and named as this community of nations or that; but the factual imperial nature of the group would be quite obvious. Khilafes or Holy empires often mixed the religious with the regal motif. Treaties were imposed upon weaker nations which fell into line out of fear and for want of the sinews of war.

During recent periods of history the League of Nations, The United Nations, NATO, The Iron Curtain Countries (unofficial name), The Liberation of Other Nations by China (without a name), have all had their own powerful overlords who dictated terms and quoted rules of conduct to participating members. The big powers which formed the cores of these organisations were truly imperial in might and resources.

When India became independent by negotiation she, for all practical purposes, accepted the suzerain position of Great Britain in so far as she agreed to surrender a large part of her territory at the behest of Great Britain for the formation of a new state. She also accepted her place within

the British Commonwealth which was an unobtrusive type of Empire. Later on, when Pakistan, the British-made Muslim Indian state, attacked Kashmir in order to occupy it by force and the Indian army was called in to save that state by the ruler of Kashmir who acceded to India for the defence of his kingdom, the British-American dual overlords forced the Indian army to stop its work of chasing all Pakistani marauders out of Kashmir; thus allowing the aggressors to remain in possession of a large portion of that mountain kingdom. Again, after some 17/18 years, Pakistan repeated her acts of banditry in Kashmir. This time the Indian Army occupied a large tract in Pakistan in retaliation. But the British-Americans stepped in again and forced the Indians to restore *status quo*. When China attacked India and occupied thousands of square miles of Indian territory, India had to submit to the indignity of toleration of an act of invasion. China remains in possession of Indian territory and India can only quibble while the Chinese stay on along and up to "a line of actual control," by which name they refer to the territory they have occupied by force. The Tashkent declaration is an instance of Russian interference in the affairs of Pakistan and India. This was possibly done at the request of the British-American dual overlords; who thought Russia should be given a share of their guardianship of the Earth. This great guardianship is most elastic and highly adjustable. If Russia sends troops into the territories of a smaller nation, no one can admonish Russia. If China invades and occupies permanently a foreign country like Tibet or territory belonging to India, the guardians say nothing. If the U.S.A. fights in Vietnam there can be no enforced cease-fire. But if India is attacked by Pakistan and India retaliates, the guardians immediately pounce upon India to stop fighting and, later on, call the Pakistani aggression

a dispute. If Pakistan's claims on Kashmir types who cannot adjust their personal is a dispute, why are not the claims of love of power, greed and criminal propen- North Vietnam on South Vietnam also a sities with the ethical principles of justice, dispute? In fact no aggression anywhere fair play, equality, liberty and humanism can be called a dispute. But the guardians The principles which guide the higher of universal humanity, viz Britain, the social conduct of conscientious followers of United States, Russia and China, approve of socialism are unknown to those who certain acts of banditry and aggression constantly indulge in favouritism, power which are committed by themselves or hunting, bribery and corruption. In this their specially favoured proteges. They country, whether in spheres of state manag- can do no wrong. They are the overlords ed institutions, establishments and depart- of the Earth, the new suzerains and the un- ments or privately controlled enterprise, declared emperors whom lesser sovereign there are large scale deviations from the powers must obey unquestioningly. the moral standards accepted by civilised peo-

In the circumstances, the world is now ple of all communities which have a sense of divided into a number of Empires with social and individual decorum. Foreigners, suzerains who dictate to the subject states when they come to work in India, soon pick in a manner which varies from the brutal up the decadent ways of the unprincipled Chinese to the subtle-ethical British- people who occupy high places in this American type of issuing commands. The country. Those who talk of socialism, sovereignty of the subject states of these social welfare and social security, should, mighty empires is therefore purely what first of all, try to clean up the offices, depart- may be called the right of local self govern- ments, boards, committees, councils and ment. They are constantly supervised, reform the moral outlook of the big men. checked and made to behave by their in private as well as public posts of com- imperial guardians who are their "big mand. Unless this is done first, there can be brother's" but who carry about their big no justice and no fundamental rights in sticks in a clearly visible manner. They this country; and without well established can disarm or rearm, feed or starve and human rights there can be no true civilisa- control the finances of their tributaries in tion. All talks of socialism will be just hot various ways. Their mighty military and air so long as the people are subjected to economic forces cover the skies, the seas, the self willed injustices perpetrated by the bases of operation, the market places immoral individuals in positions of power. and the banking centres of the world. The

Dictators Galore

In this democratic socialist republican set up, there are numerous small size aspirants to dictatorships of a limited kind. They are government officials, members of cabinets, influential political leaders, private sector capitalists and many other

McNamara's Propaganda

There is no denying the historical fact that the British imperialists, at one stage of their change-over from military domination of the Commonwealth countries to a subtler and indirect form of over-lordship, played some Muslim leaders of India against the Hindus, and after several years of instigated and engineered rioting, forced a partition of India, before giving up political control over this sub-continent. But very few Muslims were really fond of the

Pakistan idea and Pakistan even now is held together by a British-American aided dictatorship, without which it would have broken up automatically into many pieces. There are millions of Muslims in India and there are also more millions of Muslims in other countries who live happily and peacefully as the fellow citizens of persons of other religious communities. Pakistan is the one single exception among all nations. In Pakistan the Muslim citizens are aggressively anti-Hindu because they are taught to be so by their leaders. In other words the so-called communal disunity, upon which the partition of India was based, was a British made and artificially boosted up agitation which had never existed during the 700 years of Hindu-Muslim relations in India and before the British faced the national freedom movement in this country.

Mr. McNamara's statement that the Pakistan-India conflict was a clash of religious forces can therefore be accepted by students of history as true, only if the British and the Americans admit that they instigated Pakistan to attack India by exciting Pakistan's religious fanaticism through their paid agents provocateurs. For, the entire history of communal rioting during the last forty years of British rule in India, shows, how hooligans paid by the British went about the bazars inciting people to fight. The only difficulty in getting this strange theory accepted, is however, the fact that the invasion of India by Pakistan, which started the conflict, was an organised military expedition carried out by trained soldiers with heavy armour supplied by the U.S.A., and not a street fight among rival groups of hooligans. Mr. McNamara may indulge in fanciful and irresponsible talk, but the idea, that whenever Muslim robbers try to loot a Hindu's house the basic urge must be religious, is preposterous. If such juvenile thoughts developed in British minds, one would find a reason for it.

The British have been believers in liberty and freedom only for the British. But the people of the U.S.A. have fought the greatest war of independence in human history, and have sacrificed much for liberty and the rights of freedom in their Civil War. That men of the same nation can degenerate and lower themselves to the level of the Portuguese in Africa, is hard to believe!

In the Pakistan-India fight, one of the bravest men of the Indian Army who was decorated with the highest award Posthumously WAS A MUSLIM. Hundreds of other Muslim soldiers of the Indian army gave their lives in various battles in Kashmir and the NEFA. India makes no distinction between Hindus and Muslims. Muslims hold high posts in the Indian Government and in the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force. Pakistan has, no doubt, followed a policy of aggression against all non-Muslims and chased out millions of Hindus and a large number of Christians and Buddhists from that country. India has followed no such policy and any religious fanaticism that may have found a place in the hearts of the combatants in the Pakistan-India fight, was strictly restricted to the soldiers of Pakistan. Mr. McNamara has tried to revive a dead British imperial propaganda, which is based on nothing but untruth, malice and ill-concealed contrariness to the higher principles of democracy, secularism and human freedom.

India's Defence Policy

Defence always requires a certain secrecy about its detailed arrangements. The element of surprise being very important in warfare, no country would make public its military organisation in full. Armament, location of soldiers, number of soldiers, planes, air force personnel and nature of weapons etc., would be kept secret. That being so, when our ministers talk about our defence arrangements, with

special reference to its adequacy, we cannot demand more detailed information. But, we know something about the military preparedness of China and Pakistan. China has a vast land army of may be 200|400 divisions. A good number of these soldiers are armed with automatic weapons and they have a good backing of heavy armament, tanks, armoured cars, rockets, mortars and so forth. The Chinese air force has about 3000|5000 fighters, bombers etc., with a large enough trained personnel of over 100,000 officers and men. On top of this China has a fleet of submarines numbering about 50 and she has a good few nuclear bombs. Pakistan has enough tanks, planes and other weapons to release 10|20 divisions of soldiers upon India. Now, if India has to face a double attack from China and Pakistan, she must have at least 100 divisions of soldiers, backed by tanks, heavy artillery, machine-guns, anti-tank guns, rockets etc., and at least 3,000 fighters, bombers and other military aircraft. She has at present no submarines and no nuclear weapons. This is a very serious shortcoming in her defence arrangements and must be rectified without delay. For if China gives Pakistan a few nuclear bombs, India will surely experience a mass massacre of her city populations of Calcutta, Bombay or Delhi within a few years and she will have no power of retaliation, leave alone defence. If, however, India can man her long frontiers with well armed soldiers in sufficient numbers supported by a strong air force, she can invade Chinese Territory in a large number of places as well as occupy Pakistan Territory in big enough chunks if Pakistan engages in war against India. But with a small army and a limited air force, India cannot engage in any offensive action. If her enemies attack her by using nuclear bombs, she will have to surrender ignominiously. That being so, India must increase her army, by conscription if

necessary, and add to her air force considerably. She must have submarines and atomic weapons. This will possibly mean increasing her defence budget to Rs. 2000 crores or more. But if India can spend 4000 crores, or even 5000 on economic planning, she should be able to take 1200 crores out of that for defence purposes. India must protect her national honour and prestige and the lives of her citizens first, before she can arrange to be prosperous and happy. The honour of our women and the lives of our children come before everything else. Unfortunately our politicians have developed a fanatical outlook in which certain pe- idiosyncracies occupy the entire foreground, and no one can make them acknowledge the true facts and basic problems of our national life. As a result we can neither achieve our economic objectives, nor the more vital ones of defence and military strength.

Mihir Sen Swims Gibraltar

Mihir Sen is a remarkably tenacious sportsman. He is a barrister, a writer of sound repute and a married man. But he has a hobby of swimming across long stretches of dangerous sea passages which has now attained the dimensions of a grand passion. He swum the English Channel many years ago. Earlier this year he swum across the Palk Straits. Thereafter he declared he was going to cross the Straits of Gibraltar, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. He had accordingly gone over to Spain and entering the sea at Tarifa at 7 hours on the 24th of August landed at Ceuta at 15 hours, thus making his crossing in 8 hours and 1 minute as declared by the time keeper. There were sharks and the water was very cold. Two British soldiers who accompanied him for a distance gave up after some time due to the low temperature of the sea water. Mihir Sen has thus achieved the third objective of his five-

fold scheme of mastering the waves. We think his spirit of adventure is of the same kind that inspired the great explorers in the past. His physical courage and powers of endurance are comparable to the undaunted and indefatigable will and ability to conquer danger and difficulties that we find in great climbers, arctic explorers and space fliers. After his crossing of the Palk Straits Mihir Sen told the younger people of India to be adventurous and to learn to face apparently insurmountable difficulties with determination to overcome all obstacles to success. He has again given proof that he can do what he teaches. That should be a lesson to the older people of India too. We wish Mr. Sen every success in his further endeavours to break all records of swimming the turbulent sea crossings of the earth.

Little Insults and Injustices

India is a country in which almost anybody who has any power or authority to give assistance to people to get their lawful desires fulfilled, abuses such powers. This does not mean that all people are corrupt. Some are so and others just throw their weight about and show off. If one goes to a booking office or a postal department one immediately feels that one is at the mercy of the person at the window. Even if one goes to a bank, the treasury or the Income Tax office to pay in money, one is made to wait and subjected to harassment for no known reason. Poor people are subjected to insults, injustice and unfair treatment all the way as they go through their miserable lives. The long queues at the ration shops, the people who wait at the court houses, hospitals, dispensaries and everywhere else are the symptoms of an all pervading spirit of denial of all convenience and fair treatment. Then there are the corrupt ones who demand bribes. There are also all those millions who sell and supply watered milk, adulterated materials, give short weight and fake goods.

Not all of them are employees of Government. Nor are they all well to do people. There are unskilled workers who do not carry out their duties, skilled workers who are lazy and do not produce even half of what they can, teachers who do not teach, doctors who do not give proper medical assistance, policemen who help law-breakers rather than restrain them and so on and so forth. The politicians who try to legislate and to give the country a good government, do engage in expensive activities in their various expensive centres of action. The people pay for it; but the politicians take not much notice of the sorrows of the common man. Great big injustices and large size corrupt practices are shown up at times, and top men are given hard blows through unrelenting and merciless criticism; but what good do all that do to the common man? He suffers maladministration and the curtailment of his rights of citizenship without redress. The common man pays for all grandiose things including opposition to Government but what does he get out of it? Nothing, as far as we can see.

Maoism Leaps for Progress

Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism have guided Chinese civilisation and progress for nearly three thousand years. These provided spiritual and moral ways of looking at human life which helped people to be better men and to collectively improve society for building up a superior civilisation. The Chinese civilisation followed its path of evolution and progress in this thoughtful and deliberate manner for long centuries and nobody thought the people of China were backward and decadent. Long before most Afro-Asian countries achieved any success in their struggle for establishing human rights and the higher principles of liberty and freedom, Sun Yat Sen brought about a revolution in China which cured the Chinese Government of many of its evil ways and the Chinese people of their

soul killing habits of taking opium, tying up the feet of girl babies, keeping long nails and pig tails and generally adopting a way of life which was suicidal. The Chinese continued to advance along the new paths shown to them by the West until they started looking for a new philosophy and new prophets. The Russians gave them Marxism and it changed to Maoism, which is the name given to whatever Mao Tse-Tung their dictator likes to do in a self-willed manner. Any dictatorship will produce its own reaction and opposition and Maoism too has given birth to anti-Maoism in China. Mao has thought out a novel method of liquidating this opposition. He has a Maoistic version of all action and thought that the Chinese can engage in. From how to tie shoe-laces and furnish houses, to why think when Mao has already thought for you, Maoism answers all questions and solves all problems for the Chinese. Whosoever differs to think or act in his own way is a revisionist. There may be millions who are contrary but Mao will deal with them all. He has now announced that the Chinese will take a great leap forward and achieve their Maoistic (and therefore) Marxist objective. The Chinese youth will all jump hither and thither and reform everything to fit in with the new Maoistic patterns of Marxism. They are jumping into streets and changing street names, into houses and breaking furniture if they were owned by revisionists. In short the jumps and the leaps are directed at all persons and things disliked by Mao Tse-Tung. The great leap forward will knock down all opposition to Mao in its stride. No concentration camps, nor prosecution or liquidations. Just organised hooliganism, man handling, jostling and crowding in by the trained Teddy Boys of the ultra-Marxist Mao Tse-Tung. It is progress by revolution of a house to house variety. Evolution is tame and slow.

One has to admit that Mao has prophetic vision. He may not have learnt the logic and ethics of human progress, but he surely has mastered the tricks of the circus

arena and the psychology of performing animals. 600 million Chinese leaping and landing in the peaceful homes of mankind is a frightening possibility. All humanity must think out ways of preventing this great leap forward by the Maoist millions. One way is to restrict all leaping within the boundaries of China. They must not cross their own frontiers. If they must trample down things, the trampling must be within China and not in other countries.

Prohibitions, Controls and Other Checks

The India Government and its subsidiaries in the States are great believers in a managed economy and in compulsory moral training for the masses. We have seen what a managed economy has done to India during the last eighteen years of state interference and governmental action. Enormous debts at home and abroad, inflation of the rupee until it is worth about 15 per cent of its pre-1939 value, rise in prices in a sky-rocketing manner, devaluation of the rupee in terms of the Pound Sterling and the U.S. Dollar, import and export control to the point of almost total prohibition, gold control, sweetmeat of chhana control, rice, wheat and sugar control, meatless and foodless days and so on and so forth. On the moral front there are total prohibition areas and part prohibition areas. There are other moral plans which are about as successful as the economic plans. The prohibition orders in various areas are ineffective. Everybody drinks everywhere as they choose to by obtaining exemption permits or bootleg liquor. Prohibition is a failure in India. The gold control order has thrown a million persons out of employment and ruined valuable business houses and a substantial export trade. It has not stopped smuggling of gold or hoarding. The chhana control in West Bengal has similarly created unemployment and loss of trade: but has not improved milk supply in Calcutta. It is a total failure and a farce.

Import and export control has been ruinous for the small manufacturers and all businesses which required foreign components or materials. A wide range of miscalculated priorities and special sanctions have made business a gamble or game of snakes and ladders. This has turned business ability and enterprise into astrological good luck or **Nasib**. If effort and skill can come into play in post-independence Indian business enterprise, the skill and endeavour are largely of the wrong sort. Managed economy has suffered such setback, that the people have lost faith in the government's ability to manage anything properly. The nation has already been burdened with mountainous debts and the government is not changing its ways.

Jayanti Shipping

We believe the Jayanti Shipping Company was created and managed by methods and means which do no credit to Indian political leaders of power and position. Favouritism and behind the screen ways of doing good to undeserving proteges have been the bane of India's political life. Since 1947, at a random guess, ten thousand deserving persons have been pushed to one side to make room for ten thousand worthless persons, some of whom have been proved to be criminals. One Jayanti Shipping Company cannot show us the numerous details on that very large landscape of corruption and high level folly. Corruption and crime go hand in hand and if the leaders of the nation do not strictly observe the rules of fair play, justice and national well-being and indulge in nepotism or act according to their thoughtless whims and desires,

the nation will not remain in a solvent and strong position for very long.

Mixing of Issues

Political, economic, cultural and institutional matters always get mixed up in India and everything sooner or later assumes the shape and size of political agitation. Strikes, processions, total or partial stoppage of work, transportation and public utility services, commence without reference to the nature or extent of the basic demands or grievances. The reason is that we have been used to taking out processions or engaging in hartals for long years and our greatest leaders, in the past, have taken part in such activities. The same leaders, at least some of them, had to take punitive action against their spiritual successors, when India became independent and the administration went to the self-same leaders. Mass movements are only justified when there are considerations of wide and national dimensions involved. But as things are now, all things lead to processions, sit down demonstrations, Bundhs and occasionally to clashes with the police leading to grave and serious incidents. The Congress and the opposition parties have large numbers of patriotic and highly intelligent persons in them. Surely these politically important persons can arrange to solve problems by discussion, arbitration, conciliation and other lawful methods, rather than by violent or spectacular demonstrations which inconvenience the public more than the authorities concerned. The occasional clashes are even more deplorable. Surely if labour disputes can be solved in a quieter manner other public demands too can be referred to arbitration, conciliation and adjudication.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ASHOKE CHATTERJEE



Rabindranath Tagore, whose 25th death anniversary was recently observed by millions of admirers in Asia, Europe and the Americas, was superbly talented in so many ways that one could find in him a dozen persons of rare genius. He was a poet, a composer of songs, a writer of stories, novels, belles-lettres, dissertations, annotations of ancient religious treatises, interpreter of philosophical thought, social reformer, educationist, rural economy enthusiast, agricultural experimenter, orator, dramatist, actor, singer, revivalist of classical dancing, opera and dance drama composer, artist, furniture designer, revolutionary thinker and a man of rare culture, wondrous personality and physical perfection. He composed over 3000 songs and set them to music. He painted 2500 pictures. He was a priest of religion who perform-

ed religious ceremonies with great spiritual appeal. He was superlative in all that he did.

As a poet he made his mark when he was barely 16 years old. The poems he wrote in his early youth were mature expressions of profound feelings.

In his *Memoirs* the Poet had recorded his own thoughts and feelings from the earliest days in a very clear and realistic manner. One can go back with him to feel and experience what he felt and experienced when he was only a boy. He writes in one place about his life in the Sudder Street house at Calcutta :

‘One morning I looked out in that direction. The sun was then rising through the leaves of those trees. As I looked, a curtain was suddenly swept aside, as it were, and I could see the strange glory of the universe, the wondrous joy and beauty that came on in waves from every corner of it. The sorrows that covered my heart in thick layers could no longer separate my soul from the great illumination that the world flooded itself with. That day I composed my poem “*Nirjharer Swapnabhanga*.”

Then came, “*Manasasundari*”. In this poem we find him perceiving the presence of his “Beautiful Vision” in the music of moving leaves, in the song of birds, in the mystery of the whispering forests. He heard ‘the footsteps, the tinkle of the ankle-bells of an unseen and unknown dancer. He saw ‘the flash of her glances in the lightning that rent the skies.’ Her foot-steps rang through the long hours of the poet’s expectant vigil. Nature wept with him during the early hours of the dawn.

He continued to write poetry in a variety of styles on widely differing subjects during the following 60 years. A selection of his poems was published about ten years before his death. This collection contained roughly 500 of his poems taken out of 56 of his best known books of poetry. The selection was made by himself in the first edition. It had numerous subsequent editions in which some of his later poems were

included. His poems give us a good idea of the profundity of his thoughts, his wide knowledge of Sanskrit classics, the Vedas, the Upanishadas, the Puranas and the great literatures of the later centuries after the birth of the Buddha. Every human emotion was probed by the Poet and the complexities of psychological reactions in unusual circumstances fully and deeply explored. Philosophical speculation, visions of the unknown depths of human feelings, aesthetic sojourns into all fields of life, interpretations of the great facts of history and the stories of mythology usually provided him with the themes. But he sometimes found a great and complex meaning in a little incident and carved a beautiful cameo out of a colourful conglomerate of everyday happenings. Love, the sorrows of separation, the joys of reunion, longing for the open fields, forests, rivers, lakes and the villages; patriotic fervour, visions of beauty, capturing and preserving great passions and emotions in creative language, the mysterious quest of the Unknown and the pull of the Eternal and the Endless, the rising and the setting Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the sky, the sea, rivers, trees, animals, birds, races, religions, festivals, rituals, births, marriages, deaths—in fact there was nothing that did not rouse his creative urge. He was a master of satire and his thrusts always went home. The scholastic quibblers, the sanctimonious leaders of society, the British rulers of India, the oppressors of the lowly, the weak and the poor and the various offenders against the higher ideals of life were all castigated by the Poet. It is difficult to give his thoughts, similes, metaphors and idioms in English, for the reason that translations curb the graceful movement of ideas, words and phrases which are the basic components of literature.

In 1893, he wrote the first version of his "*Coronation of Love*" in which a poor clerk in an office is addressing his beloved :

"And, Oh, Queen of qualities rare ! Thou
 hast made me great indeed !
 Now that I am pushed, this way and that,
 By the crowds that ignore me and
 Know not that the nectar of thy love has
 made me immortal. Though I am
 But a lowly worker and an Englishman
 From his high seat, gives me short orders
 And hard glances ; and knows

Not my speech nor considers my sorrows.
 Knows not my dwelling, when in the pride
 Of his good fortune he races his chariot
 Past it, in a great cloud of dust
 I say to myself, "Run along my lord ;
 Go, play in your nursery of joy ;
 Dance in the lamp-lit halls ; plunge madly
 Into the great whirlpools of sensuous

 pleasure ;
 All warmed up in the deep hours of the
 night,
 With your partner ; drinking snow cooled
 Wines, and in a never ending bout of
 madness"

Then I go back to my mildly-lit home
 Where my master has no place and I
 Am the king. It is my own amaranthine
 bower.

In his Poem addressed to Sri Aurobindo, who was one of the great revolutionaries of Bengal sixty years ago, the Poet gives warning to the enemies of human liberty :

"The fetters only touch the feet in worship
 Of men who carry the lamp of divine light.
 Like the eclipse, which can darken the Sun
 But for a moment ; only to prove
 That it is a shadow and not real :
 So will kingly restraint and punishment
 Vanish into nothingness
 Punishment is only for those who,
 For fear of punishment, cannot
 Cross their self-built walls
 Of falsehood and cheap deception.
 Those who are emasculated
 By their refusal to admit
 Injustice as a great wrong ;
 Those who, out of fear and
 Temptation, do not admit
 Their God-granted Humanity
 And the rights of liberty and freedom ;
 Those who assemble to brag
 About their destitution and trade
 In the degradation of the Motherland ;
 They nourish themselves, as it were,
 With their mother's blood, and stay
 For ever with their heads down,
 In the prison-house of cowardice

The Poet's language is expressive in a manner which defies comparison. A few stray lines will suffice to prove this :

"Arguments laugh at my thoughts
But the heart admits their truth."

Describing the war of the *Mahabharata* between two branches of the same family, the Kurus and the Pandavas, the Poet says :

"Two streams flowing out of the same hill ;
Two thin streaks of animosity ;
Meeting on the plains of ruthless greed
And vanity, like two snakes in combat,
The blood of all the Kshatriyas of Bharat
Slowly added to the size of that flood
Till the Earth was swept into destruction.

In the lyrical vein the Poet sometimes offers his thoughts to his beloved :

"Had these been flowers—
Small beautiful blossoms—
Picked in the early dawn
In the gentle breeze of spring—
I could then adorn your
Dark hair with my thoughts."

In another setting he would say :

"I would play the game of death
With my life tonight, when
The skies weep and are dark
And dismal ; watching
With unseeing eyes the swing of
This fearful game"

The great characters of history often inspired the Poet to describe their glory in his own inimitable manner. Sivaji, the fiery symbol of militant Hinduism, virtually dealt the Mogul Empire its death blow. Rabindranath was an ardent admirer of Sivaji whom he considered to be an ascetic fighter for the unity of India. The Moguls went out and the British crept in :

"Then the palaces of Delhi emptied
During the long storm-stricken nights,
And the garlands of lights were torn
And thrown into the darkness. Jackals
Set up a hideous cry seeking carrion
While the dead glory of the Moguls
Was demarcated by a thin line
Of funeral ashes

"It was then that on silent feet
The tradesmen brought in a royal
Throne along the dark tunnels that
Rested beneath the stalls of the
Market place. Bengal accepted,
Accepted their overtures silently,
Sprinkling sacred Ganges water
On them. And the scale-rod of the trader
Assumed the might of the kingly sceptre.

... ..
"They tried to malign your memory
By writing false history ; but what
The gods wrote for ever came out
On top and the lies to belittle the great
Never could suppress the truth.

... ..
"Your ochre flag was made out of
A mendicant's cloak and when after
Long years of forgetful neglect,
It waved again covering the skies,
People wondered how it could remain
Unseen so long

"It is again Bengal where resounds
The trumpet call of your fiery spirit.
After three hundred years of darkness
The light of your greatness again
Sets aflame the eastern sky.

... .."

The Sikhs were persecuted by the Moguls inhumanly and thousands of them were butchered by order of the Kazis. Prisoners of war were no exception. They were subjected to torture and a painful death whenever it suited their captors' fancy. Describing the martyrdom of Banda the Poet wrote :

When at the fortress of Gurudaspur
Banda was taken prisoner
And taken to Delhi in chains
Like a lion with shackled limbs

... ..
Seven hundred Sikhs went with him
Giving their war cry "Victory to the Guru!"
Ignoring all fear of death
There was a scramble for death
And the fearless seven hundred
Gave their lives joyously, shouting
"Victory to the Guru !" Till at last
The Kazi pushed Banda's young son
On his lap and asked him
To kill the boy. Banda embraced

His son and told him," Victory,
 Victory to the Guru ! There is
 Nothing to fear !" And kissing
 His coloured turban, drove the
 Knife into the boy's heart.
 "Victory to the Guru !" Cried the
 Heroic lad and fell dead.
 There was a great silence.
 The executioners tortured Banda
 With hot pincers and he died,
 Never uttering a sound.
 The people closed their eyes
 And there was a greater silence.

Going to the story of the *Mahabharata* Gandhari,
 queen of the Kurus, felt her son Duryodhan's
 conduct extremely reprehensible in that he in-
 sulted Draupadi, the Queen of the Pandavas in
 public. She went to her husband Dhritarashtra,
 the blind King of the Kurus and asked him to
 denounce and disown Duryodhan :

I have come to thee
 In behalf of all women
 Who weep and pray for justice.

.....
 Women know not the ways of men
 Who match strength against strength
 Duplicity against trickery
 And skills to defeat clever attacks.
We do not know the ways
 Of men but it is only a cowardly
 Criminal who having a dispute with
 A husband attacks the wife
 to appease his bestial feelings,

.....
 When I heard Panchali's stricken
 Cries of suffering
 My mother's pride was reduced
 To dust in that moment of agony.
 I realised manliness had gone
 From Bharat for ever ; for I saw
 Great soldiers sitting motionlessly
 Watching this drama of shame ;
 Their swords asleep in sheaths,
 Shining in unworthy brightness.

.....
 Listen, Oh King, remove the mother's shame,
 Restore the glory of heroic ideals,
 Give consolation to crying womanhood
 And put fallen justice back
 On its pedestal—disown Duryodhan !

To Sha-Jahan, whose dream of a tomb for his
 beloved Queen Mumtaz Mahal took grand shape
 in the Taj Mahal, the Poet says :

This you knew, Oh, Sha-Jahan,
 Lord of Bharat, that the flow
 Of time sweeps away life, youth
 And all great stores of wealth and renown.
 Your endeavour was therefore to give
 Eternal shape to your heart's sorrow
 You thought nothing of diamonds and gems
 Of imperial might ;
 Which may vanish like a rainbow
 Of glorious colour. But let this
 Shining white mass of perfect grandeur,
 The Taj Mahal, stay for ever, like a tear drop
 On the smooth face of endless time.

* * * *

The great river of creation, with waves and cur-
 rents invisible and silent makes

The empty nothingness of space
 Tremble, shiver and vibrate.
 And its great powerful flow of
 Shapeless, bodyless might crashes
 Into itself and churns up
 An endless frothy mass of things.
 Sharp, racing rays of light
 Create a current of colour
 Which rends the darkness
 And out of which evolve in grand layers
 Nebulae and Stars, the Sun and the Moon
 Like cosmic bubbles

One year before he died, he wrote :

Time and again I think of things
 Which remain ever mysterious
 And defy description
 I think there is an ultimate source
 Out of which flow, in a billion
 Currents, all creation. And from which
 Too, come my songs in a rhythm and in tunes
 Of rare magic ; overflowing the limits
 Of time and the dimensions
 And nature of all that is known

Into the great pool of the unknown go all souls
 to attain immortality. The Poet believed that his
 soul too will return to the source of its inspira-
 tions.

We remember Rabindranath Tagore on the 25th
 anniversary of his departure from this earth. Our
 admiration and respect for him can go only a
 little way towards his eternal abode.

BROJENDRA NATH SEAL : HIS IDEAS ON GOVT. & ADMINISTRATION

Prof. NIRMAL CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Rammohan Ray was the morning star of Bengal Renaissance, Ramakrishna its religious reformer. Rabindranath its finest cultural representative and Brojendranath Seal was the philosopher and man of learning of the great age. In 1930 Seal wrote to one of his disciples as follows: "I have taken all knowledge for my province....I am a man and nothing human is alien to me." It was Seal's innate humanism that led him to apply himself to the study of man's intellectual achievements in different fields. He was a votary of truth and his yearning after truth led him to search and find an integrated picture of the true, the good and the beautiful. Seal may be regarded as the type of what Carlyle might have called 'the hero as man of learning'. Learning was the business of his life. Seal was indeed a miracle of learning. Gifted with a singularly tenacious memory his industry was untiring and his intellectual interests were as varied as they were profound. In social and natural sciences, in literature and mathematics, in philosophy and comparative religion, the range and depth of his study were amazing. The width of his knowledge even in medical sciences like anatomy and physiology extracted the admiration of even specialists. Commenting on Seal's stupendous scholarship, Sir Michael Sadler remarked: "I know of no one either in East or West to equal Sir Brojendranath Seal in point of width, depth and originality of scholarship."

II

Brojendranath Seal's social and political ideas are based on an integrated philosophy culminating in his doctrine of cosmic humanism. In order to appreciate the contributions of Seal to politics and government a

consideration of the social, political and intellectual background of the age to which he belonged in thought and spirit would seem to be essential. In India it was an age characterised by intellectual daring and endeavour, as also a missionary spirit that expressed itself in a zeal to bring about a synthesis of the best that the East and the West had to contribute to human progress. Brojendranath Seal was a product of that remarkable epoch of Indian history, the nineteenth century Renaissance, which rejuvenated and transformed Indian life and thought, and brought India into the current of modern progress. Born in 1864 Seal, during the most impressionable period of his youth, came under the full and steady blast of the all-embracing national effort that marked the life and thinking of the age. In politics Surendranath Banerjea was awakening the dormant patriotism of the Indian people; in social reform and education Vidyasagar was clearing the way for a new dynamism; in the field of religion Ramakrishna was practising through his simple faith the revolutionary gospel of the one-ness of all religions; in the literary sphere Madhusudan and Bankimchandra had already introduced a vigorous literary renaissance, while Rabindranath was in Seal's youth a rising star of the literary firmament; in historical research Rajendra Lal Mittra was awakening the national pride of India in her great past and thus laid the foundation of the aggressive nationalism of later days; and finally, the great Bramho Samaj movement ushered in an era of all round reconstruction of national life covering society, religion and culture. In short in the latter part of the nineteenth century Indians set about fulfilling themselves

by following in the footsteps of Rammohan Ray, the path-finder, who summarised in his life and work the fundamental principles of the social and political reconstruction of India. In order to discover the spirit of the age, one has to go back to the ideas that animated Rammohan himself. The principles that inspired the pioneer of modern Indian thought were partly Indian and partly European. The Indian element was supplied by Vedantic monism—the European elements in Rammohan's apparatus of thought were mostly derived from the French Revolution. Rationalism and humanism, freedom, individualism and democracy, nationalism and internationalism were the doctrines that Rammohan Ray espoused with all the enthusiasm of his vigorous personality. A synthesis of the two sets of elements, one oriental and the other occidental, enabled him to develop a dynamic system which was instrumental in the transformation of all life in modern India. In Seal's contributions to social and political thought the influence of these principles are clearly noticeable.

The nineteenth century, during the latter part of which Seal grew up to manhood, witnessed the rise in the West of a number of intellectual luminaries whose ideas exercised a patent influence on the educated Indians of the period. These European ideas stemmed principally from the fundamental doctrines of the French Revolution which ushered in the era of middle class democracy. The humanistic teachings of Emerson, Carlyle and Ruskin, the social thought of Comte, John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, were avidly imbibed in India. The liberalism represented by Gladstone and Bright was also eagerly embraced by the thinking Indian. In literature the attitude to Tennysonian faith in harmony and complaisance were giving place to Browning's rugged vigour and

restlessness expressed in the following lines :

"Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be..."

The social and political philosophy summarised in the liberal thought indicated above was partly a reflection of the new way of economic life in Europe introduced by industrialism. British Capitalism implanted in India led to a beginning of the erosion of the feudal system. Money economy came to replace indigenous consumption economy; factory system brought into existence the working class. An administrative middle class, a class of professional people and intellectuals emerged as a new social force. Son of a lawyer, Seal easily imbibed the new ideas associated with middle class democracy.

III

Brojendranath Seal's philosophical system was based on the monism of the Vedanta and its concept of freedom and sovereignty of the human soul integrated with the dialectics of the Absolute Idea of Hegel. On this foundation Seal built up a rationalised religious philosophy which led to the conception of Cosmic Humanism in which there was no place for a personal God. History for Seal was an unfolding of Universal Reason through progressive realisation of Freedom. His social and political thought are rooted in his philosophical ideas. Thus his conception of government and administration struck a note of freedom. Seal regarded the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity as but aspects of the broadening and widening manifestation of essential Rationality culminating in Freedom or the ultimate sovereignty of the human spirit or Vedantic soul. While fixing his steadfast gaze on the ideal, Seal was not reluctant to concede the demands of the actual. Thus he tempered his political ideas with realism and presented schemes of government and administration eminently

practical in their import and implication.

IV

Between 1884 when he joined the City College, Calcutta, as Professor of English literature and 1921, Seal remained an educationist by and large. During this period Seal as a collaborator of Ashutosh Mookerjee made significant contributions to university administration by giving a shape to the New Regulations of the University of Calcutta under the Indian Universities Act, 1904. The Regulations as far as they went, were marked by democratic features centred in the supreme power of the Senate which, however, was under the Act for which Curzon was responsible, very largely a nominated body. Between 1885 and 1913 Seal was Principal successively of three colleges. His administration as Principal was marked by a paternal attitude towards students and feeling of brotherhood towards his colleagues. As a Principal Seal is remembered in Bengal as an outstanding educational administrator. On account of his personality, scholarship and uncommon understanding of educational problems, he was chosen by the Maharajah of Mysore as the Vice Chancellor of Mysore University, a post that he filled with great distinction between 1921-30. It was at Mysore that Seal flowered as an outstanding public man of his time. Impressed with his profound grasp of political, constitutional and administrative problems, the Maharajah utilised the services of Seal in various State spheres which cried for reform. Thus he was Chairman of the Committee on Mysore Constitutional Reforms (1922-23), Chairman of the Committee on State Aid to Industries (1924), Additional Member of the Executive Council, Mysore Government (1925-26), Educational Adviser to the Government of Mysore, Chairman, Mysore Board of Education, Member, Mysore Economic Conference. His contributions to the recons-

truction of the political and administrative system of Mysore in these diverse spheres made a mark on the socio-political life of that State. The influence of the reforms adopted on his proposals could be discerned in the political and administrative system of Mysore till the integration of that state into independent India.

Seal's ideas on politics, government and administration are epitomised in the well-known Report of the Committee on Constitutional Developments in Mysore published in 1923. The Report which contains a competent formulation of political principles and the mode of their application to the socio-economic life of the people of Mysore was entirely the handiwork of the philosopher. In a tribute to the political wisdom of Seal, Sir Mirza Ismail, the famous Dewan of Mysore writes: "I was much attached to him and frequently consulted him on political matters also. He was Chairman of the Constitutional Reforms Committee. That Report which he wrote himself from beginning to end, is a remarkable piece of work and worth reading even today".¹ On most of the questions discussed by the Reforms Committee, Brojendranath Seal succeeded in carrying the rest of its members with him. Only on a few minor problems a difference of opinion arose, such differences are indicated in the body of the Report. In view of these circumstances as also on account of the fact that the entire report was his own composition, it is not difficult to discover on its perusal Seal's personal views on political and governmental problems.

V

Basic Postulates of Constitution-making

As a constitution-maker Seal was not given a clean slate to write upon. In his announ-

Letter to Sri Bibhuti Sircar, dated 29.11.53.

ment in the Representative Assembly the Dewan had already laid down the outlines of the constitutional development in Mysore and the terms of reference of the Reforms Committee of which Seal was the Chairman were strictly defined. The Committee, therefore, was not free to offer any suggestion inconsistent with the outlines laid down by the Dewan and the terms of reference. In spite of it all the Committee under the inspiring leadership of its Chairman sought to make certain recommendations designed to impart to the future constitution of Mysore a dynamic character. Within the framework of the limitations a remarkable attempt was made to develop the constitutional proposals in order to ensure that they might be a living entity, having in it a "plastic principle" which would enable it to grow in response to inevitable changes in the course of historic developments. Like John Stuart Mill whose influence on all Indian intellectuals of the nineteenth century was incalculable, Seal held the view that "a constitution is not made but grows". A constitution, that is to say, partakes of the nature of an organism.

Seal and his Committee had to accept without reservation the "basic tradition of the sovereignty of the Head of the State (the Maharajah of Mysore) as the one original organ as regards all functions, legislative, judicial and executive".² It was a basic postulate of constitution-making. Yet Seal in his Report lays emphasis on the "political potentialities" of the masses of the people. It is pointed out that no constitution of the twentieth century can ignore the vital trends and tendencies of the century. "Our objective", Seal writes, "cannot be a mediaeval State, nor even one of the nineteenth century

pattern".³ The Report emphasizes that the nineteenth century principles of democracy, rationalism, individual liberty, party government and the right of majority rule have not lost and cannot lose their force. The philosopher makes an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilables, legislative, judicial and executive supremacy of the Head of the State on the one hand and the demands of liberty and democracy on the other. He concludes: "We must have a twentieth century constitution, though only in rudiments and so far as it is fitted to the folk and the environment for which it is to find the proper political expression".⁴ The proposals that emerge as the result of such reconciliation would not satisfy the enthusiasm of an uncompromising radical but might be appreciated by political realists who recognise the value of objective and environmental limitations.

VI

The Executive

The apex of the constitutional system as proposed by Seal and his committee is the Head of the State who "represents the people directly and primarily in his person." He is "the symbol of the Dharma or the Law, in hereditary succession and transmission". The Head of the State is the fountain of all powers, legislative, judicial and executive. The executive powers of the State are vested in the Executive Council, members of which are nominated by the Head of the State. "The Council will initiate and direct policy" and are responsible to the Head of the State alone. The Dewan, also nominated by the Head of the State, functions as the President of the Executive Council. The Committee

2. Report of the Mysore Reforms Committee, p. 2.

3. Report of Mysore Constitutional Reforms Committee, p. 2.

4. Report of Mysore Constitutional Reforms Committee, p. 3.

pointed out that the proposed composition and powers of the Executive Council would appear to be justified on three general grounds. In the first place such an executive would make for strength and stability of the administration; secondly, wherever there are no strong organised political parties in the legislative bodies such an executive, not responsible to the legislature, would be a desirable feature of the constitution. Thirdly, the presence of shifting and loosely coordinated groups in the legislature would justify the creation of a non-responsible executive body. In Mysore political backwardness of the people and the limitations imposed on the Reforms Committee were additional factors that must have weighed with the Committee.

The Dewan

The Dewan, a minister appointed by the Head of the State and responsible to the latter was not only the President of the Executive Council but also the President of the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly. He is a specially trusted Councillor of the Head of the State and exercises this function so long as he enjoys the confidence of the Head. While the Head of the State is the repository of legislative, judicial and executive functions, his trusted agent, the Dewan, is associated with legislative and executive powers subject always to the command of the Head of the State.

VII

The Legislative Organ : Bicameralism

Coming to the legislative organ of the State, Seal questions the wisdom of bicameralism. A double deliberation in two chambers is, according to him, at once defective and redundant. It is "economically wasteful and politically unsound" because bicameralism is a source of "friction and dissension without corresponding gain in deliberation". He adds

3

that the two-chamber system generates "cogestion and a morrbid hyper-excitation in the body politic".⁵ Having laid down these general propositions Seal indicated that a double chamber in Mysore was particularly unwanted. A second chamber might be thought desirable if there were to exist in the State a diversity of economic interests or a diversity of social groups. In Mysore there was a compact and not unwieldy population; there existed a comparatively "simple socio-economic structure without marked differences of economic level"; big landholding and feudal interests were also absent. Moreover the Reforms announced by the Dewan at the behest of the Maharajah did not have a bicameral legislature in view. Under the constitution in force before the appointment of the Mysore Reforms Committee there existed a unicameral legislative body viz: the Legislative Council. The constitution also recognised another body known as the Representative Assembly. The Assembly, however, was denied the status of a legislative organ. This was a fact which under the constitutional declaration could not be ignored or brushed aside by the Seal Committee. On all these grounds Seal and his Committee supported the *status quo*. Curiously enough the proposals that Seal formulates in this behalf look like a negation of this concept; because he and his Committee recognise the two already existing bodies, the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council and assigns to the former some functions exercisable by a modern legislative chamber.

Representative Assembly

Notwithstanding such assignment Seal asserts "To turn the Representative Assembly into an imitation First Chamber of the Legislature would be shunting it to a wrong

5. Report of Mysore Constitutional Reforms, p. 7.

and devious track".⁶ The Representative Assembly is, he explains, a consultative organ and a house for the "representation of wants and grievances", as also an Assembly of Delegates. It is suggested that the delegates to the Representative Assembly should come from "interest groups" and "functional groups". They should bear mandates regarding the peoples' wants, desires and grievances which it should formulate for the appropriate action of the Legislative Council. The Representative Assembly, in short, should be "an epitome of the people, a meeting place of delegates of various groups and associations".⁷

The functions of the Representative Assembly, the Committee point out, besides the above should be as follows: It must be consulted in all important legislative measures and in the general principles of all bills including bills of taxation. It should be given the right of discussing the budget on general lines. Besides these functions, the Representative Assembly may also bring mandates regarding matters which have been referred to the people by the Government or the Legislative Council. It may also represent the desires, grievances and wants of the people and initiate discussion leading to possible legislation. Moreover the Representative Assembly is given the function of moving resolutions on the Budget or on public administration, putting interpellations and presenting addresses to the Dewan as the principal administrative officer of the State. It appears that some of the functions of a legislative body are assigned to the Representative Assembly. Yet it is claimed that it is not a legislative body in the true sense of the term.

The scheme indicated above is, however, a highly interesting one. It would appear

that Seal combines in it the advantages of initiative and referendum in a rudimentary form. In his own words: "The Representative Assembly with us seeks to combine the forms of representation with the substance (and ends) of a referendum and an initiative. In the present stage this is all that can be usefully attempted in this direction".⁸ While recognising theoretically the nineteenth century claims of party government and majority rule in a democracy, Seal introduces the twentieth century checks and correctives to these postulates to preserve the balance and equipoise of the State. Proper accommodation of socio-economic interests, recognition of the legitimate rights of groups or associations, eager maintenance of the rights of minorities and democratic check on the tyranny of the dominant majority through the development of referendum and initiative are devised by him to correct the operation of an old world constitutional system. Seal's scheme, it would appear, fulfils the requirements of modern pluralism and doctrine of representation.

The strength of the Representative Assembly is two hundred and fifty only. A special feature of the composition of the Assembly is the recognition of both urban and rural constituencies, special interests, such as, the University, legal profession, plantation, gold-mining interests, trade and commerce, labour, industries and land-holding classes. Minorities, such as Christians, Muslims and Panchamas are also given representation not as communities having a separate personal law but as a "body likely to be swamped at the polls or discriminated against in law and administration". Seal advocates as an ideal minority representation through the proportional system. His views on communal minorities are very clear and definite.

6. *Ibid*, p.8

7. *Ibid*, p. 9.

8. *Ibid*, p. 10.

Communal minorities he argues, are "independent and original centres" and not "fluent and fluid" like the 'interest' or 'opinion minorities'. The communal minorities are an "imperium in imperio". They are "congeries of creeds and custom" that sunder and therefore a "composite nationality of the Indian stock" cannot grow up if such communal minorities are recognised as such. Dr. Seal, therefore, rejects exclusive or separate communal electorates. The admission of such electorates would lead, as he points out, to the "outbreak of a fungoid, a cancrus growth that would send its offshoots into all the social tissues....."⁹ He also cannot reconcile himself to the system of joint electorate with reservation of seats as a device for the representation of communities, because ".....a communal candidate so elected would often be communal only in name". So the very purpose of such representation is defeated. After having considered all aspects of the question Seal recommended nomination by the Head of the State as the best practical solution of the problem.

Proportional Representation & Plural Voting

Seal's penchant for proportional system of representation is no doubt the result of the influence that John Stuart Mill exercised on the intellectuals of the latter part of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century. Following Mill again Seal advocates plural voting. Literacy, active citizenship, some form of approved service to the State, such as military or civil services, membership of a recognised interest or functional group or possession of property would entitle a citizen to additional votes. It may be pointed out in passing that plural voting is rejected by modern thinkers as an undemocratic measure.

Legislative Council

The Legislative Council according to Seal

and his Committee is to be the only law-making body in the State. His considerations on the legislative system reveal his deep and wide acquaintance with the literature of political science. Seal points out that the legislative process involves the association of three elements. In the first place, there should be a popular element capable of representing correctly the "wants and grievances" of the people. Such a body should have its roots in the functional groups and associations in the State. The Representative Assembly is meant to fulfil this purpose. Secondly, there should be a body, a truly law-making authority "representing the collective wisdom and experiences of the people". The Legislative Council is supposed to correspond to this principle. And finally, subsidiary or preliminary to legislation "there must be consultation of trained experts". The duty of this last body is legal drafting and codifying which are a specialists' job. The 'popular and wise' elements mentioned by Seal reminds one of Sir James Harrington's scheme in *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) in which the Puritan philosopher lay emphasis on the importance of popular association as also of wise leadership in legislation and government. Seal's stress on drafting of law by a body of experts, again, brings back to one's mind, the interesting proposal put forward by J. S. Mill in the shape of a Legislative Commission whose function is to prepare bills.¹⁰

Composition of the Legislative Councils

Ideally speaking the Council should be composed of persons who have a large outlook and who can understand the art of government. It would, therefore, be highly desirable that the members of the Council should have previous experience of public affairs either in

9 *Ibid*, p. 47.

10. J. S. Mill. *Considerations on Representative Government*, Chap. V.

local self-governing institutions or similar organisations. Like the Representative Assembly it is not to be 'an epitome of the people' but an assembly embodying the "collective wisdom and virtue of the community." Finally, the total representation, must bear some proportion to the population and size of the State.

The Constituencies recognised by the Committee are the following: (a) The territorial groups: under this head both municipal and rural areas are grouped together as may be convenient; (b) Functional groups: under this head there should be in the Council representatives elected by vocations, professions and interests; (c) Finally, the Head of the State would nominate a few members both official and non-official, the latter to protect the interests of minorities.

The total membership proposed for the Council is fifty only, twenty-two are elected and twenty-eight nominated. Of the twenty-eight nominated members the officials number twenty and the non-officials eight only. Thus the non-officials who number twenty-eight out of the total membership of fifty are in the majority. It would appear that the Mysore Reforms Committee followed the model of the Morley-Minto Reforms of British India. Under the latter there was an official majority in the Imperial Council but in the Provincial Councils there was a non-official majority, composed of elected members and nominated non-officials taken together.

Sex Disqualification

By a declaration of the Government of Mysore sex disqualification had been removed only partially. It was ordained that women who had attained majority and possessed other requisite qualifications would be permitted to vote in elections to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. But they could not stand as candi-

dates for election to either of the bodies. Seal refers to the feminist movement in the West and indicates by contrast the Indian attitude to women. Seal, however, points out that such differences are bound to be borne away by the strong progressive current that is sweeping by. He writes "..... the gales are blowing from all quarters of the Heavens, the seas are running high, and the floods are beating against this barrier reef between the two continents, and will in no distant time bear it away".¹¹

Decentralisation

The governing fact of modern politics is that the "State has now become or is fast becoming co-extensive in its scope and jurisdiction with all life, in all its departments, and has preserved none of those intermediate groups, e. g. the village community, the guild, the Five Assemblies or other Associations which served as bulwarks and buffers between the State and the individual". This consideration converted Seal into a staunch advocate of territorial, functional and administrative decentralisation. He draws upon his deep knowledge of ancient Indian historical traditions and indicates though very briefly the places occupied by the village community and the Five Assemblies, viz: the Guild, the Puga, the Shreni, the Gana and the Caste. Interest or functional groups, also received recognition in the socio-economic organisation of the ancient village communities. The Indian associations and groups, the philosopher argues, had an independent origin and sanction. He views with approval that the principle of group has come to be recognised as a basic doctrine in the economic and political compositions of the twentieth century. Apart from the sociological and his-

11. Report on Mysore Constitutional Reforms, p. 107.

torical arguments and the argument of efficiency Seal points out that the admission of the principle of group recognition was bound to work for the softening of differences even communal differences as we have in India ; because it will lead to the shifting of emphasis from a narrow communal level to the larger plane of economic and social interests as represented by groups or associations. It is for these reasons that the Reforms Committee, under the leadership of Seal, gives representation to special interest groups and associations an organic character. The place assigned to them in the composition of the Representative Assembly and the Council is a significant aspect of the constitutional recommendations of the Seal Committee.

In view of the recent recussification of village communities in India and the creation of Panchayats the ideas of Seal on village government formulated as far back as 1922-23 need special mention. Deploring the considerable disorganisation of the Indian village communities he writes : ".....until our local bodies in India are reconstituted on the basis of the characteristic Indian formations of the village community and the guild as ultimate constituent units, local self government will remain exotic and unacclimatised and unrooted on Indian soil, with consequent decay and disorganisation of the rural economy, and consequent blocking up of the very channels in which runs the life-blood of the Indian people".¹²

It may be remembered that the Balavant Rai Mehta Committee on Democratic decentralisation while recommending the establishment of Panchayats as a solution of the problems of rural India were actuated by the very same principles so wisely laid down by Brojendra Nath Seal nearly four decades ago.

Seal also advocates the formation of Boards or Standing Committees as aids to legislation or administration. The creation of such Boards is particularly necessary because of the vast expansion of the functions of the State. "Eugenics, economics, statistics, criminology, technology, the applied arts, and the whole host of sciences, natural, biological, sociological, now govern the business of law-making as well as administration". Specialised knowledge is essential to the discharge of the duties assigned to the legislature and administration. Since neither of these are expected to possess much knowledge, formation of special committees to assist and advise in legislation and administration assumes great importance. Thus Seal and his Committee propose the formation of Board of Education, Board of Agriculture, Board of Industries and Commerce, etc. They also support the continuation of the Central Economic Board which was a sort of clearing house of economic issues in Mysore State. This Board also is meant to aid in both legislation and administration. Thus quite in line with modern thought and practice Seal stands for both territorial and functional decentralisation.

Conclusion

The basic limitations under which Seal and his Committee had to work were many and varied. The age-old position of the Head of the State, the circumscribed character of the reforms announced by Mysore Raj, the inherent social and political backwardness of the people of Mysore, and the silent opposition of the Paramount Power were factors that militated against a full-blooded democratic approach to all questions, that came up for solution. Notwithstanding these obstacles Seal succeeded in making the best of a bad job and introduced as many progressive principles of government and

12. *Ibid*, p. 22.

administration as possible in the constitutional proposals that he and his committee recommended.

It is very often forgotten that a thinker has to be understood in relation to his times. Seal's views on government and administration were laid down in the early twenties of the century when political thinking in India was in a comparatively backward state. It would, therefore, be unfair to judge the ideas of Seal in terms of Indian political thought of the sixties. We have to take into consideration the political atmosphere of the early twenties in order to do justice to Seal's ideas on government and administration.

Seal was a profound sociologist, a pioneer

of the subject in India. He brings sociological analysis to bear upon his considerations of governmental and administrative problems of the State of Mysore. Moreover as a believer in environmentalism he could not afford to ignore the social *milieu*. A statesman-like realism characterised his approach to all political questions. Hence while believing in high ideals he refused to ignore the demands of the actual. A wise balancing of the ideal and the actual is an outstanding characteristic of Seal's ideas on government and administration. The blending of high principles with the actual is indeed the strength of his political thought. He was "true to the kindred points of Heaven and Home".



YOGI SHRI KRISHNAPREM

DILIP K. ROY

(Contd. from July, 1966 issue)

There were at the time only four cottages within the precincts of the Ashram. One was Motirani's, the other Alec's and two were reserved for visitors and guests. There was also a rice-field in which Krishnaprem, with the help of the peasants there, grew rice which he and Alec had to harvest every year, personally. Now to come to our talks.

* * *

We were discussing the role of reason in spiritual life. Krishnaprem had written to me ever so many letters underlining its limitations that I need hardly repeat them. I will quote only one amusing simile he gave in his temple-home, in the presence of Ma and Motirani.

"People who want truth," he said, "must bear in mind that reason can never be its pathfinder. When I say reason I don't mean, mind you, what the Vedas define as the *buddhi*: the Upanishad, as you know, calls it the charioteer, our body the chariot, mind the reins, senses the horses and soul the rider. But this *buddhi*, which Sri Ramakrishna called *shuddha buddhi*, is, I think, what Sri Aurobindo calls the psychic being, at least that is how I have interpreted it. Anyway, reason is not the *shuddha buddhi*—not by a long chalk. So, being only a pleader, in the last analysis, it can plead for no matter what you enjoin it to do, for it is a ready-enough advocate of your desires, as the psychoanalysts, too, have found out. Yes, yes, when I say pleader I mean pleader, that is the *mot juste*. You know the famous joke about the absent-minded counsel who went on arguing against his own client with telling eloquence. The poor client

was scared stiff and whispered to him about his gaffe. Nothing daunted, he turned to the Judge and went on: 'I have stated the case very fairly, I think, against my client, as my learned friend, the Public Prosecutor, would have done. Now I will demolish it, item by item, to show that he has not a leg to stand on. And so he began once more to argue against his previous arguments, toppling the whole edifice.' And we all laughed in chorus.

Years afterwards, I read in *Savitri* Sri Aurobindo's brilliant fling:

"An inconclusive play is Reason's toil
Each strong idea can use her as its tool;
Accepting every brief she pleads her case.
Open to every thought she cannot know.
The eternal Advocate, seated as judge,
Armours in logic's invulnerable mail
A thousand combatants for Truth's veiled
throne
And sets on a high horseback of argument
To tilt for ever with a wordy lance
In a mock tournament where none can win."

* * * *

From the copious notes I kept of our day to day talks I can write on for pages and pages. I will only confine myself to selecting a few of his illuminating exegeses of our scriptures.

I said, casually: "The other day I was reading some talks of Swami Brahmananda. He quoted with approval a couplet from *Mahanirvan Tantra*.

Uttamo Brahmasadbhabo madhyama
dhyana-dharaṇa
Stutir-japo-dhamo bhavo bahyapuja-
dhamadhama"

Motirani protested: "O Dilipda, you mustn't. I am not a pundit—what does it mean? You two shan't leave me out, in the cold."

I laughed. "It means: the highest worship is to be poised in the consciousness in which you see the Lord everywhere and in everything. The next best is meditation. Lower still is singing hymns or repeating His name, and the lowest is external worship, formal service."

Krishnaprem shook his head vehemently. "I can't let that pass. For such citations do a deal of harm when torn from their context and flourished as torches of Truth which throw more shadows than gleams. I have told you more than once that reading hagiography you will often find many a sage contradicting himself every now and then or, I may put it this way, that a sage or saint may say today what he may have to amplify later, and in doing so, may indeed seem to be indulging in contradictions. But if you ponder a little you will be able to harmonise them easily. I don't want to utter a platitude quoting Emerson: 'A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines'. For it is too obvious to be disputed since to grow is to outgrow one's yesterday's self and opinions. So, it won't do to judge a man's pronouncements at different stages of his evolution taking no account of his background at the time. And since this is true of the man in the street how much truer it must be of the sage whose growth, unlike that of the common man, is fostered by divine or occult powers. Therefore, I say, one must never be too hasty to appraise a saint's interdictions or injunctions in isolation. They must be judged in their native setting of *desh*, *kala* and *patra*".

"What do you mean by that, Ba?"

Motirani asked. "Don't go so fast, I can't keep pace with you."

Krishnaprem smiled. "What I wanted to convey is that a saint's sayings should not be taken at their face value torn out of their context. That is, we must take into account the *place* where, the *time* when and the people to whom they are addressed. To give an instance or two. Shankaracharya sings in one state of consciousness: *Shivoham, Shivoham*—I am Shiva, I am Shiva—as a mantra for those who have attained that consciousness. In another state the same saint petitions Mother Bhavani to give him refuge singing: '*Gatistvam gatistvam tvameka Bhavani!*'¹ stressing that he has no merits to recommend himself. Similarly, in one state of consciousness he disowns the guru, in another he swears by the *gurushakti*, as you sang so beautifully in Allahabad, remember? Or take a very recent instance. Sri Ramakrishna enjoined most of his disciples not to presume to teach others, but Vivekananda, he said, was born to enlighten others and take thousands under his wing, giving the apt simile of the banyan tree giving shade to sun-scorched wayfarers."

I clapped Krishnaprem on his shoulder in uncontrollable joy and said, accusingly: "And yet you will start questioning, à la Buddha, my emphasis on Grace!"

"But when did I question Grace?" he protested. "Oh, how incorrigible you can be Dilip!" It's true I love Buddha, but does that mean I agree with all His views? And then how could I possibly question Grace—I who swear by Guruvād?

Grace can come to one even through a child's touch, a glimpse of the sea, a glint of

1. My Refuge, O' Mother Bhavani, art thou alone.

the rainbow and what not. Anyway, if one is unable to equate the Guru with the Divine because of his human limitations, must you charge him with heresy which disowns Grace?"

"There I am at one with you, Dilip, "Alec said, patting me on my hand. "For I too feel that disowning Grace is a very serious charge especially when the aspirant happens to be, like you or me, a devotee, called to the path of Love."

"With all my limitations I do claim that I *am* a devotee. And, incidentally, that is why—in spite of my admiration for the personality of Buddha—I have never been able to love him as I have loved, say, Christ, with all my heart."

"You are mystified, Dilip dear," Krishnaprem laughed genially, "because you insist on ignoring what Buddha said once : that what he had actually said in public had the same ratio to what he knew but did not say as a few leaves one can hold in one's hand has to all the leaves in the forest."

"I haven't dreamed of questioning Buddha's unspoken wisdom or knowledge. I draw the line only at his unwarranted assertion that nothing from outside—whether God, Guru or Grace can ever help a man to achieve liberation from all *tanha*, desire—Grace. In other words, didn't he lay stress, first and last, on personal initiative and austerities, extolling only the truth sustaining *tapasya* as against the truth sustaining Grace?"

"He did," Krishnaprem conceded. "But there again, as I said a little while ago, you must take into account the context in which he gave the verdict. For I am fully persuaded that it was called for in his time, since people had grown too *tamasic*, swearing by formalism and sloth and the letter of the scriptures as against the spirit. In any case, how can my reverence or love for Buddha be construed

as disapproval of Grace or insistence on *tapasya* first and last? Haven't I told you that whatever little knowledge I have achieved has accrued to me first and last, because of my Guru's Grace, which has revealed to me at every turn how far one might rely on one's own efforts and how to open oneself to Krishna's Grace through personal service to the Guru. But since you insist on misrepresenting me thus, I will not only tell you in categorical terms that I do believe in Divine Grace but drive it home with an analogy."

He paused for a little, then resumed : "In Mahabharat, Udyogparva, as you know. Krishna speaks of *purushakar* (human will) and *daiva* (divine ordaining). He compares the former to the furrowing of the field, the latter to rain from on high. It occurred to me while reading it that *tapasya* (personal effort) could be assimilated to tilling the field and Kripa (Divine Grace) to the rain from on high. The two are interdependent."

"Yes, but what is your conception of Grace?" asked Alec suddenly.

Krishnaprem replied : "In this world of dust and din whenever anybody has given complete *atmahuti* (oblation) merging his ego-self in the Flame of Love Divine there is an explosion which is Grace."

Alec said : "It is a fine simile, I concede, but the question asks itself : why must one merge oneself in vain in the Flame? What good is it to the world if you and I and Dilip and Moti just vanish into His Fire?"

Krishnaprem smiled : "I may answer : every planet that merges in the sun results in an increase of warmth to the world. No true *atmahuti* can ever be vain."

Motirani clapped her hands in childlike glee. "You are an orator of the first water, Ba ! No wonder you browbeat Dilipda every time."

"And you are a tease of the first, water" Krishnaprem riposted, "and an adept at killing two birds with one stone. But how could I possibly orate before Dilip, knowing that once I make such a *faux pas*, he will go on repeating my words, raising echos all over the place?" Then turning to me: "But for mercy's sake, Dilip, don't keep a record of my words any more to be published in the newspaper. We have banned these in our Ashram as you may have noticed."

"I have," I nodded, "and wondered why."

"Why must I stuff my mind," said Krishnaprem, "with all that is happening in this din-eneamoured, speed-intoxicated, power-puffed world, registering everything that is loud in the land? Listen, Dilip. You and I have partially withdrawn from this lunatic world to achieve something that is worthwhile, but enormously difficult, namely: the transformation of our human consciousness, our animal impulses. It can be done but not unless we muster all our will and address ourselves to the task sleeplessly till we succeed in utterly effacing the arch-enemy, our self-will. In other words, we must be one-pointed in our aspiration, first and last and in the middle. No more shilly-shally, if you please! To plod on unremittingly concentrating on the target a la Arjun. Mundaka Upanishad has given a fine simile: The Om is the bow, the self the arrow and the Lord, Brahman, the Target into which the arrow must merge completely. That is why it has been said: *sharavat tanmayo bhavet*—one must, like the dart, be exclusively dedicated to one's Destination, the Goal of goals. I tell you, Dilip, all this is a huge Maya, if you don't get beyond the Maya to the one Eternal Reality from whom it all stems. But once you know Him, all is bliss.

Motirani chimed in: "But you said all this to Gabriel Monod, too! Remember?"

"I did," he nodded, "because he is a perceptive man, one of the few scientists I have met who can separate the chaff from the corn—winnow out the non-essentials from the essentials of life. Besides, he has a grasp of the psychic values. That is why he took to mystic philosophy as duck takes to water. I was, indeed, so glad to see that he acclaimed from the heart the truth, so often missed by the activists, that it is not by outer revolutions or overhauling of institutions that you can truly regenerate the world. He was impressed by the finding of the sages that the greatest revolutionaries are not the socialists, communists, or anarchists who revolt against social injustice or political tyranny. They are the yogis who rebel against the tyranny of the flesh, the myopia of the mind and the pride of the ego stifling the soul. Not for nothing did Krishna enjoin Arjuna to become a full-fledged Yogi, saying: '*tasmat yogi bhavarjuna!*' And why, on earth, did He have to extol the Yogi? Because only when we are a Yogi, in communion with Him, can He lead us from 'unreality to reality, darkness to light and death to immortality—*asato ma sadgamaya, tamaso ma jyotirgamaya, mrityorma amritam gamaya*'. So, you will find from history—if you can truly read between the lines—that only a tiny handful—a few yogis—have, down the ages, shown us the way to the gleaming Goal—the eternal Truth beyond Time. They have all said with one voice that unless you can invoke His Light of lights all your phantom illuminations will remain but pale flickers, to be engulfed any moment by the gloomy assault of the dark hosts, the *asuras*. Alec also liked Gabriel very much."

Alec said: "Yes Dilip, didn't I tell you last night that Gabriel was a truly discerning soul? No wonder he saw quickly that the mystics were no day-dreaming lotus-eaters who had no roots in the earth, but the only true realists because they have seen that not till we master

the know-how of transforming our human reactions can we hope to redeem the pitiful state of the world."

"Exactly," dittoed Krishnaprem. "For don't you see that this pitiful state of the world is only a projection of a dreadful inner disharmony? Therefore, Dilip, every truly spiritual man who aspires to deal radically with the chronic maladies of the world must take up here and now the prayer of the Upanishad: *sa no buddhya shubhaya samounaktu*—may He yoke us to the true understanding, hitching our minds to His all-redeeming star. Nothing else, I tell you, can help us go beyond the mental thinking to reach sight so that we may steer our chariots straight to the Goal."²

Motirani chimed in again: "You have lectured beautifully Ba. You have explained many things wonderfully. The only thing you have missed is answering Dilipda's question: why must we stick to this external worship?"

Krishnaprem said: "But I have answered him. Besides, why call it an external worship at all? No worship can be 'external' if done properly. And this is not my view; for He Himself has said in the Gita that—bring me my book and read it aloud to Dilip. I have put it all there succinctly in my commentary on the Lord's couplet:

"*Manmana bhava madbhakto madyaji
mam namaskuru
Mamevaishyasi satyam to pratijane priyosi me*"
She read:

2. In his *Yoga of Kathopanishad*, p. 45, he has put this succinctly: "We think of the outer world of sense and of its various happenings as something separate from the inner worlds. But it is not so. As a bubble depends upon man's breath, as ash depends upon fire, as a poem depends upon the poet's heart, so does this outer world depend upon and hang from the inner." (Chapter I)

"Fix thy mind on Me, give thy heart's love to Me, consecrate all thy actions to My service, hold thine own self as nothing before Me. To Me then shalt thou come; truly I promise for thou art dear to Me."

"Krishna stands here for the Eternal One manifesting as the boundless Life in all, but His words are also true as applied to the human Teacher. If the disciple consecrates his life, actions, feelings and thoughts, without exception, to the loved Teacher, and if he meditates upon Him as *being within his heart*, His form will come to be a symbol of his own diviner Self and speak with that Self's voice to guide him through the fight.

"This method is an easier one for most because the human form draws forth most easily the love of man. Love is the easiest way to self-transcendence; urged on by love, man holds himself as naught. The disciple must still undertake the actual fighting; Krishna is charioteer and bears no arms.

3. When I returned to Pondicherry via Lucknow at the end of April I sent to Sri Aurobindo a brief resume of our talks and wound up with the question: "What do you think of this *bahyapuja*? Is this external worship really formal? Or can it be a true expression of the soul's inner adoration, as Krishnaprem claims?"

He wrote back (on April 29, 1943):

"What is meant by *bahyapuja*? If it is purely external then it is of course the lowest form (of worship); but if done with the true consciousness it can bring the greatest possible completeness to the adoration by allowing the body and the most external consciousness share in the spirit and act of worship." Which was precisely Krishnaprem's contention, too, as a proof of which he had spoken of the Lord's granting them the *mahaprasad* which the sages apotheosize.

Nevertheless, his inexhaustible power will flow through the dedicated vehicles, and with Him as guide the victory is sure.”³

When she paused Krishnaprem gave her a smile and said : “Are you satisfied now ?”

Motirani gave a grudging smile and demurred : “Well, my answer is yes and no. For what you have written is not quite what goes by the name of *bahyapuja* or ritualism.”

Krishnaprem remonstrated : “Didn’t I tell you that *bahyapuja* does not mean ritualism pure and simple ?”

Motirani still persisted : “But we do so low rites,” she persisted, “arrange the flowers, ring the bell, offer water, burn incense and so on.”

“But why shouldn’t we ?” challenged Krishnaprem. “Love is expressed not only by words and looks and touch but symbols also. These are beautiful symbolic acts of worship offered to Him when He becomes a living reality to the sincere worshipper. Those who are not sincere, of course, don’t count. At least when you assess the value of worship you can’t say : I will only pick out formal worship and lip-service et cetera and leave out the living adoration. My point is, that in all true adoration symbols and rites become living, irradiated by the flame of love. What happened with Sri Ramakrishna ? He followed the same rites as his uncle had done previously (didn’t he ?) but what a difference ! The same rites, the same offering of flowers, burning of incense, ringing of bells et cetera—and what did they invoke ? Mother Kali’s living Presence, which thrilled all and sundry ! And why did Sri Ramakrishna, even after realising Mother Kali in his heart, go daily to the temple to prostrate himself before her image ? Why did he approve of *bahyapuja*

—ask people to go to the *Panchavati* to meditate ? The Tantras were not wrong : the prescribed rites followed sincerely do lead to something real and living and so they can’t be scotched out of hand as mere formalism.”

Then he turned to me and went on : “That is why the Lord said : ‘Worship me with the body also—*mad yaji*.’ And *yajna* does mean rites. But why not ? Isn’t it common sense as well ? I mean when the Lord Himself ensouls the human body, why must it be left out in the cold like a pariah branded as unfit to partake of the blessed worship ? Why man ! this is the evidence of life itself. So how can you dismiss it all with highbrow intellectual arguments or mental preconceptions ? Not for nothing did Goethe say in *Faust* : ‘Grey is all theory, green grows the tree of life alone.’

He spoke with such a delectable warmth, his face flushing and looking golden, that we were all startled. Motirani’s eyes filled with tears. She touched his feet impulsively.

“But I am not penitent, Ba,” she said, smiling through her tears. “I am glad, glad, glad. For don’t I know from experience that to tease you is to tap you ?”

“Yes, Krishnaprem,” I said, “I do second her. You speak best when worked up. I am beginning to see light now. But there is one more question I must ask you, if you don’t mind. It is this : I have sometimes wondered whether one could not win this victory you write about by just striving hard to do away with the self-will through will-power alone ? Must love be requisitioned ? You see my point, don’t you ? I mean, if you say love must step in, then the question arises : how to invoke it ? You can command the will but not love, can you ? Love comes when it comes—don’t we all know ?”

"No Dilip, it won't do. I see what you mean and why you want to shirk it by ruling out the invocation of love as something not feasible or practical. But there you are wrong, for you just can't whittle away your self-will by means of will-power alone. Unless love takes a hand it can't be done. Only love can make surrender a joy. If love is not there the ego can never consent to the hardship of surrender. For only the power-house of love is able to produce the electricity with which the mill of Yoga can be worked."

"Lovely simile again, Ba!" Moti clapped her hands one again. "But I love still more your other simile of the egg and the omelette. Do tell Dilipda, please, O please!" And she insisted, laughing like a child.

"We say, as you know, you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs; that is to say *mutatis mutandis*: the omelette of true love can't be made till you crack the ego's eggshell, that is, self-will. The only snag here is that till love takes the lead—or the psychic being comes to the front, as your Gurudev puts it—the ego's eggshell just can't be cracked and there again you get caught in a vicious circle, because love can't 'step in' till the ego's walls are pulled down. But these are really the deepest paradoxes of the spirit and will remain insoluble till they are repeated by the light of *shuddha buddhi*, for only then can the revelation outflash which dissolves the insoluble darkness. Or here's another paradox. We say in English: you can catch a swallow if you can put salt on its tail. But of course you can't put salt on its tail till you catch it. So you you'll say it's silly, won't you? But it isn't, not a bit. For it is ordained that the two things happen simultaneously: you catch the swallow and put the salt on its tail at one and the same time, because the miracle is wrought by the intervention of the Divine Grace and not by your inept hands. But, and

here is the point, the Divine Grace intervenes only when you are at the end of your tether after all your mighty efforts. For then, feeling lost, as you call out to Him with every fibre of your being to save you from shipwreck, his love answers and, lo, your heart is flooded with love, His Light knelling the death of centuries of gloom."

His words did sound somewhat cryptic to me at the time, but once, in a crisis, the miracle he had hinted at did really happen in a moment and the revelation came just when I had all but gone under, in dark despair. And it was truly a strange descent of light, a mystic experience par excellence, but so vivid and indubitable that I was thrilled to the core and wrote one of my most authentic poems in English. I give it below primarily because I am persuaded that I owed it to the clue Krishnaprem had given me at Mirtola. So I sent him a copy of it, dedicating it to him:

HELP OF HELPLESSNESS

Mind would appraise and plumb the deep,
But has no liquid eyes
That will equip him for the enterprise.
He dives in his high courage, crying:
"All must yield to my keen
Swift piercing gaze," and yet there
supervene
Strange blurs and eddies he could not
Foreshadow nor surmise.
He stands in awe: whence did such
gloom arise!
Rings out a voice from the depths:
"The gloom is liquid light
And thus to solid eyes 'tis inky night."
Helpless he wails: "My real eyes
Are blinded by the glooms!"
Lo, on dark's stem the lone Pearl-
flower blooms!

★ ★ ★ ★

To come now to my last and unforgettable

evening at Mirtola—an evening that shall stay etched in my memory for ever. I could not write about it so long for reasons I need not go into. All I need to state is that now I am going to write about it in sheer joy, without any qualms.

But I must preface it with a question Krishnaprem had answered before the evening service with a beautiful eloquence which was so native to him, or shall I say, a heart-warming sincerity which was transmuted into the light of eloquence.

Alec had made a casual remark about faith being native to the Indian mind. He said that it had struck him as exhilarating the very first day he had stepped on India's sacred soil.

"I am very gratified, Alec," I said, warming up, "the more so, as I have heard it claimed many times. Only I first began to wonder when I came to know in Cambridge ever so many volatile Indian students hailing from different Provinces of India. So few among them, I discovered, had kept faith with faith, if you know what I mean. Then, one day, I happened to read Swami Vivekananda's eloquent Colombo speech which had made history. He said that a time was when, like every Hindu, he too had thought that India was a sacred land—*Punya Bhumi*—But later he came to be convinced that it was so. My Gurudev Sri Aurobindo also has given the identical verdict in many of his speeches and writings. But I have often wondered whether such statements are true in essence. Hasn't Swami Vivekananda himself wailed time and time again that we Indians have become extremely *tamasic* (slothful)? How do you reconcile the two statements?"

Alec looked at Krishnaprem and said :

"Now go on."

Krishnaprem said : "But you can answer it as cogently."

"But not half so eloquently," Alec rejoined. "And you know why : you have not only the gift of the gab, but your heart, unlike mine, cooperates when your brain thinks. I haven't in my life met many in whom the two work together in such happy harmony."

"I understand your doubts very well Dilip," he said, after a brief pause, "the more so as I, too, had them at the start, before meeting Ma. Then or, to be more precise, after my *dikhsha*—the scales fell from my eyes and a new vision was born overnight."

"What I saw," he added, a trifle hesitantly, "was this : that in India alone—of all the countries in the world—a long and unbroken dynasty of saints had reigned on, venerated by all. The change came only recently, at the turn of the century, when, though the common man in India has stayed loyal to her hoary wisdom and spiritual ideals, a sonorous section of your *modern* intelligentsia began to mouth unthinkingly the Western shibboleths branding the Hindu religion as medieval, Hindu polytheism as animism, Hindu sadhus as parasites and Hindu Messaihas as false prophets. Of course it is the glamour of Western prosperity which bewitched them and it is, indeed, a pity for *them*. But happily for *us*, Dilip, these cock-sure Daniels constitute but a small minority, and, shall I add, they know nothing of the soul of immemorial India whose heart-beats you can still feel in those of her masses. And so you find that even today, a sadhu, though in rags, wins homage from all but these few defectors who have, alas, hailed the Western sceptics as their monitors and the hidebound scientists as their guides to the phantom Goal of void plenitude. What I mean is that in India the heart of the common man still adores holiness, God-love (*bhakti*) and spiritual enlightenment (*jnan*) so, even when he cannot follow, he accepts humbly and bows his head in spontaneous reverence to the saints

and sages as custodians of her millennial wisdom and deputies of Love Divine."

"And such things happen only because here in India the spiritual values are still cherished by the heart countervailing the learned disapproval of the mind. That is why even those who are not religious-minded or devout accept the saints instinctively as it were. Go to a *Kumbha Mela* and you will have ample proof of this. For there you will bear witness day after day how, literally, lakhs and lakhs of poor people and rustics flock to the Ganga and, though shivering in cold, sleep on the beach just to bathe in the holy river and touch the feet of destitute saints in rags. But why single out only the famous *Kumbha Mela* when almost all your festivals are inscribed as it were with the Names of gods and goddesses or presided over by their images? Even your caste system derives its sanction not from any secular authority or social legislators but from the Gita or the Vedas or *samhitas*, that is, scriptures written by sages who are universally revered as holy men. To cut a long story short, the foundation of the bulk of your social structures, unlike ours, rests still on religious sanction and not any secular power. Let me give you a personal instance to show how pervasive is the influence of your sadhus in this hallowed land. Once I had to travel from Kathgodam to Lucknow in the third class. As soon as I entered a crowded compartment the poor passengers not only made way for me but vacated a whole bench for me so I could sleep in comfort while they gladly huddled together on the bare, dirty floor. And then: "Would Sadhuji care to have some guavas? Would he have some *laddus*, sweets? Would he prefer milk or sherbet?" And so, on they just besieged me with their simple love. I can't tell you how deeply I was moved by their childlike trust and reverence. And why

did they adore me? Because I had put on an ochre-coloured *dhoti*. In the West who gets a tumultuous ovation? Either royalty, or cinema stars, actors or musicians, and among the intelligentsia perhaps a unique scientist like Einstein or a mammoth satirist like Shaw—but all boosted by the Press, mind you! But in India it has to be a Gandhiji in loin-cloth; to none else will even royalty and titled heads genuflect."

"But," demurred Alec, "aren't you a bit overstating your case now, Krishnaprem? Titled heads don't bow to any and every sadhu in loin-cloth. Didn't Gandhiji win the homage he did because he had grown somewhat spectacular—and wasn't he, too, boosted by the Press?"

"Yes, Ba," endorsed Motirani. "Once at least you are wrong. For Gandhiji is a phenomenon." Then to me: "Dilipda, I heard a priceless joke about the American tourist, who comes to tour India to see three things: Tajmahal, Mahatma Gandhi and the Royal Bengal Tiger!" and she rollicked with such an infectious laughter that we all had to join.

When our laughter had subsided, Krishnaprem said to Alec: "There is that of course. But you have misread my emphasis. What I meant to stress was that in India Gandhiji would never have won the universal acclaim he did had he not been looked upon as a luminous symbol of renunciation, *tyag*, or shall I put it this way: he would not have outtopped all in fame had he not come to be worshipped as a man of God, from crust to core. I will freely concede that human nature in the mass is substantially more or less the same all over the world. Nevertheless, here, in India, I repeat, there is something which you can find nowhere else in the world. I will cite an instance Dilip was telling me yesterday. He said that he had read of late a book of travels written by the famous intellectual

Lowes Dickinson, an intimate friend of Bertrand Russell. Do tell him about it Dilip, for it is revealing."

"He said, Alec, that though he disagreed with Kipling's finding that the East and West could never meet, he would agree if the word India was substituted for 'the East'. For, he wrote, after touring the East, that he had found only one country baffling all along the line : India."

"Yes," Krishnaprem nodded reflectively. "I agree with him ; for to an authentic occidental like Lowes Dickinson Indian spirituality must seem essentially incomprehensible and unpalatable. Romain Rolland is another instance in point." He looked at me and said : "Please don't take it amiss, Dilip, if I can't echo your tender admiration for Rolland. But his tributes to and interpretation of Indian spirituality raise no resonant echoes in my heart. For in spite of his going into ecstasies over Vivekananda's missionary ardour, he could never understand Sri Ramakrishna. And I contend that it is no true appreciation of Indian spirituality when one extols Vivekananda as an apostle of humanitarianism leaving out the divine humanism of his master and maker, Sri Ramakrishna."

"Yes, Dilip," he reiterated as he often did when worked up, "I do hold that it is not possible to feel the heart-beats of India without understanding Sri Ramakrishna, the Mother Kali's own child, who stayed her baby all his life. Or take Sri Chaitanya who set aflame the stoniest hearts with the fire of his ecstatic hymns. Do you think if he came to be reborn today and spread the gospel of the Lord's blessed Name the West would sing halleluja to him ? No, Dilip, they would explain away his God-intoxication as hysteria or some other cheap 'complex' and smile superiorly. But the whole of India, I tell you, would fall at his feet—from Cape Comorin

to Manas Sarovar." He paused for breath, then added with a sigh : "I tell you, Dilip, it will be a sad day for India if you came to lose your fundamental *shraddah*, faith in and reverence for her time-old spiritual values. For it is this *shraddah*—the mother of true *jnan*, as the Gita says—which has been India's saving. It is because of this *shraddha* that Divine Grace could descend again and again to protect you and prevent your being completely westernised. And this Grace will, assuredly, come down once more to your rescue if only you firmly repudiate this disastrous Western gospel of godless materialism and scientific agnosticism. Yes, Dilip," he repeated, his face flushed, "I tell you, those 'master builders' are under a grievous illusion who fondly believe that a God-hostile, self-assertive efficiency is going to make this earth into a paradise here and now. The modern Nazi as well as Japanese empire-builders preached that—with what deplorable results you know. And I am afraid the same fate is going to overtake Russia or China tomorrow—I mean the modern militaristic China who seems now to be bent on emulating Japan." He gave a sigh and said : "Men are all fools, Dilip ! They teach history but never, alas, want to learn from it."

Alec demurred : "But China may not adopt the Western agnosticism. For, after all, she has a deeper wisdom and a richer mystic tradition than Japan could boast."

Krishnaprem hummed and hawed. "Well, you may be right. I hope my prognosis will prove untrue. "But," he shook his head, "my misgivings, unfortunately, are stronger than my hopes."

"Fortunately," laughed Alec, "it is going to take ages for China to make a fool of herself and disown her past completely."

But Krishnaprem gave only a grudging smile.

"I thank God for that, Alec," he said. "For I am glad that I am unlikely to see

that red day dawn in my life-time. But that is neither here nor there," he added quickly, "for my heart's concern is with India, not China or Japan whom the great Dickinson feels he can nod to while frowning on India as ineligible for his blessing. Yes, Dilip, to borrow a Shavian epithet : I do pity such great 'world-betterers' who go on glibly pitying India, and vaunting they can't approve of her whose blessed soil has been enshrouded by Krishna's footfall ; India whose peerless sages proclaimed the millennial holiness of the Himalayas and the redemptive grace of Mother Ganga ; India where even dead stones come to life as *shaligram* ensouled by His breath ; India where even the animals symbolize divinity ; India where whichever way you turn you meet the Divine. If the Russells and Dickinsons fail to understand India's greatness one can afford to smile and say : 'You are welcome, sirs, to your cherished myopia if you don't want the boon of the deeper vision, the *Shivanetra*, which alone can see into the heart of things, meeting the One in all that is—animate or inanimate. Shall I tell you something Dilip ? Often, while meditating, I catch myself praying to Krishna that He may never let India's immemorial soul be conquered by the rational, robustious, God-deriding scientific agnosticism of the blatant West, blaring over a thousand loud-speakers : 'Religion is the opium of the mind.' May He always shower His blessing on India whose very dust heaves with latent godliness, in whose tiniest crannies mystic faith flowers like green grass-blades through chinks in rocks—India whose people still have only to anoint wayside stones with vermilion to endow them with sanctity !* Yes, Dilip, I

have prayed over and over again : 'May these remain custodians of the precious heritage of faith in *jagat-pranam* as the Bhagavat puts it.'

"Wait, Ba," Moti interjected. "What on earth is *jagat-pranam* ?"

"The Bhagavat puts it beautifully," Krishnaprem explained, "that you must turn all your senses Godward : words must be used to sing His praises ; eyes directed to the saints in whom He presides ; the ears dedicated to hear them, hands taught to worship His feet and, lastly, your head must bow down in reverence to this world throbbing with His consciousness ; that is called *jagat-pranam*."* *

I have, of course, put it all in my own words, but Krishnaprem did frequently express such lofty sentiments on India with a deep tenderness and heart-warming eloquence dripping a radiance which trailed off into an unearthly fragrance. Time and time again would he go on improvising on the theme of India's unique contribution to spiritual wisdom till his voice grew thick leaving a cadence of mystic ecstasy. And then he would suddenly clap me on the shoulder and say, unexpectedly : "Now sing, Dilip, just sing on—sing His Name ! What is the use of talking ? Let us hear His

which, as Indira pointed out to me more than once, they kindled candles and meditated silently, day after day. Also, under trees here and there you find stones, painted red, placed on an eminence before which men and women gather to sing the Lord's name with drums and cymbals.

*In Poona, near our temple-home we found a few months ago two little boys building a tiny stone-niche in which they installed another stone and called it "Narayana" before

* *Bani gunanukathane shrvanau kathayam, hastau ca karmasu manas-tava padayor-nah Smritya shiras-tava nivasa-jagatpraname, drishtim satam darshanes-tu bhavattanunam. (The Bhagavat ; 10. 10. 38.)

Name. Hasn't the Gita said : "*Svalpamapyasya dharamasya trayate mahato bhayat ?*"

To conclude with an inspiring quotation from one of his most beautiful books, *Initiation into Yoga* :

"The finest timber comes from the slowest-growing trees. He who expects to blossom into a yogi in a few months or even in a few years of practice is bound to be disappointed and had better leave the whole subject alone. He, however, who has the sincerity and courage to face whatever is in him, the persistence to go on with his struggle in the face of obstacles within and without, and the humility to recognise that all that he has done is to take the first few steps on a tremendous journey, is certain to achieve something which he would not give away in exchange even for the whole world, for, as Sri Krishna teaches in the Gita, even the seeker after Yôga goes far beyond the hopes and fears of ordinary religion and 'even a little of this *dharma* delivers from great fear.' (*Svalpamāpyasvya... etc.*)

The shadows of dusk had lengthened in our room when Ma said : "It's time, Gopal !" So we rose to our feet for the evening service in the temple. Moti went out and lit the *pancha pradip* (five candles on a censer) and called out : "Come, Ba !"

Here I must pause to give a short description of the temple and its two approaches from Ma's bedroom.

The shrine itself, in which the images of Radha and Krishna were installed, was built next to Ma's room. As you came out of it you had only to step across the threshold or the left corner away from her bedstead to enter the little verandah before the shrine. You could reach this if you walked along a corridor skirting the room which was allotted to me and another where Krishnaprem worked sitting on a bare mat.

When we began our evening service in the shrine, Moti sat just in front of the threshold. Krishnaprem sat next to her on my left with Alec seated on my right.

On that memorable evening—which was to figure as a landmark in my life's journey—I was asked by Krishnaprem to sing *Brindabaner lila*, one of my best-known songs which is popular still, thanks to the Gramophone. I had sung it scores of times in motley assemblies and it always caught fire. But that evening I sang it with an overwhelming emotion such as I had never felt before. Time seemed almost to stand still, on tip-toe.

Let me give here my own translation of the song :

KRISHNA, THE EVERGREEN

The rainbow lilts of eternal Brindaban

I still recall, I still recall again :

O Prince of loveliness, Light's darling Son,

Touching to radiant joy our nights of pain !

I still recall and call to Thee again.

Oh, how we ran to the blue Jamuna's brim

To bathe in her crystal waters day by day,

Singing in ecstasy our paeans to Him

Who would outflash His lightning pranks
to play !—

I still recall and call to Thee again.

The carnivals of joy from grove to grove,

When under a star-spangled velvet sky,

We searched for the Swain who called to His
Ras of love

To savour in an hour eternity :

I still recall and call to Thee again.

Or the moonlight masques and songs in

blissful bowers,

When passion born of His beauty, athrob
and tender,

Changed all the thorns of life into blessed
flowers

And we won from Thee all by our all-

surrender :

I still recall and call to Thee again.

“Krishna is a fool’s fairy tale,” they say,
 “A legend—His song and dance
 and revelry.”
 To them Thy Flute of Flame is a myth today
 And the drab world’s din the last reality !—
 But I still recall and call to Thee again.

How can they know who never have known
in love
The bliss the soul feels when Thou leans't
to bless ?
To the blind can one who has seen his vision
prove
Or speak to the heart of stone of Thy caress ?
But I still recall and call to Thee again.

When I was singing the last verse but one my afflatus waxed in a crescendo till I forgot myself in my ecstatic fervour and tears coursed down my cheeks staunchlessly.

Then, as I started improvising on the last verse, image after image flashed upon me, and I went on elaborating my answer to confirmed sceptics who doubted the reality of Krishna's love-play in Brindaban and scoffed at the devotee's vision as a figment of his imagination. And I sang (I am doing my best to translate into English my Bengali images which are not

at all easy to render) :

They scoff and laugh at all I see
And say : "He never came ;

'Tis all a myth—how can it be ?
Krishna is but a name,

An irised bubble, a vapour, sweet
Imagination's gleam :

Could earth and the ethereal meet
Or stars our dust redeem ?”

Ah, they have never known, O Lord,
What only love could know,

And so they doubt, alas, Thy word :
That Thou, incognito,

Still comst as rapture in pain's night,
As beauty flowering
In yearning rocks Thy troth to plight,
To Abyss of Heaven to sing.

But I have heard Thy Flute of Grace,
Beloved, in my lone heart

And thrilled to the deep blessedness
Of knowing that Thou art

My life's one friend and stay and guide,
My cradle and my goal :

And so I smile when they deride
What floods with bliss my soul.

(Concluded)

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO HUMAN CIVILISATION

G. VENKATESAN

The modern technological civilisation is now facing a great challenge of change. Scientific discoveries, technological advancements and the various socio-economic and political disciplines are some of the major factors that are shaping the destiny of the contemporary world. Rank rationalism, secular humanism and the assertion of sovereign states have been the moulding influences of modern civilisation. These forces and factors are global, world-wide.

The speed with which the world is undergoing changes is something amazing, phenomenal and unprecedented; with the result that contemporary human civilisation has come to a stage where it can either annihilate itself or revive its spiritual vitality and usher in an age of happiness and fulfilment. In other words, it is capable of courting immense dangers or reaping immeasurable rewards and "the contemporary mind is vacillating between vague apocalyptic fears and deep mystical yearnings".¹ It is with this perspective in view that the contribution of India to human civilisation must be appreciated, and assessed.

Each civilisation has a unique role to play in the order of human progress. Every civilisation has a peculiar bend, a characteristic *raison d'être* and a historic mission to fulfil in the life of the world. The Greek genius, for instance, expressed itself in analysing, exploring, testing and proving or disproving all things in the light of reason. While Greek civilisation gave Europe the habit of disinterested pursuit of knowledge, Rome expressed its vitality and creativity in codifying the laws, in organising the State and in expanding its Empire. Similarly, medieval Christianity gave out the cultural unity and redeemed the intellectual pagans from an easy, self-centered and self-complacent superiority and rationality. The Renaissance restored to Europe again the curiosity of the Greek mind as well as the Romans' practicality and completely rehabilitated the human spirit which led to the simultaneous and succes-

sive growth in intellectual attainment, religious reformation, political freedom, scientific progress, economic prosperity and social reform in the Western society during the last four centuries. Now, what was and what has been the mission and message of India to human civilisation?

Political greatness or military power or technological superiority had not been the cherished goal of India. On the contrary, sublime spirituality had been and continues to be the great theme of Indian life, the back-bone of the nation and the very secret of the unbroken continuity of its civilisation and culture. Spirituality based on Truth, Non-violence and broad-mindedness is the inestimable gift handed down to us by our ancient forefathers. This marvellous spiritual inheritance of ours has been "the master passion of the Hindu mind, a lamp unto its feet and a light unto its path, the presupposition and basis of its civilisation, the driving force of its culture and the expression—in spite of its tragic failures, inconsistencies, divisions and degradations—of its life in God."² This sense of spirituality not only persisted through the ups and downs of the country's history, not only influenced the daily life of the peoples of most of the Asian countries but manifested itself in the life and work of the noblest sons of India from Asoka, Akbar, Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda to Gandhi and Nehru. India's role in human civilisation is, therefore, inextricably intertwined with the spirituality of its culture.

Today, under the blasting light of modern science and the devastating potentialities of Atomic and nuclear warfare, when the time-tested traditional beliefs, faiths and values are shaken to their very foundations, when special claims laid to the allegiance of mankind by different sects have all been blown to smithereens, when the sledge-hammer blows of modern researches knock at the very bottom of orthodox religions all over the world, India has a refreshingly new contribution to make by displaying the highest

religious aspirations of the Indian mind crystallised in the practical spirituality of her people.

India never considered the world as a little mud-puddle. The idea of the spiritual oneness of humanity, the infinity of the Universe, the grand idea of the eternal soul of man and the unbroken continuity in the march of beings have been the warp and woof of Indian civilisation. In the midst of the struggle for supremacy among competing Gods and conflicting faiths here and elsewhere, India recognised the fundamental unity of all religions and the commonness of humanity long long ago. "That which exists is One, sages call It by various names." All Gods and different faiths are not hopelessly contradictory but commendably complementary. India has, therefore, this infinite, ennobling and expansive view of man and God and the world to offer to human civilisation.

Brotherhood of Man is the natural corollary of this expansive view of man and the world. The sense of brotherhood and motive for human unity are inborn in all human beings but the history of different civilisations of the world unequivocally show that human beings have always behaved with inhuman callousness towards each other. The hideous atrocities perpetrated within the four decades of the present century are too recent to be forgotten. This only shows that the innate sense of brotherhood and unity is not put into practice. Asoka, the Indian emperor, a morally outstanding figure in the history of the world who 'put the conscience into practice in the exercise of his political power'³ unmistakably showed the way to humanity that our common human sense of fraternity could be put into practice in our daily life. He also showed that this noble aim could be pursued by missionary instead of military methods. Today, when the human civilisation is precariously balancing at the edge of an awful precipice, conversion, not coercion is the only means that we can employ for uniting mankind. Arnold J. Toynbee with his profound scholarship and mature wisdom proclaims that in the Atomic Age where the use of force would result, not in unison but in self-destruction, "the spirit that we need in our statesmen is surely Ashoka's spirit".⁴

The modern technological civilisation has brought about an unsettlement of human values and led to the decay of faith and standards re-

sulting in an explosive situation. Any attempt to bring the mechanical civilisation to an even keel by creating a Universal Religion should meet the double challenge of scientific rationality and secularised materialism. Swami Vivekananda, a rationalist mystic as he was, put the spiritual heritage of India into the crucible of scientific test and enquiry. The spiritual Guru of the Swami Sri Ramakrishna had declared that all religions were true and that all religions were different approaches to the same goal. Sri Ramakrishna's attempt to seek God through all the various paths prescribed by the major religions of the world is a unique instance in the history of mankind. Swami Vivekananda went a step further and declared with forthright frankness and candour that a religion which cannot stand the rigorous test of scientific and rationalistic investigation is not worth the name and it deserves to be destroyed. In his own inimitable way the Swami posed the question and answered: "Are the same methods of investigation, which we apply to sciences and knowledge outside, to be applied to the science of religion? In my opinion this must be so; and I am also of opinion that the sooner it is done the better. If a religion is destroyed by such investigations, it was then all the time useless, unworthy superstition; and the sooner it goes the better."⁵

As an authentic interpreter of Indian spiritual heritage Swami Vivekananda's message to human civilisation is 'healthy assimilation of the new and wise purge of the old'.⁶ He searched for the values and forms of life in the ancient culture of India as also in the modern culture of the West and appraised them all in the natural light of reason. Constructive conservatism is the creative contribution of Swami Vivekananda. It is a glorious tribute to the practical spirituality of India that the foremost spirits of the west such as Dr. Schweitzer, Sir Walter Moberly, Dr. Compton, Alfred North Whitehead, Wagner, Schopenhauer, Michelet, Humboldt, Goethe, Heine, Thoreau, Emerson, Prof. Hocking and others have echoed Vivekananda's spirit. "Men in the deepest wisdom and insight have reached, not different concepts of man and his god, but common concepts. . . . Men and nations can no longer live a narrow life, bound by their own fanatical or exclusive ideas, denying the larger values of human life and spiritual religion."⁷

Contemporary India is the outcome not only of the immediate past, but also of thousands of years of the long history of our country. All our thought, word and deed are, therefore, largely conditioned by our past experience. Indians have always based their personal as well as political affairs on ethical and spiritual ideals. Hatred and violence never consumed us even in our nationalist struggles. We had the rare fortune of coming into contact with a great man and a mighty leader Mahatma Gandhi who inspired the people of India to keep the freedom struggle on a spiritual plane and taught humanity that personal, national and international life and conduct must be based on truth, love and non-violence. Toynbee rightly points out that 'the triumph of non-violent non-cooperation has been a joint triumph of Gandhi's spirit and the Indian People's spirit'.⁸

Satyagraha or the action based on truth, love and non-violence is Gandhiji's 'supreme and original contribution to humanity'.⁹ Gandhi himself practised satyagraha during most of his life and successfully tested it in the field of social, economic and domestic relations and led India to freedom through three mighty non-violent revolutions which startled and amazed the whole world. Satyagraha has great relevance to the embittered world of today. During times of war, satyagraha could be effectively used to produce a moral awakening in the people as Gandhi did when he resisted the oppressive and unrighteous government in South Africa and an alien imperialism in India. Satyagraha will be justified in an all-out opposition to the manufacture, testing and using of atomic and nuclear weapons of destruction. American negroes seem to have realised the intrinsic value of this non-violent weapon of satyagraha and it is a matter of gratification that they are beginning to use it for asserting their legitimate rights. 'It will be a great day if the negroes and other races of Africa decide to fight the racial arrogance and injustice of the white settlers of South Africa and other American States through the methods of Satyagraha'.¹⁰

As Gandhi was the apostle of non-violence, Pandit Nehru was the upholder of peace. Nehru rightly diagnosed that 'internationally, the major question to lay is that of world peace'.¹¹ Nehru

was among the bravest of men who without succumbing to the temptation of settling problems with China or Pakistan through war kept the lamp of peace from being blown out in India and the world in spite of terrible provocations which cropped up again and again during the seventeen years he was the Premier of the Republic of India. True to Indian tradition, Nehru enunciated the Panchsheel and scrupulously followed a Middle path in which there was no surrender to evil and which at the same time avoided war itself as total evil. 'No Prime Minister or Head of State in any country at any time in history pursued this dynamic Middle path of peace without dishonour as Nehru did'.¹²

Arthur Osborne, after surveying human history during the past 2,500 years, concludes that 'it is only by rejecting the very basis of modernism and restoring the stability of a civilisation based on a spiritual tradition that the chaos of the threatened end could be averted and this no government has the will or power to do'.¹³ Since we are the inheritors of the highest traditions of ethical idealism and political conduct which run in unbroken sequence from the Buddha and Ashoka to Gandhi and Nehru, India has a great spiritual responsibility to live a life of Truth, Love and Non-violence and practice these ennobling spiritual virtues in the teeth of provocation and unprovoked aggression. "If India were ever to fail to live upto the Indian ideal which is the finest and therefore the most exacting legacy in your Indian heritage", concludes Arnold J. Toynbee, "it would be a poor look-out for mankind as a whole".¹⁴ By virtue of her unbroken continuity of culture and history, India is destined to play a positive role of restoring the stability and equilibrium of human civilisation based on a spiritual tradition.

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SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS OF THE INDIAN PUBLIC SERVICES

The Indian Surveys are most important departments of the Government of India. The operations which had been carried out in the different branches of these Surveys from the date of the British occupation, were reviewed by Sir Clement R. Markham as well as Mr. Charles E. D. Black, in words which were printed and published by order of the late Queen-Empress' Secretary of State for India in Council in 3 volumes in 1870, 1878 and 1891 respectively. These volumes furnish very useful information on the Indian Surveys, such as "Indian Marine Surveys", "Great Trigonometrical Survey of India", "Geological Survey of India", etc. It is in these departments of the Indian Public Services, that natives of India are very seldom employed and find no encouragement at the hands of those who are in authority. Before the last Public Service Commission of 1866-1887, one gallant officer who was at that time the Surveyor-General of India did not hesitate to declare before the Hon'ble members of the Commission in a *non-chalant* manner that he never allowed a native to touch a theodolite.

In a memorandum which the then Surveyor-General of India, Col. De Pree submitted to the Public Service Commission, he wrote—

"I may here remark incidentally that my numerous late inspectors show me that the tendency of the European Surveyors is to stand and look on, while the natives are made to do the drawings and hand printing as if they thought themselves quite above that sort of things.....it is suicidal for Europeans to admit that Natives can do any one thing better than themselves. *They should claim to be super-*

rior in everything and only allow Natives to take a secondary or subordinate post."

How can natives of India show "the faculty of independent research and critical observation" if we are to believe what Sir John Gorst, sometime Secretary of State for India, said in his famous Manipur speech that "Government had always discouraged independent and original talent and had always preferred docile mediocrity. This was not a new policy."

Mr. P. N. Bose, after a brilliant academic career in England, was appointed to the Geological Survey of India. He was the first Indian to be so appointed. But how was he treated? In a memoir on the Indian Surveys, 1875-1890, by Charles E. D. Black.....we find the following.....

"Mr. Bose took up new ground in the basin of the Upper Mahanadi, but the results were not deemed satisfactory by Mr. Medlicott who, indeed, referred to this as an additional proof of the unsuitableness of natives of India for the faculty of independent research and critical observation required to make a good geologist".....

Mr. P. N. Bose by his career in the department....has disproved this most unjustifiable assertion of his whilom chief. We wonder that the then Secretary of State for India encouraged the dissemination of such a libel on....Indian subjects by publishing at the expense of the Indian tax-payer the volume from which the above extract is made.

Ramananda Chatterjee,
in *The Modern Review*, January, 1913, p. 194.

INDIA'S POLICY TOWARDS CHINA AND PAKISTAN IN THE LIGHT OF KAUTILYA'S ARTHASASTRA

NARESHWAR DAYAL SETH

Our policy of non-violence and peaceful co-existence, though not based only on the principles of Ashoka, certainly gives a good glimpse of the revival of the Ashokan spirit. Even our predominant symbols, the 'Dharma Chakra' and the three-lion figure, have been borrowed from the inscriptions of Ashoka. Yet, ideologically laudible as the policy is, it has met with severe trials, culminating in wanton aggression on our frontiers by both China and Pakistan. A re-assessment has been advocated by various critics, and sometimes even drastic change. It is in this context that it becomes fitting to go back to the past again, to the Mauryan age, though not to the times of Ashoka but Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya, to examine whether the prevalent precepts and principles can offer inspiration and guidance.

These principles can perhaps be best studied by a perusal of the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya,¹ the Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya. While the age and authenticity of the *Arthashastra*, as it is now available, has been the subject of considerable difference of opinion, the Puranic theory regards it as a work of the thirteenth century B.C.² and some German scholars place it as late as the third century A.D.³ It is generally conceded that most of the matter contained

in it is of the Mauryan times, in principle at least if not in exact form. Its value in this connection is further increased because of the internal evidence⁴ which shows that it does not merely reflect any one particular theory of any one particular individual, but is a general collection of the varied principles prevailing during the times.

It is obviously impossible to mention all theories of Kautilya on all matters, but some of the chief points which have a bearing on the problem may be considered. The State, or to be more accurate kingdom, as envisaged in the *Arthashastra*, does not exist in isolation but is a part of a Mandal or circle of states. This mandal theory is not original to the *Arthashastra* because it occurs in other ancient Hindu treatises as well but its clever exposition⁵ leaves little doubt about the author's clear understanding of the importance of inter-state relations and balance, and geo-political factors which influence state policy.

Kautilya's conception of inter-state relations is realistic to the extent of being highly pessimistic. There is no such thing as a state that lives in friendly peace with all other states for, while the weak states seek peace, the strong ones want to wage war. So deeply rooted is his idea of lack of peace among states of unequal strength that he lists the enemy as one of the eight essential elements of a state's sovereignty.⁷ A powerful state

1. Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganpati Sastri points out in the preface to his learned commentary of the *Arthashastra* that the word 'Kautilya' is a distortion of the correct word 'Kautalya'. Most of the available manuscripts of the *Arthashastra* also use the word 'Kautalya' and not 'Kautilya'.

2. Mauryan and Pre-Mauryan Chronology according to Puranas *Journal of Indian History*, volume 27, 1949.

Venkatachalam, Kota.—*Kaliyuguraja Vrittanā*, *Journal of Andhra Historical Society*, Vol. 18. *Indian Eras*, *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, 1950-52, Vol. 20 and 21.

3. Preface to the Third Edition of Dr. R. Shamasastri's *Kautilya's Arthashastra*.

4. "This *Arthashastra* is a compendium of almost all the *Arthashastras*, which in view of acquisition and maintenance of the earth, have been composed by ancient teachers", Book I, Chapter I, Page 1, Dr. R. Shamasastri's English translation of *Kautilya's Arthashastra*, Fifth Edition, 1956. This edition is used for citation throughout this essay.

5. Preface to the Third Edition of Dr. R. Shamasastri's *Kautilya's Arthashastra*.

6. *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Chapter I, Page 293.

7. *Arthashastra*, Book VI, Chapter I, Page 287.

which occupies the neighbouring territory becomes a 'natural enemy',⁸ for as N. N. Law says, "adjacency was the most prolific source of jealousy, and animosity".⁹

Since there is constant inter-state strife, the king must endeavour to increase his power and decrease the power of the enemy. "The possession of power . . . in a greater degree makes a king superior to another, in a less degree, inferior, and in an equal degree, equal," says Kautilya. "Hence a king shall always endeavour to augment his power. . . ."¹⁰ At the same time, the enemy "deserves to be harassed or reduced".¹¹ "A wise king", Kautilya instructs, "shall observe that form of policy which, in his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings and commercial roads . . . and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy."¹²

For achieving the dual objective of increasing one's own power and decreasing that of the enemy, as a six-fold policy of peace, war, naturalness, attack, alliance and peace with one state and war with another, all according to need, is advocated.¹³ So is unmasked political opportunism. "A neighbouring foe . . . when he is involved in calamities or has taken himself to evil ways . . . becomes assailable,"¹⁴ says Kautilya. And also that, "Agreements of peace shall be made with equal and superior kings and an inferior king shall be attacked."¹⁵

While Kautilya's king is essentially a conquerer who seeks to augment his power by territorial expansion, Kautilya does not advocate war in all circumstances. He is conscious of the fact that "Just as the collision of an unbaked mud-vessel with a similar vessel is destructive to both,

so war with an equal king brings ruin to both"¹⁶ At another place, he asserts that "when the advantages derivable from peace and war are of equal character, one should prefer peace."¹⁷ What, however, is significant in this connection is that even in his preference for peace, his emphasis is not on weakness but on power and strength, for "it is power that brings about peace between any two kings: no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron."¹⁸

For his advocacy of active interest in the affairs of other states, Kautilya seems to depend less on open war and more on 'vigraha' or diplomatic war. The time honoured formula of 'sam', 'dana', 'bheda' and 'danda', that is negotiation, conciliation, sowing dissension and punishment are to be used. So are religion and superstition, and propaganda and espionage. The *Arthashastra* is littered with rules on how to plant spies and what different devices of propaganda to employ.¹⁹ Intrigue emerges as a favourite instrument of state policy, for Kautilya says that "The arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a single man, but skilful intrigue devised by a wise man can kill even those who are still in the womb."²⁰ Such is the importance of intrigue that an entire chapter is devoted to battles of intrigue.²¹ In fact so great is the emphasis on these topics that the *Arthashastra* gives the impression that it is not a treatise on polity but on propaganda and intrigue. It is some of these injunctions of Kautilya which have given him a bad name and popular credence has painted him as one who was bereft of all moral principles and who was ever willing to sacrifice morality for expediency. But the truth remains that just as it is today, so it was in Kautilya's day, that in the realm of diplomacy and state-craft, morality and expediency were not

8. *Arthashastra*, Book VI, Chapter II, Page 290.

9. *Inter-State relations in Ancient India*.

10. *Arthashastra*, Book VI, Chapter II, Page 291.

11. *Arthashastra*, Book VI, Chapter II, Page 290.

12. *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Chapter I, Page 293.

13. *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Chapter I, Page 298.

14. *Arthashastra*, Book VI, Chapter II, Page 290.

15. *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Chapter III,

16. *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Chapter III, Page 298.

17. *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Chapter I, Page 296.

18. *Arthashastra*, Book VII, Chapter III, Page 298.

19. *Arthashastra*, Book X, Chapter III, Page 396.

20. *Arthashastra*, Book X, Chapter VI, Page 405.

21. *Arthashastra*, Book XII, Chapter II.

necessarily complementary, and that pursuing one was often done at the cost of the other.

Now, even though modern India has followed a policy of non-violence and peaceful co-existence, it cannot be accused of having pursued a policy of isolation in its relations with the neighbouring States of China and Pakistan. Our late Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's numerous visits to China and Pakistan, the visits of Chinese and Pakistani statesmen to India, such treaties and pacts like those negotiated to settle the questions of canal waters and refugee and evacuee property problems, the exchanges of various delegations and cultural forums, the attempt to foster a brotherly spirit of mutual tolerance and even assistance, are only a few of the examples of active interest and desire to build up a positive pattern of healthy relationship. The difference between that Kautilya advocated and our present policy lies elsewhere.

We made the mistake of believing that in a world of inter-state strife it was possible for us to live in peace with all neighbouring states. In our overweening desire for friendliness, we tolerated China's growing trade influence in our Asian markets, we let it subjugate Tibet thereby permitting it to come right up to our northern borders, we allowed it to nibble into our territory and build the Aksai-Chin road and we let it create important road links right in the lee of our Himalayan borders. Our efforts to stop China were belated and half-hearted. In the same way, we were soft with Pakistan on various issues like Kashmir.

We failed to realise that with its vast resources, population, territory, closeness of borders to ours and policy of shameless aggression, China is our 'natural enemy'. And abetted by various sources, so to an extent, is Pakistan. In this connection, it is worth noting that the borders of Burma are also contiguous with ours but Burma's policy is not one of aggression and there are no major causes of conflict with us, and so Burma cannot be classed as a 'natural enemy'.

We did not follow the dual objective of increasing our strength and trying to decrease the strength of the enemy. We did launch numerous projects and schemes for increasing our agriculture and industrial potential, but their improper performance and our continued show of weakness

in the diplomatic fields cost us heavily. For the power of the armed forces matters today as it did in the day of Kautilya and the most respected language is still the language of strength. And in spite of the emergence of the United Nations Organization and growing consciousness of world opinion, might is still right and offensive often the best defensive. In this connection, it is worth noting that during the recent India-Pakistan conflict, when we demonstrated our capacity to fight back, our changed attitude paid a rich dividend. Not only did we contain the aggressive designs of the enemy and give it a staggering blow, but world opinion, which had been treating us with malicious contempt, promptly swung in our favour.

We did not try to 'harrass' the enemy even when it was infiltrating into our territory, what to say of harrassing it on different grounds. If we had used the various methods advocated by Kautilya, like indulging in diplomatic war, acts of sabotage, propaganda, intrigue, encircling the enemy by negotiating effective alliances, etc., to prevent the growth of China's trade, its capturing Tibet, its occupying our territory and building the Aksai-Chin road, its carving of strategic road links in Tibet and its flirting with Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, and other countries, perhaps we would have been spared the pains of flagrant betrayal; the shooting war would not have come to our land and even the cold war would have been limited to areas beyond. In the same way, if we would have used our armed might to drive away Pakistan from occupied Kashmir, when we were in an easy position to do so, changed the nature of the population in Kashmir to put a permanent end to the plebiscite question and tried to plant seeds of dissension in the internal affairs of Pakistan, perhaps Pakistan would have been too engrossed and too troubled to be able to launch its aggressive designs against us. In this context, it is worth recalling that during the days of the British Raj, the defense of India was not conducted by passive adherence to a policy of non-interference but by active interference in the affairs of other States, of which making Tibet into a British protectorate and Afganistan an important buffer State are only two examples.

These are all lessons of history and it is always easy to be wise after a mistake is committed

but it is not always easy to switch on at once to an entirely changed line of policy. For our policy of non-violence and peaceful co-existence is diametrically opposed to Kautilya's policy of political opportunism and active interference. The seeds of our policies were sown many years before the realities of the current years, when the present ruling party, the Congress, was emerging as a virtual "state within a state" to oppose the dynamism of the British Raj. Political expediency of those days, appealing idealism and sometimes plain emotion were responsible for creating them, and it was only natural that we should have given expression to them after independence had been achieved. But in view of the fact that both China and Pakistan have been following a policy of political opportunism and aggression, it is only correct that we should gradually wean away from our old policies. Kautilya's amoral policy of aggrandisement was changed to one of peace and tolerance by Ashoka over two thousand years ago, but perhaps the solution today may lie in the reversal of the order, that is changing the policy of tolerance to one of greater interference. Believing that any nation is charged with a mission to transform the prevailing conditions is only a form of self-deception, the attitude of self-righteousness, which is often paraded by us, only serves to offend friends and make enemies bolder. Trying to set virtue and morality in the field of inter-state relations has brought some verbal praise but also considerable harm. It should be realized that policies should be geared not to vague idealism but to clear consciousness of the realities of time and situation.

Increase of Police Expenditure

Expenditure on the Police Department has been increasing steadily. In 1910-11 the total expenditure for India stood at Rs. 652.42 lakhs. In the Budget for 1914-15 the sum of Rs. 780.29 lakhs has been provided. Increased expenditure on the police would not be felt as a grievance if there were a corresponding decrease in crime. But large amounts are devoted to fighting sedition and political crime, without calmly considering why there is the thing called sedition and whether what the people say and do in India would be considered seditions in a free country.

People would greatly appreciate increased safety of life and property in the Punjab and the N. W. Frontier Province and immunity from dacoities in East Bengal, where the river police ought to be more efficient than it is.

Ramananda Chatterjee
in *The Modern Review*, July, 1914.

THE ROLE OF THE WHIP IN PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Prof. S. D. JATKER

The smooth and efficient working of a legislature modelled on the British system very much depends, among others, on the office of the Whip, about which very little is known except to the members of the party. It is this office that brings discipline to the party within the legislature and serves the interests of a party vis-a-vis other parties. The office of the Whip thus plays a key-role in a parliamentary democracy. Morris Jones has pointed out that "the institution of Whips is central to the working of parliamentary government in England".¹ We have adopted the British Parliamentary system including the institution of Whips. It is, therefore, proposed to make a critical study of this office in this paper.

Like the British Parliament, the Whip is a typical British institution. Its origin dates back to the days when Whigs and Tories used to secure and retain following in the Parliament by corrupt methods. To retain majorities, votes would be bought. For this operation was established the post of Political Secretary to the Treasury in 1714. This office soon came to be known as Patronage Secretary, who kept a close watch on "votes and speeches".² To the members he appeared one with the Whip, as in hunting the hounds are brought in the pack with the Whip. With the toning up of parliamentary standards and crystallisation of the structure and organization of the parliament the nature of the office of the Whip has undergone a change.

The Whip, therefore, has its origin in the hunting field. In a dictionary of 1792, the definition of Whipper runs as 'a fellow that sends for members to carry a question when the Minister is hard run'.³ Today

this term has acquired a wider meaning. The original meaning is still there because the Whip still looks after the attendance of party members at the time of divisions.⁴ But today the same word is applied to the circular that is sent to members about parliamentary business. There has been a transformation in the functions of the office as it originated in the Patronage Secretary. Though the Whip does not distribute offices, in England the Government Chief Whip has retained some influence, for he is consulted in the appointment of some ministers. This is so because of his intimate knowledge of party members. Morrison has pointed out that the Whips were consulted in the appointment of judicial posts as late as 1940, but this practice with regard to judicial posts appears to have been given up afterwards.⁵ It is thus clear that along with the etymological origin of the word Whip is associated an office and it has also acquired a wider meaning in the parliamentary language.

In India, where the British system is followed, political parties in parliament and state legislatures have Whips. A Whip has to be a member of the legislature. Each party will have a Chief Whip, Deputy Chief Whips and a few Junior Whips. Government Chief Whips are paid from public treasury and they are given a portfolio. For instance, Sri Satyanarayan Sinha, while he was the Chief Whip was designated as Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.⁶

There is no unanimity regarding the appointment of Whip. In the Congress Parliamentary Party the Chief Whip is nominated by the leader of the party. The same procedure is followed in the state legislatures. But the opposition parties

follow a different procedure. The Chief Whips of the Swatantra and the Communist parties are elected by the members of the respective parties within the legislatures.

The chief functions of the Government Whip inside the House are to assist the leader of the House in preparing the business of the House, of organising the party within the House, submitting the list of the participants in the debate to the Speaker, and maintaining maximum of attendance of party members. He has to see that the policies of government receive maximum support and co-operation from the members. In turn he has to convey the feelings of members to the leader of the House. It is his duty to maintain the quorum so that the business of the House is conducted. This responsibility is confined only to the government bills. For Private Members' Bills the responsibility for securing the quorum rests on the member himself, if he wants the bill to be discussed. 'Making'⁷ and 'keeping' the House are the duties of the Government Chief Whip. However, his important duty lies in getting the government legislation passed with as little delay as possible, and maintaining majority at times of division.

'Pairing'⁸ is another important function of the Whips. If a member wishes to absent himself from the House he has to inform the Whips of his party. This enables the Whip to verify similar absentee members of other parties on a particular day.

It is the duty of the Government Chief Whip to keep good and harmonious relations with the opposition party Whips. In the preparation of the business of the House and for giving place to the opposition motions the opposition Whips are consulted by the Government Chief Whip. **In the interests of parliamentary business** it is essential that their relations should be smooth. The relationship between the Chief Whips is termed 'Usual Channels'.⁹

There is another usage of the word

Whip. This refers to the circular issued by the Chief Whip to the members of the party on the pattern of voting in the legislature. The decision to issue the Whip is taken by the leader of the party and it is implemented by the Chief Whip. Main consideration in the issue of Whip is party interest. Once, therefore, a Whip is issued the members have no option except to support the party line. There is no scope to bring the differences open by into the legislature. They have to be settled in the party meetings only. In this respect it is often pointed out that there is strict discipline in the Congress and the Communist parties. In the Andhra Pradesh Assembly there were many Congress Party members who had disapproved of the Land Levy Bill. But the issue of the Whip in this case forced the dissenters to toe the party line. Refusal to vote by a member for the party, even after issuing the Whip, however, does not disqualify him from being a member of the House; this is a party affair. It may result in disciplinary action against the member and a likely loss of party ticket in future elections.

One of the responsibilities of the Whip is to maintain Party discipline within the legislature. The problem was discussed recently at the Chief Whips' Conference held at Bangalore. This problem has been agitating the minds of all. Shri A. V. Baliga, Speaker of the Mysore State Assembly, classified indiscipline broadly into two categories.¹⁰ The first category was according to 'subjects' of controversial nature. The second reason given by Shri A. V. Baliga was 'persons'. Further analysing, Shri A. V. Baliga said that indiscipline caused by persons was mainly on account of ideological differences. Subject-wise disorders could be attributed to a deliberate plan hatched by members themselves. In this connection one cannot ignore the responsibility that rests on the shoulders of the Ministers and the ruling party. Hasty legislation, inordinate delay in legis-

lation, evasive replies or taking shelter under 'public interest' and refusal to take the opposition parties into confidence on important decisions arrived at, are given as reasons for the indiscipline in the legislatures. Inexperience of the members and unwillingness to submit to the Chair's ruling are also some of the factors that have contributed to indiscipline in the House.

Though this appears to be the case in almost all the Legislatures and Parliament, the Andhra Pradesh Assembly has a commendable record in this respect. The author gathered the impression from the discussion he had with the Government Chief Whip that the relations of the Government Chief Whip with the Opposition party Whips have been friendly and cordial and that the issue of discipline was very much dependent on how well the party was organised. A well-organised party never faces indiscipline. It is the independent and unattached members who caused disorder and indiscipline. This appears to be a fairly proper assessment of the Andhra Pradesh Assembly where all parties are well-organised and there never has been any instance of indiscipline in the generally understood sense.

Maintenance of quorum¹¹ has been one of the difficulties of the Whips. Often the Lok Sabha and the State Assemblies have been adjourned for want of a quorum.¹² The presiding officers have repeatedly drawn the attention of the government and the parties to this fact and have expressed their dissatisfaction in strong terms. The fifth Whips' Conference held at Bangalore recently has pointed out that in England the working of the House of Commons is not held up for want of quorum and the Speaker never pays attention to it unless his attention is drawn to this fact by some member, which is rarely done. It was suggested at this conference that the constitution should be amended in respect of quorum and the same provisions could be

incorporated in Rules of Procedure of the House. Further, the Conference suggested that there should be no insistence on quorum for deliberations but quorum should be there whenever the House took decisions by voice or vote.¹³

One very vital issue is the status and position of the Government Chief Whips, which was discussed at the Chief Whips' Conference. Government Chief Whips of the State Legislative Assemblies want their status to be raised to that of Ministers. This status-consciousness on the part of Whips was brought to the fore when in Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet, Shri V. C. Shukla was appointed Deputy Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.¹⁴ This appointment of Shri V. C. Shukla was resented because one who did not hold the post of Deputy Chief Whip was appointed a Minister. The Deputy Chief Whips wanted that someone from their ranks should have been appointed as the Deputy Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. Shri S. R. Rane, one of the Deputy Chief Whips had even decided not to be a candidate for Whip's post in future.¹⁵ Subsequently, because of the discontent among the Deputy Chief Whips of the Congress Parliamentary Party, the Deputy Parliamentary Minister's post was abolished and Shri V. C. Shukla was given another portfolio. It is however not clear how the appointment of Government Chief Whips of State Legislatures as Ministers will be useful and advantageous, and serve the interests of parliamentary democracy. The opposition parties are looking at this issue with suspicion. In their eyes it is nothing short of political rehabilitation of such ambitious party members who could not enter the portals of government by the front door. This recommendation of the Whips' Conference has not been accepted by the states so far.

The office of the Whip is of great responsibility. Disraeli has remarked that this office 'requires consummate knowledge of human nature, the most aimable flexibility

and complete self-control'.¹⁰ This is perhaps the most essential qualification necessary for the performance of this job. Normally senior party members are appointed as Whips. The reason is that they must know as many party members as they can and should be genial and friendly with them. They have to be good at winning and keeping friends for the party. They cannot bully nor can they coerce. They have to argue, persuade and convince in order to win over party members. The Whips are the 'eyes and ears' of their leaders and in turn they communicate the feelings of the members to their leaders. As Jennings has put, the Whips must know, 'when to cajole, when to persuade and when to threaten',¹⁷ the main objective being getting support to the party proposals within the legislature. The Whips, therefore, need great skill in dealing with the members of different temperaments in the party. If their support is to be secured then 'ruffled feathers must be smoothed and sensitive skins stroked'.¹⁸

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paedia of Parliament, Cassell and Co., London, 1961, p. 174.

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6. On his appointment as leader of the House in Mrs. Gandhi's cabinet Shri Satyanarayan Sinha remarked that when he was the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and Government Chief Whip, he also performed some of the functions of the leader of the House. The present Government Chief Whip and Minister for Parliamentary Affairs in the Lok Sabha is Shri Jagannatha Rao, *The Hindustan Times*, 18 Feb., 1966.
7. 'To have the quorum and to ensure that there is always a sufficient attendance of members to form a quorum'. Ivor Bulmer-Thomas. *The Party System in Great Britain*, Phoenix House Ltd., London, 1953, p. 110.
8. A system which enables a member who wishes to absent himself to agree with another member from the opposite side of the House to absent himself at the same time, thus neutralising their votes in any division which might take place during their absence. Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *op. cit.*, p. 432.
9. 'The Government and Opposition Whips constitute the "usual Channels", through which arrangements are made for facilities to be given for a debate on some particular question that has arisen. Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
10. *The Indian Express*, 5 Jan., 1966.
11. The constitution lays down the quorum as one-tenth of the total number of members of the House (Article 100(3)). For the State Legislatures it states "until legislature of the state by law otherwise provides, the quorum to constitute a meeting of a House of the legislature of a state shall be ten members or one-tenth of the total number of members of the House, whichever is greater" (Article 189(3)).
12. In the last session the quorum bell rang fifteen times in a day. *The Hindu*, 5 Jan., 1966.
13. *Hindu*, 5 Jan., 1966.
- Shri T. Vishwanatham, leader of the Opposition, expressed similar thought when there could not be a debate on the report on the Administrative Reforms Committee for want of a quorum in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly in the present session. *The Hindu*, 22 April, 1966.
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DEVALUATION : A CURE TO INDIA'S ILLS?

Prof. PERRAJU SARMA

The text-book arguments in favour of devaluation are familiar but they have no relevance in the practical world. The argument is that international prices are relatively free under a system of perfect competition and any country by devaluing its currency can capture a large share of the world market. But this is not possible especially for a country like India which has great supply difficulty. It is not important whether the rupee was over-valued or not previously, meaning that there is a gap between the official and market exchange rates but whether the Indian Union will be benefitted by the operation of devaluation. We have to deal with exports in particular because the crux of the argument for devaluation lies in the spin it is expected to give to exports. In the words of Dr. J. D. Sethi "in face of stagnant exports, the temptation to devalue is likely to be strong, but I think on balance, that devaluation would be injurious."¹

The structure of world trade reflects differences and disparities in the industrial structures and productivities of developed and under-developed countries. Growing disparities of technology between developed and under-developed countries presents the greatest disadvantage to international specialization and the working of price elasticities of exports. The developed and manufacturing countries tend to have a comparative advantage not only in the articles they export but also in the articles they import due to technological differences. So their technological superiority enabled them to out-compete the under-developed countries in almost every line of activity including mining and agriculture. So devaluation cannot provide a corrective to this malady. It is just like suggesting a simple solution to a complex problem.

The majority of Indian exports were necessities and primary products. In spite of fifteen years of planning there was not much diversification. Diversification of exports follows diversification of the industrial structure. No doubt there is a vast export potential. But devaluation will not release this vast potential. After a few more years devaluation may become profitable, when the basic industrial complex changes. As W. B. Reddaway observes "the growth of the exports is unlikely to be very rapid in absolute terms, since India will not be able to sell much abroad until she has fully mastered the production problems and is able to offer a supply which is reliable both in quantity and quality."² He also feels that the chances of increasing India's traditional exports is very small, even with devaluation and non-traditional goods have only just made a modest beginning both in production and exports.

The important point to be remembered is that if even the demand for our exports gets pushed up through devaluation, will India be able to export additional quantities? But price is not the only dominant factor, and the most important thing is the productive capacity of the country.

One of the biggest Indian exports is tea. There is no great difficulty in expanding the output of tea, though there has been deterioration of tea gardens of late. At the same time internal consumption of tea is fast increasing due to changes in the habits of living. Even if the price elasticity of tea exports is taken as unity we will not be able to expand our exports due to devaluation because the volume of production will be found insufficient. So it involves starvation of the domestic market and it may even push up domestic prices of tea extremely high. British tea companies having large investments in India were of

the opinion that the abolition of 2 per cent export incentive, coupled with the new levy would reduce the rupee resources available to tea companies for expansion and development.

The next important Indian export are jute manufactures. India used to have a semi-monopolistic position regarding jute previously. But now due to technological developments in the rival packing materials the market has become static. In addition to it raw jute is not available in large quantities. So we have to import raw jute. Even if we assume that there is a high price elasticity, the increased volume of jute goods needed for export will not be forthcoming because we have to depend on imported raw jute. Otherwise our factories will not be working at full capacity. Along with export duty some of the export goods will have to bear the burden of heavier import costs on raw materials and machinery. Jute is one among them. Jute mills for instance have to pay an extra cost of Rs. 23 crores on the import of 1.5 million bales of raw jute which has already been permitted in addition to bearing an export duty of Rs. 68 crores.

Any economist brought up on the doctrine of comparative costs would like to say that the only cure to India's balance-of-payments difficulty would be large-scale expansion of cotton fabrics. No doubt India is in a very advantageous position regarding cotton textiles. But it has many rivals in the world market and many under-developed countries are trying to have their own textile factories, as this industry is of prime importance. So the prospects for this industry are also gloomy. Price change alone cannot increase our exports as we have to face severe competition from Japan, China and Hongkong. "The history of India's exports shows that fifteen years ago we were able to export cotton fabrics worth more than Rs. 100 crores but for the last few years the level has been stagnant around Rs. 50 crores."³

So, on the whole the prospects of increasing our traditional exports are not so good, even if prices were to become more attractive through devaluation. Of late there has been a great deal of increase in internal demand due to growing population and increase in per capita consumption. And any price advantage which devaluation might fetch for our exportable goods will be offset by the imposition of export duty and the withdrawal of export incentives. Obsolescence of machinery in cotton and jute textiles, poor quality of raw materials, have all contributed to rise in internal costs.

In addition to the above mentioned handicaps, India has to face severe competition from Pakistan and Ceylon in the world market. Though Pakistan and Ceylon announced that they are not going to devalue their currencies, there is every possibility of their doing it at any moment. In that case there will be a price-war among all these developing countries. Consequently the external price of all these goods will fall and each country will earn less foreign exchange for a given quantity of exports. In that case the country whose elasticity or capacity to supply these goods is more, will be benefitted at the cost of others. Presently India will be in an advantageous position, as others will not be in a position to reduce their prices because of their costs, unless they devalue or take resort to some other indirect method of price reduction. In that case the advantages of devaluation will be nullified.

As regards India's modern exports, like manufactured goods and other consumer goods like sewing machines, cycles, leather goods and oil seeds, they are not yet of considerable quantitative importance. Such exports are not easy, though there will be a number of countries willing to import, because India has to compete with established producers in Western Europe and Japan. There is also a serious problem

of poor quality with regard to the goods machinery, transport equipment and manu- we export. A very strong argument against factured goods exhibit a high price elasti- the devaluation of the rupee at present city of more than unity, we will not be lies in the fact that the domestic supplies able to export them in large quantities. are inadequate, particularly of non-tradi- They are all exports which are of marginal tional goods. This is clearly reflected in significance. Finally, there are commodities internal inflation, which is due to the like iron ore, animal and vegetable oils etc., scarcity of commodities. Though there for which elasticities are positive and de- may be some increase in internal produc- valuation will mean absolute loss in earnings tion, rising levels of income at home draw from them. a large draft on the increase in production.

Manufactured products enjoying a semi-monopolistic position internally will have a strong temptation to sell in home markets at high prices rather than to compete in international markets with developed countries and thereby getting low prices for their products. Producers some- time find a deliberate restriction of output more profitable than a large output which will reduce both domestic and export prices. So we have not been able to de- velop more than a modest measure of export potentiality in respect of light engineering goods and other products of modern indus- try. Here we continue to be handicapped by our high costs. So devaluation cannot be used for correcting India's structural in- ability to export more.

So the Government has attached ex- aggerated importance to exports of non- traditional goods. The capacity of most of India's new industries is small and what is more, their dependance on imported raw ma'erial and components is still pretty high. For several years to come, India will have to depend on the traditional export items for earning the major part of her foreign exchange.

The following table clearly shows that the impact of price elasticity on exports is highly marginal. Exports will grow more, due to other factors rather than that of price. So exports have been steadily rising throughout the period, irrespective of the fact that there is a price fall or rise. So our exports depend more on the elasticity of supply. So price fall due to devaluation may not be effective in boosting our ex-

ports. Though modern exports like chemicals,

Table Showing the Index of Unit Value and Volume of Indian Exports during the III and Plan

Total Exports			Index 1958=100	
Year	Unit Value	Percentage change	Volume	Percentage change
1960-'61	110	—	100	—
1961-'62	109	—0.91	105	5
1962-'63	106	—2.75	112	+ 6.67
1963-'64	105	—0.94	126	+12.50
1964-'65	107	+1.90	135	+ 7.14
Over all				
1964-'65/ 1960-'61		—2.73		+35

Source : Monthly Commentary on Indian Economic Conditions—Indian Institute of Public Opinion—Blue Print; February, 1966.

Regarding imports, devaluation will simply put up import prices without reducing the imports. Generally economic development and rising national income produce a strong tendency for imports to rise rapidly. The propensity to import will be very high in under-developed countries. As the cotton textile industry was fully established in India, the proportion of her imports which took the form of simple consumer goods was quite small. We also should not forget the quantitative importance of intermediate products and other raw materials which are needed for use in further production inside the country. In addition to this India has to import large quantities of foodgrains. India has to depend for at least some time to come, on food imports. The fact that population is fast increasing accentuates this tendency. Our failure to increase productivity in agriculture is mainly responsible for our reliance on imports.

So practically there is very little to save in our import bill. The following table reveals the structure of imports.

The foodgrains imports are rising in proportion during the three Plans. But there was a fall in the imports of industrial raw materials. But a cut on this item will have serious repercussions on manufacturing industry. Heavy dependence on machinery imports has to be continued at least for some time to come. So saving in these three items will not be possible. And they will constitute 80 per cent of our imports. Any saving in the above three items will seriously hit the internal production and defeat the very purpose of devaluation. So devaluation would not reduce the level of imports as they have already been rigidly controlled.

The normal objective of devaluation is to curb imports and boost up exports. In India, under peculiar circumstances, devaluation is going to be accompanied by a liberalisation of imports. This itself shows the necessity of imports to feed the existing productive capacity. The financing of high import prices due to devaluation and more liberalised programme of imports is not an easy task. So it requires detailed scrutiny

TABLE: II

Commodity Pattern of Imports during the Three Plans.

Commodity	(Rs. in crores)					
	First Plan	P.C. of Total	Second Plan	P.C. of Total	Third Plan	P.C. of Total
Foodgrains	120	16	160	15	196	16
Industrial raw materials	263	36	314	29	334	28
Machinery and Vehicles	173	24	345	32	431	36
Others	174	24	261	24	220	20
Total	730	100	1,080	100	1,181	100

NOTE: figures of the 1st and 2nd Plans are quinquennial averages, and those of the 3rd Plan are the averages of first four years of the Plan.

Source: *Economic Times*, May 31, 1966.

by the Government and calls for speedier decisions.

Devaluation will increase the cost of imports. As a result of devaluation project imports during the fourth Plan, which we conservatively estimated at Rs. 2,480 crores will now go up to 3,893 crores of rupees. Similarly maintenance imports will cost Rs. 8,430 crores against Rs. 5,370 crores. These maintenance imports are very important for our internal production and exports. Debt servicing obligations will also increase and they have to be met out of the promised non-project aid. So far a country which has to have an import surplus for at least another ten years, devaluation is undoubtedly a heavy price to pay.

The protagonists of devaluation argue that import substitution has already taken place on a considerable scale and due to devaluation more will also follow. We are now less dependent on the imports of raw materials like jute and cotton for our industries. And we have become self-sufficient in respect of some engineering goods like sugar-mill-machinery, sewing machine and bicycles etc. But regarding the imports of items like newsprints, iron and steel and machine tools, we are even now quite considerably dependent on foreign countries and we continue to be so at least for some time to come. The most important thing is during the whole plan period no import substitution has taken place regarding food imports. Import substitution has not been commensurate with our requirements. Devaluation of the rupee would have been beneficial, had it been done after some time when a greater measure of import substitution had also taken place, especially in items like foodgrains, spare parts and components.

It is said that devaluation will only operate on the international plane and it will not affect the internal value and exchange. But the after-effects will touch the common man's pocket and it will have a profound significance to him. Due to the

rise in the prices of imports, the prices of those commodities which are having large import components will go up. The prices of import substitutes and potential exports will also go up. Devaluation will have the effect of encouraging exports. But to earn the same quantity of foreign exchange presently India will have to export more. The internal demand remaining the same, the domestic supplies will be less and consequently prices will rise. So the general price index will rise, which will be a heavy drain on the common man's pocket.

The imported foodgrains will now cost more. The Government may subsidise. If subsidies were to become a chronic feature, internal taxation is bound to go up which will affect the price level at all points. In spite of the strenuous efforts by the Government to hold the price line, there is very little likelihood of its being immediately effective. A rise in home prices will reduce the positive effects of devaluation. When prices rise, wages have to be raised and there will be a price-wage spiral. So the equilibrating tendencies of the relative change in export and import prices will then be cancelled out by rising internal costs.

In any case the behaviour of prices in the week following devaluation can hardly inspire confidence that the price line will be maintained. The consumer has begun feeling the pinch even within twenty-four hours of the announcement of devaluation and the subsequent changes in the rates of import duties. Non-ferrous metals, mercury, spices, vegetable oils, dyes and chemicals, cotton textiles and precious metals—all of these have recorded a substantial rise, ranging from 5 to 15 per cent in a matter of days. Even goods that are manufactured in India irrespective of whether they have any import content or not, are now costing more.

The subsidising of food prices to offset the effects of devaluation could at best be a temporary solution, but the effective cure

would be restriction of consumption, pending maximisation of production. There is an understanding that the Finance Ministry is considering marking up excise levy on some commodities to create an exportable surplus. This is part of an attempt to frame a policy curbing consumption.

In an inflationary situation, Government has to adopt a number of disinflationary measures so as to prevent devaluation from producing an inflationary effect. Indian planning has been inflationary as it is based on increasing domestic expenditure and deficit financing. Deficit financing of the order of Rs. 400 crores in 1965-'66 was a record figure, and it will have far-reaching implications even without the new inflationary threat that devaluation may bring in its train. So the most important thing is to give up, with immediate effect, deficit financing and those fiscal measures the impact of which on price level is not different from that of deficit financing. Cuts in Government expenditure, increase of taxation, discouragement of private expenditure and other deflationary steps are some of these measures. Devaluation could at best be a cure for past inflation but cannot be a prevention of future inflation and therefore, it had to be accompanied by even greater fiscal and monetary discipline and restraint on excessive wage increases.

Until such time as production is stepped up through larger imports of raw materials and components and conditions for cost reduction are created, devaluation will result in prices getting out of hand. If Government succeeds in preventing inflationary pressures gathering momentum, then devaluation would have succeeded at least in its negative role of arresting deterioration of the economy.

But despite such measures it becomes difficult to insulate the rise in prices completely and an upward trend in prices does set in especially when devaluation is effected in an inflationary situation. In the words of Dr. J. D. Sethi "if inflation is the

cause and devaluation the result, the formalization of devaluation will cause further inflation. Devaluation may be used after inflation has been controlled."⁴ Regarding inflation quite a good deal will perhaps, depend on the monsoon.

Due to devaluation an unstable situation may develop, which may involve even flight of capital and speculation as regards possibilities of further devaluation. It may also act as a sort of opiate on Governments. They will get themselves addicted to it, so much so, that we may find ourselves in utter economic chaos. The Finance Minister quoted the examples of France and Japan. But their cases were entirely different from ours. To be more realistic, we have to take the examples of Indonesia and other under-developed countries.

Devaluation can be of any benefit to only those countries whose demand for exports is fairly elastic, who have a considerable export surplus and whose products enjoy a fairly high elasticity of demand in foreign markets. The elasticity of supply for export goods both tend to be relatively low in our country, and it is possible that no long-term equilibrating process, with the help of the potentially high-long-run elasticity will ever appear. It is not enough to assume or prove that exports are elastic, the important question is the measure of their elasticity. A small elasticity, which seems to be the more plausible circumstance in India, will be of little use. So the success of devaluation depends on augmenting exports, which depends, in turn, on the successful squeezing of exportable surplus from the inflation-sick economy. In a period of scarcity and rising prices, devaluation will have an inflationary effect which it will not be possible to counteract by the recognised anti-inflationary measures. The advantages of devaluation will depend on our ability to increase productivity in both industry and agriculture. Then we will be in a position to hold the price line by holding the wage

line and by reducing costs. Otherwise devaluation may bring in its wake a demand for increased wages and lead to increased costs.

So the important thing is that in choosing new projects, emphasis should be on those which will yield quick results and strengthen the country's export capacity or on projects which have less foreign exchange components.

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British Character Of The Administration

It is amusing to find how the parrot-cry of British officials change with the exigencies of the times. In reply to the insistent demand for self-government on Colonial lines, Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India said that the Canadian fur-coat (of self-government) would not suit India, and that for as long a period extending into the future as his poor (poor, indeed!) imagination could penetrate, India must remain under personal rule, as opposed to representative government. Now, the British character of an administration, a phrase used by many Anglo-Indian witnesses before the Royal Public Services Commission, really ought to mean such things as 'no taxation without representation', 'government of the people by the people' and for them etc. If the Government of India is for ever to be personal or autocratic as it now is, how can it be called British in character? In India we can be deported without trial or even the formation of a charge, in England that is impossible. In England everyone can demand to be and is tried by his peers. Here that is rather the exception than the rule. Here British-born subjects are tried somewhat differently from Indians. There is no such racial distinction in England. Here very many officials perform both executive and judicial duties, in Great Britain, none. In the United Kingdom there is nothing like the Indian Arms Act. Britons can become volunteers, Indians cannot. In what, then, consists the British character of the administration? Lord Curzon thought we poor Orientals must be governed not through our reason (which we were perhaps supposed not to possess) but through our Oriental imagination i.e., by holding of Durbars, elephant processions, display of fire-works etc., and the Curzonian tradition has not yet died out. This, surely, is not a method born in the soil of Great Britain and prevalent and successful there!

Ramananda Chatterjee
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Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

FUTURE OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

During fifteen years of development planning successes and setbacks have underlined both the merits and shortcomings of plan strategy and the techniques pursued at various stages of the implementation of the Plans. Although the process may be claimed to have got off to a promising start at the initial stages of the exercise, more or less covering the period of the First Five Year Plan (1950-51 to 1955-56), shortcomings of development planning in the manner it was being undertaken in this country began to be felt even as early as the latter years of the Second Plan and which assumed quite alarming proportions by the time the Third Plan was even less than half way through. The situation, as it has since been developing would appear to have brought the whole theory of planning into disrepute.

Political Influences

Two years ago, when the late Mr. Shastri suggested the adoption of fresh and more realistic guide-lines for planning, such as quick implementation of old and unfinished projects before taking up new ones, greater emphasis on production of essential consumer commodities, enunciation of policies calculated to ensure price stability and larger employment coverage etc., the time seemed opportune for that unpalatable yet necessary reappraisal which had long been overdue. The proposals embodied in the initial draft of the Fourth Plan indicates a certain measure of rethinking in these lines, but the process does not appear to have been carried through to its ultimate logic. That the Third Plan had been dogged by a far greater measure of failures and shortfalls than achievements in real terms is a fact which is quite indisputable and which appears to be conceded even by the leading elite of the Planning Commission themselves. Yet there is an

apparent tendency towards persisting in old and provenly wrong policies.

That much of the failures of planning has been due to extraneous political influences coming to play upon its processes, quite apart from basic economic realities and considerations, would seem to be a fact which is without question. State enterprise in economic developmental programmes has not been new in this country. The State has been responsible for much of irrigation facilities such as they were, roads, railways, public health, education and a host of other activities for a long time past. But the State's participation in large industry has been new. In respect of old State-owned and State-managed enterprises annual budgets would set the limit of developmental activities for the ensuing years. But planning for five-year periods for the entire economy consisting of both the public and private sectors in a mixed economy in which the State would increasingly participate in a process of rapid industrialization, has been a new conception and indicate an improvement upon old methods in this behalf.

But the most distinctive feature of planning is not the increasing measure of State participation in industrial development, but the *national income* approach for determining the measure of over-all resources available for current consumption and investment, and the projection of the rate of growth attainable or that can be attempted on the basis of the assumption of resources arrived at in this manner. Once this broad framework of resources available for deployment in developmental projects has been determined, it is relatively easier to determine appropriate priorities and allocation of appropriate resources for ensuring a balanced process of growth. It is at this point that considerations of public policy and regional and national political influences and claims would appear to have somewhat divorced plan strategy from purely and strictly economic considerations. But for this obvious but far-reaching

distortion, the basic approach to planning, as initially adopted, would be considered to have been a sound one.

This admittedly sensible method of planning, which characterised the initial Five-Year Plan of the 1950-51—1955-56 period began, in practice, to be increasingly subjected to political pressures later on, compelling inclusion of more projects than would fit into the realities of the resources position or into a proper order of priorities. Plan estimates began to increasingly exceed estimates of the rate of national savings and probable levels of available foreign aid, virtually divorcing the process of planning from its fundamental approach,—that of limiting plan investments to real saving.

It was this abandonment of a scientific approach which led the planners and the Government of India to assume that some risks had to be taken so far as stability was concerned in the interest of more rapid and wide-based development when formulating the Second Plan outline. This was sought to be justified by an apprehension of recession following in the wake of a slight decline in the price level which made its appearance towards the closing years of the very modest First Plan. This was when the decision to resort to deficit financing for more rapid development was taken, a decision which would appear to have been rather grudgingly approved by the Bernstein Mission of the International Monetary Fund while, however, cautioning the Planning Commission against the dangers of excesses which would appear to have manifested themselves almost exactly as the Mission appeared to have apprehended.

The trouble in this behalf would appear to have mainly stemmed from a misconception of both the purpose and function of deficit financing, as well as in respect of its rather severe limitations. Without going into any of the complex mechanism of money and credit, deficit financing may be defined as something like an advance draft on future development. The dangers of corresponding inflationary pressures flowing from the process is all too obvious to be either ignored or evaded. But if the measure of additional capital resources drawn from this source were to be strictly limited to the *actual dividend* estimated to flow from the projects set up with deficit-finance capital within the predetermined period, and if suffi-

cient care were taken to ensure that none of this *created money* were allowed to flow into the consumption market inflating the measure of money supply with the public, the danger of inflationary pressures emanating from deficit financing should not have been very great. It is obvious, however, that extreme caution would have to be adopted that deficit financing was resorted to only in limited measures, within specified short periods and for the attainment of only limited and short period objectives. But the recklessness with which resort to this novel but rather risky method of financing development was made exceeding basic considerations of the broad real resources framework of the Plans and the limited objectives for which it was supposed to have been undertaken, had the effect of divorcing planning from its over-all economic framework, and inevitably made it the plaything of not always homogenous political forces.

Large Plans

The effect of all this might have been less disastrous if, in spite of the obvious and proven recklessness in deficit financing, plan implementation followed a pattern of closely fulfilling targets of achievements than they actually had. Unfortunately, however, it was in this behalf that planning would appear to have come the worst cropper. From a recent estimate of the outlays and achievements of the Third Plan, it appears to have been officially conceded that while outlays in the Third Plan covered approximately 98 per cent of estimated targets, plan fulfilment in terms of the rate of increase of the national income appears only to have reached approximately a 50 per cent level of assumed targets at current (1963-64) prices. The fact that the wholesale price index had spiralled upwards by approximately 30 per cent over levels upon which the estimates of the Third Plan were based, would help to heavily underscore the fact that this 50 per cent achievement of targets of increases in the national income has only been of the order of about 35 per cent in real terms.

In fact there would not be a great deal of harm, on fundamental considerations, in drawing up a plan far exceeding clearly visible resources, provided, of course, that planning was accepted as a flexible concept, which should be subject to

adjustment to the actual availability of resources for its full implementation. We have, from time to time, heard about the hard core of a Plan, which must be fulfilled to ensure the maintenance of the process of orderly and balanced development, with a larger and outer area of additional projects called non-core projects which would be fitted into the Plan implementation process only and when additional resources are made available for undertaking them. Unfortunately, however, this hard core of a Plan would appear to have remained mainly a theoretical aspect of planning, and too much and too many were being sought to be done at the same time which were beyond the limited area of available resources, with the result as already described above. In fact the need for fixing firm priorities to separate the hard-core from the non-core projects of a Plan did not begin to make itself felt until difficulties began to crop up around the middle years of the Second Plan, but the lesson does not appear to have been well learnt. For, with the Third Plan, difficulties began to be experienced almost from the very beginning, and a far worse situation emerged under the compulsions of which a number of low-priority projects in both the public and the private sectors had to be unceremoniously abandoned, which might well have been omitted at the very beginning far less painfully than it had to be done at the end. This irrational system of planning has been a heavy burden on resources as would be quite apparent from the large outlays, conforming almost wholly to original targets in this behalf, while achievements in terms of the rate of increase in the national income has been relatively very low. Much of these resources for outlay have been drawn from deficit financing, correspondingly increasing the measure of money supply and contributing in like measure to the constantly and upwardly spiralling inflationary pressures on the economy.

In fact one of the main lessons of planning so far undertaken would appear to be that while there were several instruments of planning suitable for application in a developing *mixed economy* were there for effective use, scant regard was paid to bringing them into play. The main indicators of economic health—or the lack of it—would appear to have been ignored and although the Planning Commission could not quite conjure out of existence the problems of price,

balance of payments, and the poor rate of increase in agricultural and industrial production, they still glibly continued to fix outlays regardless of these vital factors, leaving the Government no option but to regulate the increasing distortions in and pressures upon the economy, as best as they may, through a host of controls, fiscal measures and other indirect expedients which, of recent years, have been proven to have wholly failed to achieve their avowed purpose.

One very vital lesson of this experience should have been that planning in a democratic society and for a mixed economy cannot be substantially successful, if its contours and dynamics are determined without regard to the market forces which determine both the health or sickness of the economy, as well as the steady expansion of resources needed for long-term investment. Agricultural prospects are wholly dependent upon private sector decision and enterprise except for such incentives and facilities that the Government are able to provide from time to time; industrial production in the private sector is virtually the only source of supply of consumer goods and construction materials; large outlays in the public sector indirectly influenced private sector investment and development, although limitations of foreign exchange and other real resources helped to decelerate the rate of development in this sector also.

Inflation and Development Planning

All the achievements of the first three Five-Year Plans—and these might have been considered to have been not inconsiderable but for the severe distortions developing in the economy as a direct result of planning in the manner it was being undertaken—might have been quite feasible without the raging inflation that has accompanied them, if one of the main objectives of development with *stability* had been adhered to from the very beginning. The rot would appear to have set in when it was assumed that a rapid rate of development was not quite compatible with stability, and a constantly rising price level was an inevitable price that had to be paid for a high rate of development, regardless of its ultimate economic and social consequences. Inflation also inevitably accentuated already existing disparities and had the result of unevenly distribu-

ting the gains of development, such as they were. Traders, contractors, black-marketeers and others profited from rising prices and tax evasions, alongside of the extreme hardships to the more overwhelming sections of the population. Such a situation also contributed to the diversion of resources for under-cover speculative enterprises, which might otherwise have been available for legitimate investment in industry and agriculture.

The confusion in thinking which would appear to have been mainly responsible for the present unhappy state of affairs, must be cleared, if planning for the future at this stage has to be invested with a fresh purpose and more legitimate meaning. The fallacy that stability is a static concept and is incompatible with the requirements of a high rate of growth, needs to be discarded for a renewed stress upon stability as an essential factor of *genuine development*, not the kind of *spurious development* with which we have been made familiar over the last fifteen years, and which snatches away every increase in the rate of wages or dividends earned by a corresponding—or sometimes even considerably more than a corresponding—rise in the price level. It has been proved beyond any shadow of reasonable dispute that sacrificing stability *does not, necessarily, ensure a high rate of growth*, and that in the absence of efficient use of capital in conformity with appropriate criteria for investment priorities, what the Planning Commission declare to be an irreducible minimum, is wholly unacceptable as the least required for achieving a specified rate of economic growth.

Realistic Balance Sheet

What would appear to have gone wrong with planning from the very beginning is that instead of basing estimates of plan investment upon a realistic balance sheet, of existing and potential (drawn upon estimates of savings flowing from increased production) real resources, and working out the ways in which they could be allocated respectively to consumption, (including defence and non-plan requirements), and to investment under the plans in both the public and the private sectors, the plans have been drawing up estimates of requisite outlays, and including projects therein to cover the order of outlays projected, and then go hunting for resources, real and arti-

ficial to fit into the pattern so devised. The criticism that the more scientific method of planning as described above would savour too much of totalitarianism or, at least, undue centralization of the plans, would not seem to be backed by a great deal of logic for, to be legitimately a proper plan, it has to be centrally conceived and directed (perhaps, even implemented), due regard being had to regional needs and claims being fitted in appropriate juxtaposition to similar other needs and claims, into the over-all national plan. The obvious confusion in both concept and methodology in this regard would seem to call for immediate and expeditious correction.

Above all, the Government's budgetary policy should not be allowed to continue to meekly subserve the unrealistic assumptions of the Planning Commission, as it appears to have been doing for quite some years now. Apart from the paramount need to discard deficit financing, not merely in form but also in spirit, the practice of financing capital outlays from out of revenue surpluses, would appear to be a questionable one. A high bank rate reflecting the measure of scarcity of capital may be an advantage in that it may serve as a test of productivity and prevent uneconomic use of capital; but such a test would obviously seem to be evaded when public sector capital outlays are sought to be financed out of taxes and revenue surpluses, thus evading the fiscal discipline which is the obvious purpose of a high bank rate.

Finally, the order of priorities in the plans would seem to call for a thorough probe and review. One of the main tendencies in industrialization as envisaged by the Plans has been to go in increasingly for technology-based and largely capital-intensive industries. This would seem to repudiate the basic realities of the residuary economy upon the foundations of which a process of rapid and large-scale growth is ostensibly being sought to be built up. We have been constantly pointing out that our basic problems are: a deficit agriculture, an inadequate industrial sector, large and rapidly increasing areas of unemployment and, above all, scarce and slow capital formation. Even if the present unhappy inflationary situation may have yielded more job opportunities in the short period than could otherwise have been bargained for, it has also attenuated the real value of wages and other fixed incomes. The realities of our basic economic problems would seem to argue

a development process which would increasingly widen areas of labour-intensive industries with their far larger employment potentials and relatively low capital requirements. This is an aspect of development, and we consider it a vital aspect of it, which would appear to have been more or less wholly ignored by both the planners and the Government.

The above is all too brief a resume of the lessons of planning as we should have learnt it during our last fifteen years' wasteful exercise in this pastime and which should form the basic guide-lines for the framework of the Fourth Plan. Unfortunately, the inadequate details of the discussions at the NDC on the Fourth Plan that have found their way into the public press, do not seem to encourage the belief that the lessons of our past experience in this behalf have at all been learnt even sketchily, let alone learnt well.

Parliament's Public Accounts Committee And Ministerial Lapses

The echoes of what has been known as the notorious Bhoothalingam case, would appear to have caused far wider ripples and eddies of deeply disturbing currents in Parliament and Government, than would normally have been considered possible. It is all to the good since, it may be presumed, Government as a whole and individual Ministers in particular would now be more circumspect in the distribution of their favours to fortunate individual and business firms which have, often, been found to have been indulged in at the expense of and to the detriment of the public exchequer. Thanks for the disclosures which have led to a spate of exposures of instances of at least reckless inconsequence, if not quite culpable complicity, with which Ministers in high positions have been found to distribute largesse to all and sundry, including, as in the present instance, to those who have been previously pronounced to have been guilty of misdemeanours or lapses meriting punishment, are due to Parliament's Public Accounts Committee. The findings of the PAC, in the very nature of things, cannot be expected to have any preventive content and the manner with which instances of lapses and defaults are found to be later repeated in spite of the PAC's findings and comments and, significantly,

in spite of the Government's formal acceptance of around 90 per cent of the Committee's findings as being both legitimate and indisputable, the usefulness of the PAC's rather strenuous labours would seem, ordinarily, to be practically limited only so far as they assist in building up a vigorous and vigilant public opinion.

But what is public opinion in this country in the present stage of her political development really worth? When Mountbatten, with the approval of the British Cabinet suddenly advanced the dead line for handing over power in India to indigenous organs by about a year than originally contemplated by the Cabinet Mission, the Indian National Congress, although in repudiation of all its previous pledges to the people it acquiesced in the decision to partition the country as an essential condition-precedent and basis of transference of power, was caught on the wrong foot as it were. It was obviously not quite prepared for the event so early and so suddenly to be thrust upon the country—the decision was made public by Mountbatten, it may be recalled, only as late as June 3, 1947 and the deadline for handing over power fixed at midnight of August 15, the same year; just a little more than two months later—and did not know how to create a new organ sufficiently strong and commanding public confidence and trust which could take over power from the British within such a short while. It was, thus, more or less compelled to repudiate another one of its fundamental and long and repeatedly held out pledge, that the Congress would never inherit power, but would automatically dissolve itself on the attainment of independence which was its only *raison de etre* for existence, and transformed itself into the new sovereign Government of India. This was, perhaps, a compulsion of history in the context of the conditions and events of those hectic and dramatic days; but there were more powerful forces like those of greed of power (and that the prospects of loot also may not have activated the thinking of at least some among the Congress leaders of those days, may not be wholly without question) etc., which obviously ignored the only possible solution of the problem, that is, the Congress took over power as a care-taker government until such time as a proper Constitution was framed and adopted and, on the latter's promulgation, the

Congress as a political organ dissolved itself. If the top Congress leaders were able to divest themselves of the very natural human failings to which they, as much as lesser camp-followers, were prone, and had dealt with the situation with courage and imagination, the incubus of power could not possibly have sat upon their shoulders as heavily as it was later found to do and much of the muck and filth that clutter up our political life today might have been easily avoided.

But they proved themselves understandably weak and, in spite of the wise counsels of caution sounded by Mahatma Gandhi and others, they rushed in with their unweildy and cumbrous and loose-jointed party machinery to permanently grab the seats of power. In order to do so they fashioned, or caused to be fashioned a type of Constitutional machinery based more upon the demands of expediency rather than on the fundamental and enduring lessons of history; the expediency, that is, of the need to hold together the organization as a political party in power largely on the basis of distribution of patronage. Even then, it was not very easy to handle, and a further step in the wrong direction was taken when it was decided to openly canvas business houses and trading organizations etc. for financial assistance in order to be able to hold the party together and to enable it to continue to occupy the seats of power. In the interest of truthfulness it must be conceded that the Congress has only been able to largely and, generally overwhelmingly, buy itself back to power at the last two general elections with the help of funds placed at its disposal by interested business houses, trading organizations and others. Those among the top-ranking leaders of the party who at first encouraged this evil practice must, if they were really honest and imaginative, have realised the burden of corruption and nepotism that it would be bound to unleash and impose upon not merely the ruling party, but upon political life in the country as a whole. It was an inevitable logic of the steps thus taken, that public life in the country would begin to more and more lean upon not merely tolerance, but even, on occasions, acceptance and encouragement of evil, and now the rot would appear to have spread so far and wide that even those among the Congress leaders who would be glad to make an end of this sorry state of affairs, find themselves entirely

powerless to do so. Public opinion in the country to-day, such as it is, has been built upon this philosophy of tolerance, if not quite encouragement of evil; and when instances of evil and questionable practices by the bureaucracy or even those by its masters in the highest offices come to light from time to time, as they still do occasionally, there is only a temporary ripple on the surface which dissipates itself soon enough into apathetic acceptance of the evil as a necessary concomitant of our current public life. Largely illiterate and wholly unacquainted with the processes and nuances of so-called modern parliamentary democracy as the population of the country in the mass are, they cannot be blamed if they are used to looking upon such instances of lapses at high elevations as being of no concern to themselves.

Nevertheless, it is the duty of those who can think independently of the rather vicious atmosphere which they are compelled to breathe, to offer their comments on such instances as the one under discussion, for whatever they may be worth. There is not the remotest prospect of their being worth anything in the immediate context but, may be, in the long run, they will begin to be heeded some time in the future when the immutable compulsions of history may no longer enable those now in power to hold back the process of a complete purge of our public life of its present load of muck and filth.

Now, looking at the whole thing from a dispassionate point of view, what strikes one most forcefully is the alacrity with which certain Ministers of even the highest Cabinet rank, come to be guided by their bureaucratic underlings in matters where the use of large discretions are involved or even allow such discretion to be exercised by the latter without reference to higher authority and, when instances of even *prima facie* culpably wrongful use of such discretion come to light from time to time as they inevitably do now and then, to go all out to justify or protect their underlings. Mr. Bhoothalingam, former Steel Secretary and now posted in the Finance Ministry, was held by the PAC to have been responsible for the wrongful issuance of import licences for a very large amount to a certain business firm, even after the latter was held guilty of certain misdemeanours meriting punishment. When the matter was brought up before

Parliament, Finance Minister Chaudhuri at once jumped upon his feet to repudiate that Mr. Bhoothalingam had anything to do with such wrongful issuance of import licences. The PAC later confirmed their earlier findings in this behalf and were prepared to listen to any extenuating defence that Mr. Bhoothalingam might like to proffer before finalising their report in this behalf, an offer which was presumably rejected with obvious non-chalance, if not quite contempt. It was in course of further examination of the case by the PAC that the fact was discovered that an earlier order blacklisting the firm in question and advising other Ministries of the Government to prevent further dealings with the firm, was later rescinded or, at least, modified personally by the then Steel Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam. When this latter fact first came up before Parliament, Mr. C. Subramaniam waxed indignant over the whole matter, repudiated any personal connection with the incident and was even understood to have made certain impertinent observations about the PAC's findings. Later, however, wiser counsel seems to have prevailed, and Mr. Subramaniam had not merely to eat humble pie publicly over the matter; he went even to the unprecedented length of requesting a hearing before the PAC to enable himself to offer certain explanations. The PAC conceded the request, but such explanation in extenuation of his most extraordinary action that he was able to offer to the PAC appears to have left the latter wholly unconvinced and in a further report they have unequivocally confirmed their earlier findings. This naturally led to a storm in the Lok Sabha where the Opposition demanded his resignation and also charged that he had been guilty of a breach of privilege of the House as he had attempted to deliberately mislead the House. The former had not been conceded, and the latter demand was rejected by the Speaker; but the Government have agreed to the institution of an inquiry into the whole matter; when and how this inquiry would be held, and what would be its terms of reference, are matters that have to be finally decided yet by the Government.

We would not, therefore, presume to anticipate the findings of a possible inquiry committee in this behalf. But what we would like to point out with all the emphasis at our command is that when large ministerial or bureaucratic

discretions condition the administration of controls in what may be termed is virtually a controlled economy—and when the exercise of such discretions are not normally subject to confirmation and review by higher authority, abuses of such discretion to favour individuals and firms especially in the context of the manner in which the present ruling party continues to hold on to the seats of power, would be quite inevitable and inescapable. There have been innumerable instances of complaints of discretionary favours being granted to parties which have favoured the ruling party or even individual Ministers with donations to its or their election funds. It is almost an open secret that distribution of transport licenses depends upon the measure of financial assistance candidates are prepared to offer to the ruling party's election funds; that in the process individual officials in authority or even local Congress bosses may not be wholly free from deriving profit to their individual pockets is a question, which might usefully form the subject-matter of a searching and thorough inquiry. Complaints have been frequent and loud in this particular area, but Government have remained both indifferent and apathetic. There are other areas also where the exercise of official discretion should merit open and public inquiry. There is, for instance, the question of foreign exchange allocations for travels or visits abroad. The rule is that no foreign exchange allocations would be made for any but absolutely essential travels abroad. But to decide what should be considered essential in this connection is left to the discretion of certain officials only. There are reasons to believe that these officials are not wholly immune from the influence of party bosses or other like influences, for instances of merry parties of pleasure-seekers travelling abroad are not wholly rare. Only certain broad principles are understood to have been laid down guiding the allocation of foreign exchange for travels abroad which may cover quite a multitude of exceptions for which there should be no legitimate excuse. Ministers and officials are also often held to have been exceeding the limits of legitimate need and to indulge in what can only be holidays abroad at public expense.

Abuse of discretion is a very common and all too frequent human failing. Ministers may not be wholly immune from this common failing. When a Minister uses his personal discretion to

grant certain favours, there is normally no one above him to question his decision. To enjoin that a Minister's discretion in such matters should be subject to confirmation by the Cabinet would be an impossible burden upon the Cabinet. Abuse of discretion by any Minister, therefore, when it is pronounced to have been so by an impartial and non-party organ like the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament, should be considered wholly culpable, and it would be a healthy innovation to lay down a convention in our currently corruption-nepotism-sick public life and Government, that a Minister found guilty of such abuse immediately forfeits his seat in the Council of Ministers. But where a Minister in the exercise of his wide and untrammelled discretionary powers is found to rescind without adequate and sustainable reasons a previous order of punishment against any individual or firm awarded by either himself or a colleague, it should invariably be made subject to confirmation by a higher authority, preferably by a Cabinet decision. Without going into the particular merits or otherwise of the case in which Mr. Subramaniam now finds himself involved which should now, properly, be the responsibility and the prerogative of the promised inquiry committee these are certain principles and conventions which the Government might usefully consider introducing into the curricula of their daily work.

Gulzarilal Nanda's Apotheosis

Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Home Minister, when he first joined the Union Government many years ago, came with an aura of incorruptibility glistening like a halo around his head. As a Minister of Labour and Planning his acquittal of his responsibilities were considered to have been at least wholehearted and straightforward, even if they might not have been pronounced to have been equally successful. But when the late Mr. Nehru was compelled to elevate Nanda to the Ministry of Home Affairs on the quittal of the late Lal Bahadur Shastri in pursuance of the edicts of the now notorious Kamraj Plan, greater hopes were entertained about his usefulness to the Government and the country when he so boast-

fully declared that he would either weed out corruption from Government within the next two years or would leave the Cabinet. We, in these columns, then doubted the *bona fides* of his possibly sincere and well-intentioned pledge in this behalf, but never had any suspicion that he was not quite honest in his boastfulness. Many more than two years have since gone by, Nanda has not been able to weed out corruption—its measure to-day is obviously far wider than when he first assumed charge of the Home portfolio—nor has he redeemed the pledge to otherwise resign; in short, he has indubitably proved himself to be quite as amoral as any run-of-the-mill Congress leader of to-day.

But as the days go by, he appears to have been piling in fresh virtues. A certain national newspaper recently published a highly colourful account of a supposed plan of country-wide sabotage stated to have been decided upon by the left C.P.I. at their recent high level and secret conference at Tenali. When challenged in Parliament that the report was obviously inspired by official sources, Nanda denied the accusation. In an editorial the newspaper concerned related certain facts and made certain insinuations which unmistakably point to the Home Ministry as the source of the particular news upon which the original newspaper story was based. The subject is now sought to be made a privilege issue in the Rajya Sabha and no comments can, therefore, be offered thereon pending the Chairman's decision on the issue. But apart from the technicalities of Parliamentary procedure, and even apart from the immediate issue leading to the motion of privilege, those who have watched the evolution of Nanda the incorruptible and the invincible Knight of integrity and rectitude of some fifteen years ago, Nanda the halcyon apostle of non-violence and truth, under the burdens of his ministerial responsibility, would be convinced of his complete apotheosis. There have been more killings by police firing upon unarmed crowds during Nanda's term as Home Minister, than there have been during any half-century of alien British rule; and prevarications are, of course, a common diet of his day to day Parliamentary pronouncements!

HAZARDS OF WRITING : LABEL, THE LEVELLER

K. SREE RAMA MURTY

It is said that the primitive man had an uncanny fear of the unnamed and unnamable forces and agencies of nature. The moment he could give a name to the agency or phenomenon he felt more at home with it. The name was the talisman that familiarised the unknown, reduced the fear and made the other almost part of oneself. A word, suggests German Theologian Gerhard Ebling of Tübingen University, is not merely a means of conveying information ; it is also a symbol of man's power over nature and of his basic impotence. That this might be true is borne out by similar feelings found in modern man particularly with respect to some dangerous diseases. Our reverence for the experts and specialists is most often due to the fact that they know names for things unknown to us, and most often the names are so high sounding that they make a tremendous impression of the experts on us and even give us an illusion that we too are participants in the expertise.

"What is in a name?", questioned Shakespeare "that which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet" (Romeo and Juliet). He thought that the label was not important, it was only the reality that mattered. We know that labels mean a lot to-day. Rose, sold under a different label will fetch a different price. Rose, used as a class symbol can mean different things to different people. What sells is the label ; what releases libidinous energy is the slogan ; not a rational exposition.

The modern managers of political propaganda and commercial advertisements are progressively making use of the most advanced techniques of persuasion depending on the latest findings of analytical researches in the field of psychology. Most of them are directed towards conditioning the mass mind for right responses to selected slogans of political propaganda or for the sale of cosmetics and cornflakes. J. B. Priestley has coined two suggestive words "propmass" and "admass" for the masses propelled by propaganda and allured by advertisements respect-

ively. Underlying these techniques is the theory of conditioned reflexes pioneered by the Russian psychologist Pavlov, the complexes deliberately formed in these cases with words, names and labels as the nuclei. In the emotionally supersaturated chamber of the human mind the labels in their tracks form nuclei for the condensation of proper responses, as the ions in the paths of the fundamental particles form the nuclei for condensation and formation of drops of water in a Wilson's Cloud Chamber, thus making the path of the particle visible. This is manipulative usage of the fundamental propensity in man to weave magic spells out of sounds and words ; only whereas the primitive magic spells liberated man from fear, the modern spells of magic subjugate him politically or loosen his grip on his purse strings.

This problem of labels has innumerable facets. Leaving aside the pernicious effects of deliberate manipulation of human minds through labels with the aid of powerful media of mass communication—like the television, the radio and the press—readily available to politicians in power and businessmen with money, labels have an autonomous mode of operation of their own. We are so much used to classifying and categorising people that we are deceived by the labels we ourselves put on people and cease to think of them as men. Most of the prejudices are petrified on account of the labels once stuck and we refuse to see anything in a person beyond what the label means for us. Even such eminent persons like Voltaire could not be exempt from the operation of these labels. When Voltaire visited England he found himself in the midst of a hostile crowd bent on lynching him just because he was a Frenchman and that label was sufficient for an Englishman of those days to inflict any punishment on even a man like Voltaire. Voltaire, instead of getting panicky, turned to the crowd and addressed them in words similar to these ; "Am I not already punished (by God) by being born French ? What greater

punishment could you inflict on me?" That pacified the crowd for it was convinced that there could be no greater punishment.

These labels not only determine our attitude towards others fixing our attention on the superficial and the contingent, they have also a tendency to erode the human element in ourselves, for we become, by an inevitable alchemy, the labels we wear. The epitaph on a Scottish gravestone is quoted to run :

"Sacred to the memory of Tomas Jones

Who was born a man and died a grocer"

Tomas Jones started his life as a human being but died as a social machine, a machine that made money by weighing sugar and tea.

The subtle effect of dresses and labels on individuals is very much recognized from times immemorial. In the story of Ramayana we come across an interesting example of this effect. Mandodari, the wife of Ravana suggests to him that it would be easier for him to overcome the resistance of Sita for his overtures of love if he could approach her in the garb of Rama, which he could very easily assume. Ravana replies : "I have already tried the trick. But, when I put on the garb of Rama and assume his name I have no longer the wish to seduce another man's wife".

It is in recognition of this effect of names on persons that euphemistic names are used for professionals earning a living by labours not considered very dignified. Ronald Fletcher, a sociologist from London University says in his talk over the B.B.C. (*The Listener* : August 1, 1963) :

"I was much impressed, in a recent programme on open prisons, by a prison governor, who, speaking of the people in her prison, would use the word 'inmates', or indeed any word other than 'prisoners'. She refused, as she said, 'to put a prison label on women who come to this place'. And why? Because it stood in the way of their regarding themselves as human beings; and stood in the way of other people treating them as human beings".

In the fields of criticism, literary or otherwise, the labels have been playing an increasingly greater part. It is recognised on all sides that there has been a very great inflation of the critic in the recent past particularly due to the domineering influence of Mathew Arnold, T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis on English literature, and through English literature on other litera-

tures. My purpose here is not to discuss about the legitimate function of a critic but simply to draw attention to some aberrations that have been perpetrated in the name of criticism. But it should be pointed out, in passing, that the movement is afoot for the deflation of the critic to his appropriate stature. A critic is usually not a new thinker; he simply takes over his first principles from the existing social milieu may be with some modifications. Yet, he is more like a conversationalist, talking about books. It should no doubt be an enlightened conversation, being the end-product of a cultivated mind that has voluntarily exposed itself to extensive reading. A good critic should really send the reader back to literature giving him the additional enlightenment of his own wide reading and cultivated sensibilities.

One of the unfortunate tendencies in criticism has been grouping and labelling the writers and artists. There are, instances, of course, where the writers collect themselves into a group for some reason or the other. In a recent instance reported in the *Times Literary Supplement* (April 29, 1965) five young writers coming from the German-speaking world formed themselves into a group known as Gruppe 47. They are quoted to have said : "We are thrown back on improvisation". The result has been : "The participants were in a position to dedicate themselves to literature for five months undisturbed by financial worries". But most often the grouping and labelling is done by critics much to the embarrassment and harassment of the writers and the artists involved.

Quite frequently the grouping is done on a chronological or historical basis. But this method has the great disadvantage of making one forget that the essence of a creative work of art or writing can never be expressed in terms of changing history, the Heraclitan Flux, but *sub specie aeternitatis*. If the historical or social relevance is the yard stick by which works, of art are measured, we should certainly find ourselves deprived of some masterpieces—probably all the masterpieces for their claims for being masterpieces should be based on something enduring.

It has also become a fashion to probe into the letters, published and unpublished, of the writers addressed to various friends and ad-

mirers and consider the contents of those relevant to the aesthetic judgements made concerning the work of art. Commenting on this aspect of the problem of critical judgement, the main article in the *Times Literary Supplement* (Jan. 20, 1966) has this to say: "The best letters are nearly always those which seem to tell us more about the poet's personality than we can find out from the poems, but it would need a fairly thorough-going kind of biographical critic to insist that such a knowledge has more than a marginal value on how the poems should be judged. It can be misleading or at least interfering to learn that poet X is really much more vain, or cruel to animals, or politically indecisive than can be measured from his work, and the poet Y has no more claim upon our sympathy because we find he did good works than when we merely knew he did bad work".

Rudyard Kipling wrote in "The Appeal":

"If I have given you delight
By aught that I have done
Let me lie quiet in that night
Which shall be yours anon:
And for the little, little span
The dead are borne in mind,
Seek not to question other than
The books I leave behind".

This putting of labels and grouping of writers has the effect of diverting the attention to the superficial similarities—sometimes even those being imaginary—in a group of writers from the uniqueness of a writer's contribution. The consequences may be very painful and even end the careers of writers who would otherwise have made their own contributions to the world of thought and literature. A very interesting example of this phenomenon of labelling and its devastating effects is afforded by the case of Colin Wilson.

Colin Wilson is the author of a series of six books analysing the contemporary society and thought, known as the "Outsider Cycle", about half a dozen novels and a few books on biography and autobiography. "The Outsider Cycle" is a series that started with 'the Outsider' in 1956, continued with 'Religion and the Rebel', 'The Age of Defeat', 'The Strength to Dream', 'The Origins of the Sexual Impulse' and ends with 'Beyond the Outsider' published in 1965. Readers of Albert

Camus would have noticed that the nomenclature of some of these books has a resemblance to those of Albert Camus' books in translation, particularly "The Outsider" and "The Rebel". It is not a mere superficial similarity in names. Colin Wilson has also been grappling with the problems raised by existentialism as Albert Camus did. He observed that existentialism as developed by Heidegger, Sartre and other thinkers drifted away from its original foundation of the personal and actually been led into labyrinths of personal prejudices and individual whims of later existentialists. He was attempting in "The Outsider" to restate the problem to get it back to its origins and to establish a continuity in existentialist thought. This effort is analogous to what Martin Buber tried to do for socialist thought in his book "Paths in Utopia", wherein he tried to show how the flow of socialist thought originated by Robert Owen and other thinkers, branded as utopian subsequently took an unexpected turn due to the peculiarities of personal traits, intellectual and emotional, of Karl Marx and how the word 'Utopian' gathered stigma in the hands of Karl Marx. Martin Buber made a very valuable attempt at restoring the flow of socialist thought by linking it with the original sources and putting it in the right channels, with what success is yet to be known.

"The outsider" received such a wonderful critical appreciation and its author was so much boosted up that the author Colin Wilson himself was highly surprised. He writes (preface: "Beyond the outsider"—1965): "However, it soon became apparent to me that I had been caught in a curious Vortex which had nothing to do with my book or my ideas. In fact, I owed my sudden notoriety to the accident of being a contemporary of a number of writers who were labelled 'Angry Young Men'." Readers of *Encounter* of 1956 would remember how meteoric has been the rise to fame for Colin Wilson. Mr. Wilson ruefully remarks, in parenthesis, in the preface mentioned above that he never quite discovered what he was supposed to have in common with Mr. Kingsley Amis or Mr. John Osborne with whom he was branded together. "By late 1957, everyone was heartily sick of the angry young men. 'Religion and the Rebel' received the back wash of their publicity—and my own. The fury the book seemed to arouse was startling. Even the least 'intellectual' newspapers fell on it with scorn and

dismissed it as a kind of confidence trick. Mr. Wilson's 'game of intellectual hooky' is certainly up' declared a popular magazine designed for weekend reading. But a well-known critic who called 'Religion and the Rebel' 'a very bad book indeed' (admittedly in the course of defending me) later admitted to me that she had not read it, and one of the reviewers who had praised the 'Outsider' later defended himself by claiming that he had only read the publisher's blurb, and thought it deserved a good review."

This is the strange predicament into which the writers are thrown on account of the labels. Praise and blame are apportioned depending on the fashion of the day and the attitude that prevails towards a label at the moment and not on the basis of intrinsic merit of the work. It was the label 'Angry Young Man' that had done and undone Mr. Wilson. Boquets one day and brick-bats the very next day but precisely for the same label. Colin Wilson is quoted to have written in one of his essays in the recently published book, "Eagle and Earwig":

"Reviewers who detest the very idea of a writer becoming involved in the publicity machine should realize that it is a machine and that the writer is caught up in it".

The publicity machine deals in labels and the labels thus used become all the more potent for mischief. Commenting on this, the main article in the *Times Literary Supplement* (October 21, 1965) makes the following comment: "Mr. Wilson has been a victim of the machine. The world of modern publicity is one in which what goes up must not simply come down: it must be positively torn down and trampled upon".

This process of critical 'tearing down and trampling upon' did not stop in the case of Colin Wilson with his second book of 'The Outsider Cycle'. When his 'Age of Defeat' appeared in 1959, "to my irritation, the intellectual atmosphere had not changed noticeably in the three years since 'The Outsider' was published. The

criticism still had the same note of violence, as if my publishing a book was a kind of calculated affront. A critic who had hailed 'the Outsider' explained to his Sunday newspaper audience that the book was a kind of literary sight-seeing tour. I began to feel as bewildered as Einstein might have felt if the *Daily Mirror* had dismissed Relativity as an attempt to replace the cross-word puzzle with a more pretentious type of conundrum".

I have quoted extensively from Colin Wilson to give first-hand information as to how bewildered a writer feels when he is lifted sky-high and pulled down and trampled upon for reasons not connected with what or how he writes. It is only the fascination of his own ideas that kept Colin Wilson going on with his writing. "The dangers of worrying too much were obvious. I had seen several young writers badly hit by critical malice—the back wash of Angry Young Man Publicity—and a few of them had simply ceased to write".

If a few young writers of promise had to stop writing just because critics chose to stick a label on them and the label subsequently went out of fashion, the situation is very disturbing. It is true that an artist should not think in terms of ephemeral fashions and should rise above fashions to create something enduring and permanent, that which cannot easily be disposed of. But, if he is 'caught' in the machine of publicity there is precious little that he can do about it. It is the enlightened critics and discerning readers that have to realise the dangers of labelling and being guided by labels if the writer is to get his fair share of hearing before he is judged. The writers in their turn should be wary of developing a personality cult for it is as dangerous in literature as in politics. Labels are dangerous whether one sticks them to oneself or gets them stuck by others. Let us, as critics and readers tear away a label as soon as we come across one and look at the article itself for its real value.

GLIMPSES OF THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN TRIBES

R. S. MANN

India has been a melting pot of different races with varied cultural and ethnic composition. In spite of the assimilation and integration of certain groups with neighbouring communities, there are still some distinct pockets wherein reside people with peculiar customs and a distinct way of life. The pressure of traditional forces as well as the relative isolation of many communities has isolated them in an old socio-cultural milieu. Communities with more or less distinctive characteristics can be found in different parts of the country. Apart from the non-tribal Hindus and other communities, the tribal population of the three geographical Zones of India, shows more distinguishable features. The tribal population of India according to the 1961 census is 29,885,470 which contributes 6.81 per cent to the total population. The highest number, 6,678,410 is recorded in Madhya Pradesh, then come Orissa and Bihar with 4,223,757 and 4,204,769 respectively. Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and West Bengal have slightly more than two millions of tribals each. Punjab is having the least number (14,132) of tribals. Of the total tribal population, 97.4 per cent people live in rural areas and only 2.6 per cent have settled in urban areas, mainly of Gujarat, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Assam and Andhra Pradesh.

These three crores of the tribals constitute a very sizeable group of the Indian population. Independent India cannot afford the isolationist policy practised towards these people by the British Government. Special provisions for their protection and safeguards included in Indian Constitution are being implemented. A shift in the policy of isolationism to integration of the Indian tribes was indeed a very healthy trend towards the betterment and development of this weaker section of the Indian public. Lakhs of rupees have been spent as subsidies and loans. No doubt a review of the substantial achievement and physical targets in tribal areas would not give a very improved picture for decades but still the intensity and degree of success can be accelerated if we first properly identify their problems and the requirements. This identification would require both, patience and a correct approach. Success or failure would mainly depend on the functionaries of the Tribal Development programme. They have to explore more and more areas of tribal social, economic, political and religious organisations because it would reveal in detail the pattern of our tribal life. Once this is done, one would come close to tribal life and culture and consequently sell his ideas better to the tribal population.

There can be two categories of problems in regard to the tribals; one which they face and the other which the functionaries face. Attention has, however, been concentrated on the former. Further, there are problems which are more or less common for Indian tribal population as a whole and there are also others which are specific to different tribes. For instance, Khasis of Assam belong to a matriarchal society and in most of the spheres of life, the females play a dominant role in the life of the community. The society of Jaunsar-Bawar is a polyandrous one and a female keeps more than one husband, mainly brothers. This fraternal type of polyandry can be attributed to the scarcity of females and also economic reasons. The

rights and privileges of the eldest brother are comparatively more in comparison to younger brothers. Thus the structure and function of the family are more or less different from the non-polyandrous society. Likewise in the polygamous society of Bhils, the role of females in the community's economic activity is much more dominant than that of the males. Socially, the status of a man goes higher with the number of wives he has. In patrilineal societies like those of the Gonds, Oraons, Santals etc; the role and status of the male is higher. He, not only inherits property in the male line but also acts as the head of the family. Thus, when the organisational, themal and functional perspectives of the tribes are different, they are bound to pose different types of problems which may not be very vital but need to be thoroughly understood.

Further, in order to understand the life and culture of a tribe, it would be appropriate to study the clan, sib, sept or any other divisions based on social, economic, political or religious grounds. For instance, the Bhil clans residing in the plains of Madhya Pradesh may not have identical ways with the Bhils of Mewar and Panch Mahal district of Gujarat. Sehrials living in dacoit infested areas of Morena, differ in certain aspects from the Sehrials of Rajasthan. The problems which the former face because of the impact of dacoits on their social structure, are mainly of a different nature than those of the latter.

Thus in order to plan for development of a tribal group or to understand its ways and problems, one has to know about its various clans and other divisions. But, for a better understanding of these groups, it is further indispensable to analyse the individual and the smallest and the most universal social group i.e., the family. These units which ultimately form the bigger groups, are to be understood in the same context and in those of the environments where they exist. It may, however, further be pointed out that it is not merely

the geographical placement of different tribal sections in different regions which makes them differ from one another but also the economy within which they live. The nature of the economy not only differs from tribe to tribe but sometimes within the same tribe the sections follow different professions. Though a majority of the Indian tribals, about 90.5 per cent now practice some form of agriculture, some are still continuing with other occupations. The pastoral Todas of Nilgiri Hills rear buffaloes and their entire economy and social organisation to a great extent revolve round the buffaloes and the dairies. The Kotwalias of Gujarat earn their living through basket and mat making. Now partly settled, but still a section of the Birhors in Bihar depend on monkey catching and rope making. Even among the Bhils, one finds that a majority of them are settled agriculturists, some practice shifting cultivation (Valar Kheti) in Kotra and there are others who serve as labourers and also depend on a collective (District Surat, Gujarat) economy. Therefore the nature of problems as faced by the tribals, differ not merely from tribe to tribe but even within the same tribe. As a result of this, no uniform policy, even for the same tribe would be of much use. Here comes our functionary who has to evolve a policy for planning suited to the local people and the conditions thereof. It would not merely be harmful to the worker, but more to the poor tribals if schemes are unthinkingly imposed on them. A very important factor which is more applicable in the present rapidly changing conditions is the distance factor. We have to measure the socio-cultural and techno-economic gulf that exists between the rural-urban and the tribal groups. The isolated, semi-isolated and acculturated tribals have to be dealt with separately. The tribals living in the interior hills and the forests, as Marias of Bastar, definitely have some problems distinctive from those living in the rural and urban areas mixed

with non-tribal populations. The socio-economic conditions and the cultural organisation of those living with non-tribal Hindu population since years past, have undergone considerable change. But their brethren, claiming the same descent but living in hills and forests, still retain many of the old traits and complexes. The point of emphasis here is that in the pre-planning stage and while making a basic survey of the tribal communities, living with non-tribal population, care must be taken to study more of the transition aspect and its consequences. For Santals, Khasis, Gonds, Bhils etc., are acculturated groups, their policies are to be traced more in regard to their changing conditions. Also, the nature of study among Bison-Horn Marias, Hill Malapantram, Paliyon, Paniyan and Kadars who are not very much acculturated, may be designed or made in a slightly different form.

Some Common Problems

1. **Indebtedness:** Before the penetration of money lenders in their world, the tribals exchanged goods and other commodities though by barter at the weekly markets or occasional fairs. Their needs were also limited. Indigenous songs, folk-tales and folk-dances supplemented their joy and happiness. For centuries, they had been leading this type of life. A high degree of community life was observed among them and the idea of rich and poor or subordinate and supra-ordinate could hardly arise. The Continuity of this spirit can now be found only in a very fragmented form. The penetration of non-tribals in tribal areas made them money-minded. Also, the needs of the tribal people got multiplied. The Sawkars lent money to tribals who gradually fell victims to them and could never come out of their clutches. The average family debt is quite high in certain states. Among the tribes of Madras, it ranges from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500; in Mysore, from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500; in Rajas-

than it is Rs. 179; in certain parts of Bihar 90 per cent families are in debt. Great advantage was taken of the ignorance of tribal people. Even in bride price which they previously paid in kind, the practice has now been replaced by money payments. In certain tribal areas the bride price has gone as high as rupees one thousand. For a tribal family in general, it is very difficult to manage this price from one's own income. He again goes to the money lender and incurs a debt. Likewise, there are many other rituals and ceremonies at the time of birth, death and house construction which require money to give feasts to the community. Thus, apart from the economic cause, the tribals have to approach a Sawkar for social needs. It is not only the need compulsive, but also convenience which makes a tribal go to the nearest financing agency i.e. the local money-lender. I am here reminded of a Bhilala in Alirajpur Block, who came all of twenty miles to a money lender in Alirajpur to take five rupees for buying some medicine for his wife. In most of the areas the tribals have been badly over-powered, economically, politically and socially by the money-lenders and the former have been almost reduced to the position of serfs and slaves. The Doms and Koltas in the northern districts of Uttar-Pradesh serve the higher castes from generation to generation as the latter provide economic protection. This forced or bonded labour is known by different names in different areas. In Rajasthan, it is called Sagri; in Andhra Vetti, in Orissa, Gothi; in Mysore, Jetha and in Madhya Pradesh Naukri Nama. A man pledges his person and sometimes a member of his family against a loan. Even the Dhebar Commission and the Verrier Elwin Committee reports on the basis of the study of different tribal blocks in India, have mentioned that there is extreme poverty among Indian tribes and that apart from other factors, the Sawkars are mainly responsible for that. They have grabbed most of

their cultivable land. A Parsi of village Panchol, Vyara Taluka, District Surat, came to the village from Bombay in the first quarter of the 20th. Century and established a wine shop. The Gamit, Choudhury and the Bhils became his customers and after some years this man became a land lord, from a landless settler. Many such examples in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh where Murias and Marias live, are available. The cooperative credit societies, the grain golas and consumer stores in some tribal areas are meant to help the tribals to come out of the clutches of Sawkars. But these have hardly made any significant contribution. (Except Andhra Pradesh and a few other areas). Unless something is done to fulfill the immediate social and economic needs of the tribal people and unless their economics improve, the position of indebtedness among them would create more problems, both of a socio-psychological and economic nature.

deforestation and soil erosion. This has been banned in many tribal areas. I am not much in favour of shifting or slash and burn cultivation but as an Anthropologist, I feel that the loss of cultivable land and at the same time stopping of shifting cultivation has not only involved economic loss to the tribals but has also affected their corporate life. Except labour and wood cutting which are not whole time jobs, many tribals remain without work and cannot improve their economy. As suggested by many, the forest cooperative societies can to some extent come to the rescue of the tribal population. For instance in Bishanpur Block of Bihar and in Panchol Block of Gujarat, the forest cooperative societies are serving well the Oraons, Gamitis and Choudhury respectively. But in many other places where the non-tribals have appropriated managerial functions, the Adivasis have not got any benefit out of them.

Shifting Cultivation :

The average land holding of the tribals has decreased partly because some of their cultivable land has been grabbed by the non-tribals and partly because of the increasing pressure of population. Nearly 26 lakhs of tribals in the North-east and Central Zone do shifting cultivation. In tribal areas this cultivation is known by different names such as Jhum in Assam and Tripura; Bewar or Dahiya in M.P. Podu in Andhra Pradesh, Koman or Bringu in N. Orissa and Gudia in S. Orissa. The trees and bushes are cut and when they get dried, they are burnt before the rains start. The seeds are then broadcast on the layers of ashes which germinate and grow when it rains. This type of cultivation was common in the absence of advanced technology, because of certain superstitious beliefs and because of environmental conditions. The experts feel that this is quite an uneconomic enterprise as it leads to

Socio-Religious Problems :

The isolation has its own problems as it mainly stops culture growth and causes stagnation of the community. But culture-contact too equally concerns the sociologists as it poses many problems, especially in the adjustment of the communities influenced. Secondly, the motive and the nature of contact also explain the possible consequences which can result from the culture contact. Before the Tribal Development Programme many people (leaving aside few welfare agencies) entered tribal areas with certain specific motives, either economic or proselytisation. As has already been explained the traders and money lenders exploited the illiterate, simple and straight-forward Adivasis. Even some of the government officials, especially from the forest and revenue departments and the contractors took undue advantage. The Christian Missionaries, though they assist the tribals to lead a better life, are there to

to proselytise; these have created many social problems. Many outsiders, including some officials and non-officials, who are not yet trained in tribal life and culture, have hardly any sympathy for these people. The contractors give them lower wages than what is prescribed, the forest people charge for the headload which the tribals are entitled to without payment. Some outsiders have introduced moral corruption. The youth dormitories, where tribal boys and girls used to have a free life and which formed an important part of their social organisation and community life, have already started disappearing. At many places the outsiders have made efforts to share sex with tribals and as a result the latter have gradually started closing the dormitories. During the course of my ethnographic survey among the Oraons of Bishanpur Block, I was informed in many villages that their Dhumkuria life is gradually finishing off because of the interference of outsiders. Even in some other places where pre-marital sex life is free or where women are allowed to keep lovers, some outsiders have caused trouble. Further, the establishment of various commercial concerns in tribal areas has had similar effect. The tea gardens of Assam, the steel plants of Madhya Pradesh and some other hydro-electric projects have introduced new liquors, gambling and exploitation of sex to some extent. The labourers of these concerns when they come in contact with urban people, adopt many of these things. Likewise, with more and more contact with the Hindus, the ideas of caste and untouchability have also become popular. The Juangs and Bhuiyas, have already demarcated among themselves various social groups, sometimes corresponding to caste, who have become endogamous and consider themselves as higher and lower than one another.

Further, the tribals are relatively cut off from the rest of the Indian population because of the lack of communication. In

most of the areas where there are thick forests and high hills, the transport facilities are very meagre. Secondly, illiteracy, and the absence of the knowledge of neighbouring and other languages, is keeping them in isolation. The illiteracy and communication too, are thus acute problems of Indian tribes. In conclusion it may be summarised that :—

1. some problems are basically inherent in the life of the tribals and they have been conditioned by their surroundings to a great extent to face them. Thick forests and hills regulate their way of life, as is in the case of shifting cultivation.
2. Many problems have come up as a result of the culture contact with non-tribals and other outsiders who have come and settled in the tribal areas. These include traders, contractors missionaries factory workers and others.
3. Wrong and unsympathetic approach of administration and officials in the past years have also caused hardships and disorganisation in the lives of the tribals. The isolationism caused by British Administration by keeping the tribals in excluded and partially excluded areas is an example.
4. Simplicity and ignorance attached with tribal culture has been taken advantage of by others who exploit them and create trouble.
5. Certain customs and traditions in tribal culture directly or indirectly, have contributed a great deal to the creation of some problems. Youth dormitories and sanctions of extra and pre-marital relations have not been properly respected by others.

6. Some politicians and anti-national elements, mainly to grind their own axe, have from time to time given wrong directions to certain pockets of these simple folks and thereby caused trouble. These people wrongly interpret government policies and make the tribals hostile to them.

By now, two things in regard to the problems of tribes have become very clear; one is the approach of the welfare or the extension worker and the other the problems and the causes thereof. Keeping in view the nature of the social organisation, the economic system, the degree of culture-

contact and the form of acculturative influences, the task of identification of tribal problems becomes quite easy. Once the problems are identified the planned and rapid development of the tribes becomes smooth. This would further give rise to an appropriate integration of the tribes into the main stream of Indian population. Thirdly, the troubles, both political and otherwise, which have come, for example, to Nagas and Mizos of Assam and Gonds of Bastar, etc., would be minimised. Lastly, the provisions and safeguards given to Indian tribes in the Constitution would rightly and timely reach the tribals at village level.



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

AN OUTLINE OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY BY V. P. MENON; published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chowpatty, Bombay 1; Demy/8vo, Pp. 84. Price Rs. 3.00.

This slim volume presents in book form the author's Birla Endowment Lectures to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The Foreword has been written, needless to say in highest possible eulogistic terms - by Lord Mountbatten of Burma of whom Mr. Menon was the principal aide and adviser during those hectic but dark days following the Second World War, when world pressure and the immutable decrees of history compelled the British, however reluctantly and sorrowfully, to abrogate their empire over India. British statesmen of an earlier generation had already visualized that the immutable processes of history would, sometime in the future, make such a decision both inevitable and inescapable and they had already been preparing, in gradual stages in advance, so that when they had ultimately to face such an unpalatable decision, they left behind them, in the memorable words of Rabindranath Tagore, "only a vast heap of futility" and "stark misery." Instead of the united and politically and administratively homogenous India which, it must be conceded, it was mainly the British imperial power which had very largely helped to fashion and forge for the first time in known Indian history, they thus left behind them a seething cauldron of corruption, disunity, heterogeneity, hatred and violence. In course of his preword Mountbatten observes, "In March 1947 . . . I soon realised that nothing I could do or say would reflect the Muslim League from its intention to make an issue of partition of the country . . . and so India was partitioned . . . it was impossible to give everybody satisfaction, for had that been possible my services would never have been required—long ago the leaders would have found a solution without the tremendous turmoil and riots then going on in India."—A type of half-truth which the British have been justly famous for all through modern history.

This, however, does not detract from the merit of the Book which principally lies in the fact that it seeks to present an objective and comprehensive view of British Indian history and developments that ultimately led to the transference of power in August 1947, in easily understandable, common or garden work-a-day language and, what is considered its greatest merit, completely free from any of the usual trappings of pedantry. The value of the book to an objective student of India's

constitutional history would be the more obvious when the fact is underlined that the author had a very large and significant part to play in the fast kaleidoscope of fascinatingly dramatic events following the end of the Second World War, and which acquired an almost dizzily accelerated momentum during the short period between March and August 1947, immediately preceding Independence. In fact, the actual plan of partition, on the basis of which the British ultimately handed over power to India and the newly conceived and constituted State of Pakistan, and which came to be publicly known as Mountbatten's *Notional Plan* of June 3, 1947, was really the handiwork of Mr. Menon himself in his capacity as the Reforms Commissioner. When, sometime between April and May 1947, Mountbatten recommended that in the event of a failure to agree on the Cabinet Mission Plan by the Muslim League and Congress leaders, power may be transferred to the Provincial Governments, leaving the princely states to come to whatever arrangements they may make with one another and with the Government or Governments of the day, V. P. Menon, realising the dangerous implications of such a decision, produced an alternative plan and, in the event of that being rejected in favour of the one already recommended by Mountbatten, he made known his decision to resign his post, as he did not intend to be officially associated with a measure which was bound to plunge the whole continent into utter chaos and turmoil and than which even a partition of the country, however reprehensible, was far more to be preferred.

The book is inevitably highly controversial despite the fact that Mr. Menon, in spite of his intimate and personal involvement in the thickest of the events, have tried, as far as is humanly possible, to maintain a dispassionate objectivity of outlook. His obvious admiration for British statesmanship and institutions may not find a great deal of responsive echo in many Indian hearts; and unlike many thinking Indians he may not agree that there were deliberate design in the shape of things as they had eventually worked out to in the end on the part of the British, so that when the compulsions of history made them relinquish their vast Indian empire, they left behind not merely an empty husk, but the seeds of dissension and hatred for all future times to come. Nevertheless the book is a fascinating study of the deepest possible interest to a bona fide student of Indian constitutional history and problems, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan deserves to be congratulated for having thought of bringing it out in book form in so handy a volume.

—Neelkantha Sahachar

Indian Periodicals

INDIA'S SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

India's system of education has, from time to time, been subjected to a great deal and variety of discussion and criticism. The general feeling prevailed that the basic structure of the country's educational system did not conform to a rational and broadbased educational philosophy which would be calculated to carry the benefits of education to the population as a whole. It was felt that the system of education which had, over the two centuries of British rule, developed along lines which would be calculated to serve the needs of the alien administration rather than the basic purposes of a popular and broad-based educational structure. There have been changes since Independence for which a great deal of virtue is claimed by our present indigenous rulers; but of a general levelling up of popular educational standards there does not yet seem to be any emerging sign. A general survey of our system of education by Sri S. C. Chatterjee, published in the February 1966 issue of the *Science and Culture* should, we feel, merit careful study and discussion if a more rational and wholesome system of education for the country and her peoples are to be aimed at in the future :

In the beginning of the last century, as England gradually established her supremacy in India, conditions changed rapidly, and our educational structure began to disappear. There being a great demand for junior officials to render administrative work, general attention of the Government was directed to higher education and, therefore, comparatively much larger amounts of money was spent on secondary and university education. The result of such a policy on the part of the administration has been disastrous. The high schools and colleges began to develop much more rapidly than primary schools, and the condition of the masses became deplorable.

Pre-school Education

There is no department in the whole of our educational system that has been so much neglected as the education of the pre-school child. This is partly due to the lack of money for building, equipping and staffing necessary for running separate nursery and infant schools as we find in Western countries, and partly due to apathy on the part of the general public that do not yet understand the aims and functions of pre-school education. The problem has not yet been acute chiefly because ours being an agricultural country, the vast majority of our population live in villages where there is large space for young children to move about; but with the industrialization of the country and the consequent concentration of the population at various centres, conditions are rapidly changing and there is a general demand for sound pre-school education for very young children. The school authorities are also fully conscious of the value of pre-school education to the community and are now trying to do something to satisfy the demands of the public.

With the reorganization of schools in general and the development of primary education in particular, suitable education for children of pre-school age will be considered as forming a part of the national system of education. The public should also be made to realise that the period of life before the age of five is the most important part on which the whole foundation of the school system rests.

Primary Education

The problem of primary education being at the root of our educational framework, should receive primary consideration from the educational authorities, and the disparity in expenditure between primary and higher education should be removed. The condition of teachers on whom rests the efficiency of the department should be improved. They should be better paid and more efficiently equipped to discharge their onerous duties.

No doubt, the meagre financial support given by Government is chiefly responsible for this state of affairs; but there is something else too; there is great wastage in the primary department resulting in constant

withdrawal of children before they even complete the primary course. Moreover, due to defective methods of teaching and unfavourable home conditions, there is retention of pupils in the lower classes for more than one year. Obviously wastefulness and stagnation are due to various causes, but the administration is also to blame. There is irregular attendance of both staff and scholars, want of qualified teachers chiefly due to inadequate salary, and incompetent inspection in both quality and quantity. Furthermore, the sudden devolution of authority from one government to another has caused the latter to pass on to inexperienced local bodies immense responsibilities for primary education, and since these authorities have started to appoint, transfer and dismiss teachers on political grounds, primary education has made no headway even under a national government.

Here is an indictment of the irresponsible acquittal by constituted authority of its very basic responsibilities to the people, which would seem to strike at the very root of our educational system, such as it is today. The writer speaks of political influences operating to condition the status and even the security of the teacher. What must be regarded as even more serious is the undeniable fact that authority has been given to local bodies, generally controlled by a body of illiterates or only half-educated people, to lay down basic policies and to enunciate techniques in a trade of the quality of which they are, generally, wholly incompetent to judge. The writer goes on :

With the reorganization of schools in general, and primary schools in particular, suitable education for young children will be regarded as forming a part of our national system of education. Each primary school should, therefore, provide an infant class and four primary classes to meet the needs of the children between the ages of five and ten ; and the methods of teaching should be adjusted accordingly. Since at present there exists great differences between our town and village life, and there will be for some time a large number of over-age pupils in the primary schools of the rural areas, we propose that the primary schools may be brought under two clear-cut denominations : the Urban and the Rural Primary Schools. The former may continue the same type of work as is being done at present ; but the

latter containing a large number of over-age pupils may adopt a project curriculum based on problems typical of their environments. If possible, each village school should possess a farm of its own in which every child must do some work connected with cultivation : but its education should not be exclusively agricultural. As there is a likely drift of the rural population to urban areas, the rural child must be educated to meet the changing conditions. The school should, therefore, give a broad general training not merely as a cultural background, but to cope with the altered conditions of life. With the extension of education to the countryside, the difference between country and village (urban) life will be less, and then there will no longer be any necessity for two different types of schools.

Post Primary or Intermediate Education

The recent tendency in our educational thinking—the little there is of which we have been getting evidence—appears to lean more and more upon a beginning of specialization at the comparatively early stage of post-primary education. What is now defined by the rather ambiguous term '*vocational-education*' has been the recent vogue and which seems to borrow its vocabulary from the French and the Japanese systems. This ignores the claim of the traditional school of thinking that a sound basis of general *liberal* education should cover the entire field preceding and upto the beginning of a higher secondary syllabus—before specialization with any kind of a vocational bias should be allowed to begin. The present writer seems to agree with the more modern school of thinking that specialization should start, directly the primary course has been completed :

In the case of pre-school and primary education the matter has been simple, as they have to provide only one kind of education ; but when post-primary education is concerned, we have to consider various factors, viz, equality in educational opportunities, training for citizenship, the employability of the adolescent, and the rapid mechanization of economic life accompanied by an extension of leisure.

So far as our present condition is concerned, we believe that two types of post-primary or lower-secondary

schools will be necessary, each being complete in itself and yet related to the higher stage. One kind will prepare students for arts and sciences and the other for industry and commerce. While making this sort of a proposal, we are fully conscious of the administrative difficulties of separating scholars for the different types of institution; but it is not advisable to prescribe only one type of education for all. We would, however, add that the first two years may be spent by all in general education, so that the teaching staff may judge and select pupils as to who are fit for a purely literary type of education and those for work of a more practical nature. The French system of providing each school with a teacher who is a specialist in educational guidance, and the Japanese system of ignoring the social position of parents in the selection of scholars for the specialised courses of study, should be adopted in our schools.

At the end of the lower secondary stage a public examination should be held with separate papers for the two different groups of candidates and should certify the satisfactory completion of the course of lower secondary education. Finished products at this stage will, in rural areas, mostly follow their parental occupation and engage themselves on their own lands and farms; while the majority of those belonging to the urban areas will settle down in private business and industrial work. Only those who are of special merit and can earn scholarships, or those fortunate enough to inherit an assured economic position will be able to continue their studies at the Higher Secondary Schools.

Higher Secondary or Collegiate Education

For the stage at which the post-primary or intermediate course of studies has been passed, the writer advocates something like a multi-purpose higher secondary or elementary collegiate institution which will offer opportunities of specialization in various fields:

Like the lower secondary stage, higher secondary or collegiate education has also to serve two ends. It has to provide a variety of courses as well as meet requirements far more complex. We may here accept the new American system of establishing a three-year higher secondary school after the model of the three-grade senior high schools of the United States...for students aged 15 to 17 years.

A change will also be needed in the university system. The first year of the present Intermediate class should

be incorporated in the higher secondary schools and all the existing junior and senior technical and vocational schools should be abolished, their subjects having been taken up by the different courses of the higher secondary school. This should also require a reshuffling of the curricula of the existing technical, industrial, commercial and vocational schools, which may be converted to the status of higher secondary schools. An attempt should be made to harmonize and correlate the literary courses with the vocational ones.

... Then there is the question whether all kinds of higher secondary education should form different branches of one self-contained institution or whether there can be different schools for different types of education... there is much to be said in favour of an amalgamation of all branches in one institution. This will facilitate readjustment of courses... Class distinction and group consciousness will be reduced to a minimum and both kinds of scholars—academic and practical—will gain by mutual contact. The theoretical course will gain fuller meaning... (and) students taking vocational courses will come in contact with the more academic side of their practical problems. Thus all the branches of education will be enriched by the free exchange of ideas and the traditional distinction between *cultural* and *vocational* will disappear.

At the end of the higher secondary stage there should be a public examination in different groups separately, but certificates for all the groups... should be of equal value... The main object of such an examination is to divert students into different channels according to their inclinations and capacities...

University or Higher Education

There has long been a sharp cleavage of opinion on the question as to whether technological and professional studies should be pursued under university aegis or should be under the control of separate institutional organizations. The increasing realization of the vital importance of a basic grounding in the humanities even for students of higher technology has been underlining the value of university-based technological education. The latest trends have been to convert large technological institutions following recognized university curricula in their syllabi of instruc-

tion into universities and then integrating into its teaching curricula instruction in the humanities also. The writer seems to particularly underline this particular aspect of university teaching :

Till recently the efficiency of a university college . . . was judged in terms of examination results and, therefore, the entire energy of the university or college staff was given to routine teaching work ; but now the unitary as well as the residential universities are regarding "research" as an integral part of the teacher's work . . .

Another problem which our universities should

contemplate more seriously is the provision of higher professional courses in technological subjects besides the usual courses . . . The problem has recently become serious (and it is agreed) that (i) the basic technological training is best accomplished through the universities and should form an increasingly important part of university studies in the relevant faculties, (ii) to enable the universities to perform this function, the Central and State Governments should be requested to give special help to the universities for this purpose, and (iii) as an essential for a degree in technology, the basic technological training should be supplemented by training in special industries by means of demonstration plants and, later, in commercial factories and workshops.

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Foreign Periodicals

BEHIND MOTHER RUSSIA'S SMILE

France's General de Gaulle has been increasingly proving himself to be an object of suspicion to the U.S.A. and to some of the U. S. dominated NATO powers of the West. It is also fair to concede that the General, on his side, has made no secret of his dislike for and contempt of Lyndon Johnson's America and has even threatened to withdraw from the NATO alliance in Europe. To cap it all, his recent good-will visit to the U. S. S. R. where he has been made especially welcome and even lionised would appear to have more than ordinarily ruffled his already suspicious allies. Writing in the *New York Times*, columnist G. L. Sulzberger says :

From the point of view of General de Gaulle's ruffled and somewhat suspicious allies there is no essential disagreement about the desirability of improving East-West relationships. Nevertheless, there is much worry about the way France's President sets about courting Russia. Nobody believes he will sign any bilateral military or political pact during the next ten days when he is the Kremlin's most important post-War guest, but some diplomats fear the groundwork may be laid.

There is a basic difference of opinion on the U.S.S.R. between de Gaulle and most other Western leaders. The General tends to think of eternal "Mother Russia," France's traditional friend, and to regard communist rule as rather ephemeral. Certain NATO capitals warn that the Soviet Union remains large and mighty, essentially a dictatorship, with an ideology innately suspicious of and hostile to the West.

Many allied leaders, disturbed by their rift with France, keep in mind that Moscow is still committed to altering the *status quo* by changing the foundations of non-Communist societies. These leaders reflect on the danger that Russia might hope to benefit by assisting French efforts to modify NATO and thereby weaken the West.

The interesting thing about Moscow policy is that it is conceived by the Communist Party, not by the Soviet Government, and it is largely applied by the K.G.B. or secret police (once called Cheka, O.G.P.U. and N.K.V.D) and known among the Party members as the "sword of the Revolution."

This is really the organization that carries out many of the activities abroad known in other systems as "diplomacy." In fact, the combined membership of the K.G.B. and G. R. U. or military intelligence service, is far larger than the roster of Soviet Foreign Ministry. The G.R.U. is subordinate to the Defence Ministry. The more significant R. G. B. which really applies major diplomatic policy, is administered by the Communist Party's Central Committee.

It is the extensive net-work of intelligence services abroad which impinge upon its diplomatic organization is what would seem to make the U.S.A., apprehensive of what Soviet pressure through de Gaulle to modify NATO the might mean to the Western World. Sulzberger further elaborates the picture thus :

Sixty per cent of the approximately 6,000 Soviet officials stationed outside the U.S.S.R. today are actually career officers of either the K.G.B. or G.R.U. The proportion is even higher among accredited Russian diplomats. The entire Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow includes some 1,300 people and among them at least a third are intelligence professionals.

Almost half of Russia's 75 envoys to non-Communist countries today are affiliated with the K. G. B. or G. R. U. The present Soviet Ambassador to Havana, who uses the name Alekseyev, is actually a full colonel in the K. G. B. named Shitov, originally sent to Cuba to organize clandestine security. Four out of five Soviet diplomats in Camaroon are intelligence agents, thirteen out of sixteen in Ethiopia, seven out of eight in Senegal.

This network is supported by a Special Branch of the K. G. B.'s foreign directorate created in 1959 and called Department D (for Denzinformatsiya) or

"Disinformation." Among other things, Department D is in charge of international projects such as the disruption of NATO. It seeks to influence political decisions of foreign Governments, to isolate the U. S. A. and to aggravate discord among Western nations.

The work of K. G. B. and G. R. U. is enhanced by agents in key foreign positions. Kim Philby, once considered a possible future chief of British Intelligence, was a Soviet spy. Heinz Felfe, head of West Germany's counterespionage against Russia, was Moscow's man. A French official in NATO, arrested in 1963, was recruited by Russia nineteen years earlier. So-called "agents of influence"—persons working secretly for Moscow to influence the decisions of their own Governments—include the President of one West-European country, parliamentarians, Politicians and ambassadors.

This apparatus is carefully controlled by the Soviet Communist Party's revolutionary "sword." And between 150 and 200 officials are recalled from embassies each year for disciplinary reasons. Recently General Sakharovskiy, chief of the K. G. B's foreign intelligence directorate, ordered all missions to review their "agent assets," "and to improve their work against the West, especially the U. S. A."

Because such secret expressions of Communist party aims remain more important than traditional diplomacy in the U. S. S. R., there is today an edgy feeling among some of France's friends as de Gaulle takes off on his historic journey.

It is in the context of these above-mentioned facts that de Gaulle's recent Russian visit would seem to be loaded with such sinister significance, coming, especially as it did, in the wake of the increasing intensification of Franco-U. S. differences on the question of the vital Nato alliance. Sulzberger concludes :

The General is a most un-Marxist historian. He believes in the deeds of great men and the poetry of great peoples ; in Russian grandeur rather than ideological intrigue. This, of course, is a useful background from the point of view of the skilled human engineers in Department D.

France's allies, bruised by expulsion from this country's previously hospitable soil, wish they were on

somewhat cozier terms with the General. They would like to confide some of their forebodings concerning the intentions of his hosts ; but is it, after all, necessary to teach Machiavellianism to an expert ?

The Importance of Sufficiency

It is an economic truism that the strength and pace of advancement of the industrial superstructure of any nation, whether they belong to the more *advanced* and *developed* category of nations or are among the *under-developed* ones, would have to depend, primarily, on the strength of its agricultural base. This would seem to be as true of what are euphemistically defined as the *free economies* of the democratic world, as of what are known as the *totalitarian* state-controlled economies. The fact, any close study of the history of industrial development of any of the more advanced countries would demonstrate that the process of rapid industrialization which has led to their present advanced state, could only start after, and *not before*, a strong base of *surplus agriculture* had been laid. Most nations which had endeavoured, from time to time, to reverse this immutable historical process, have been found to have come to grief. One of the latest examples of such tragic experiences has been that of India, but the economy of the U. S. S. R. has been no less a sufferer from this illogical endeavour to reverse the process of history. The *Time* comments editorially under the above legend :

Once upon a time Nikita Khrushchev was wont to boast that the Soviet economy would surpass that of the U. S. A. by 1970. His successors have been far more realistic. A recent Kremlin report suggests that instead of being on the verge of world championship, the Soviet Union's populace barely managed to surpass Bulgaria in 1963 in per capita purchasing power. In fact, by Moscow's own admission, four COMECON countries, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland—enjoyed higher standards of living than Russia itself three years ago.

In other categories, the Soviet Union fared slightly better; Russia ranked third after East Germany and Czechoslovakia in per capita industrial output. But in agricultural standings, Russia ended up in fifth place behind Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany.

The Soviet admission of its economic woes comes at a time when Party boss Leonid I. Brezhnev and Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin are launching a major attempt to correct the Soviet Union's underlying economic ills; its troubled agricultural system. Though a grain exporter under the Czars, Russia, under the Commissars, is unable even to feed itself; it imported almost as much grain (25 million tons) during the past three years as India and China combined.

As Brezhnev explained to a Party meeting at Moscow . . . the Soviet Union will spend roughly \$45 billion during the next five years to (i) mechanize the farms, (ii) increase chemical fertilizer output, (iii) irrigate 6,500,000 acres of arid soil and (iv) rehabilitate and drain an estimated million

acres of potentially arable land. Unlike Khrushchev, who concentrated on opening up Asian virgin lands, Brezhnev and Kosygin plan to put the main emphasis on improving already cultivated areas west of the Urals. Brezhnev also put his prestige behind the most unusual departure in Soviet Agriculture since the 1930's: a guaranteed wages for the *Kolkhozniks* (collective farm labourers) that will make their income nearly equivalent to the earnings of factory workers. The move reflected the Government's desire to make the farm jobs attractive enough to lure and hold skilled labor, which tends to flock to cities.

The Soviet intends to use much of the irrigated acreage for wheat. No other large-scale producer uses irrigation, for the simple reason that the method is so costly that other nations prefer to grow more profitable crops and buy the wheat abroad. But the Soviet Union is apparently so set on self-sufficiency that it is willing to pay almost any price for home-grown grain.



Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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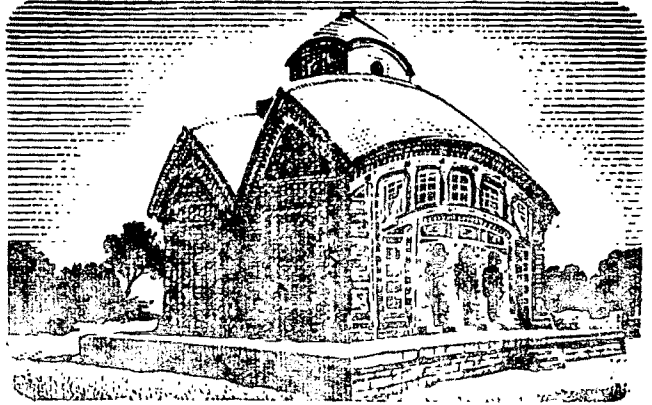
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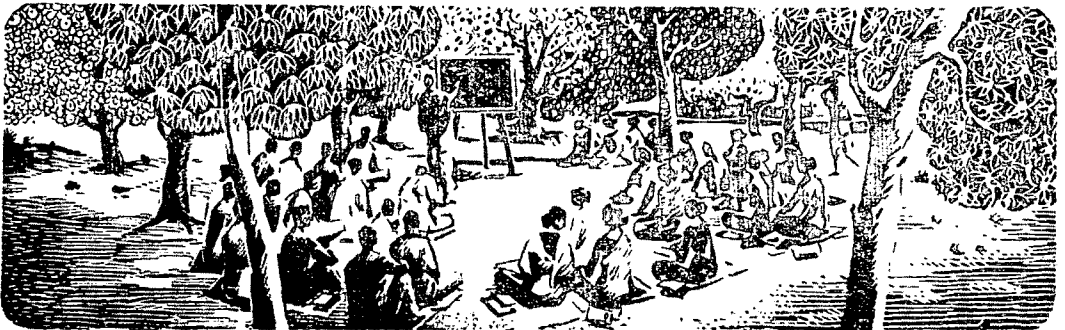
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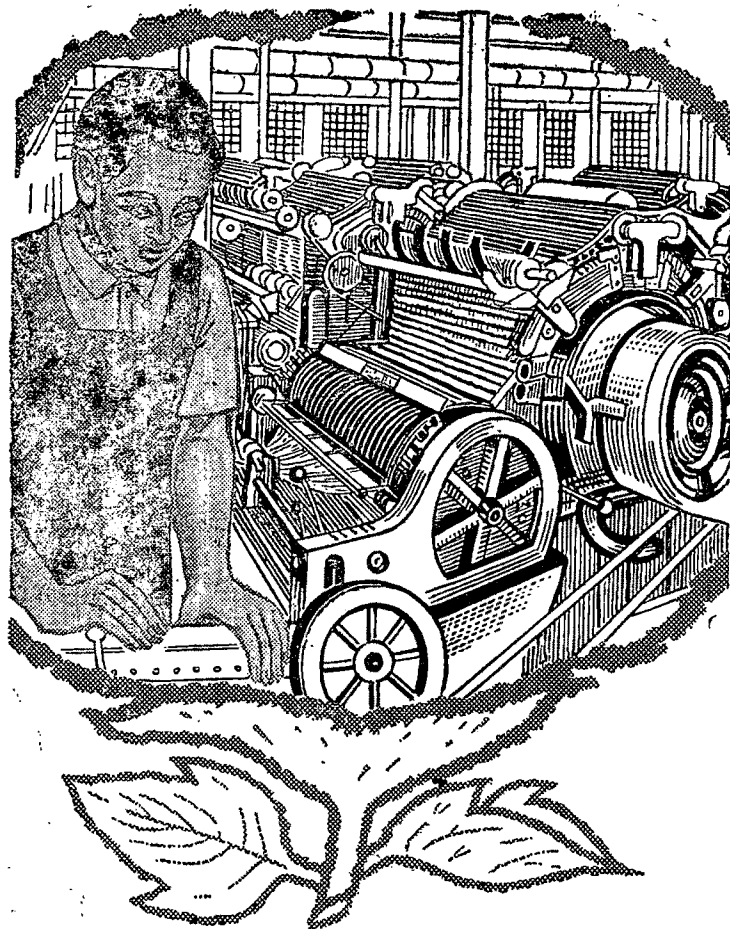
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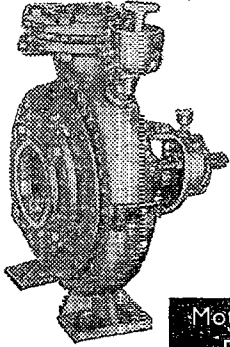
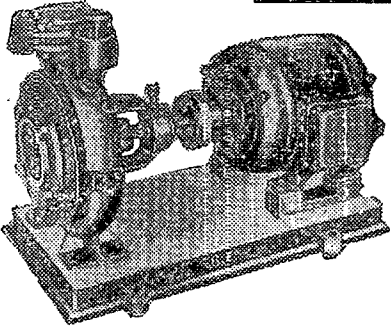
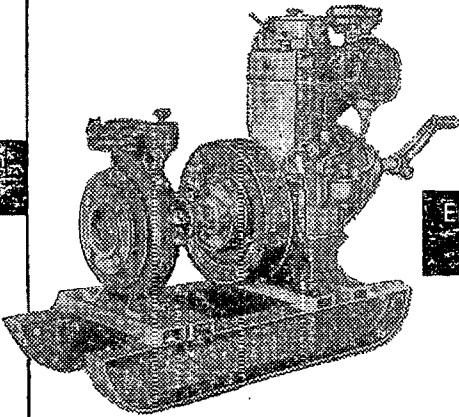


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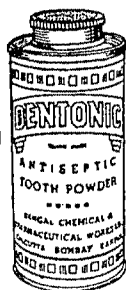
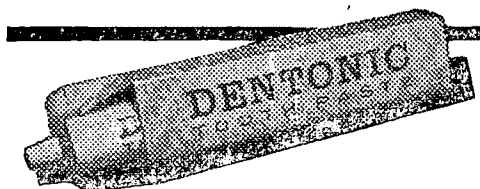
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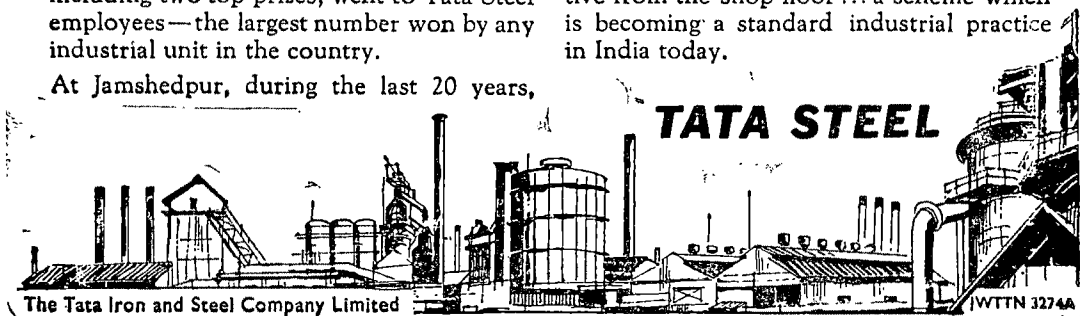
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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. CXX, No. 4

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER



1966

Vol. CXX, No. 4

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NOTES

Congress Achievements

Congressmen habitually feel a sort of glory and satisfaction when they find that they are morally better placed than those politicians who indulge openly in high treason. They also feel that the British handed over political power to them and they had therefore driven the British out of India. Had Congressmen been capable of facing facts and realities, they would have known that being superior to lesser patriots was no great qualification. Nor did they chase the British out of India. The British divided India into two States and the Congress meekly swallowed that insult to the motherland, allowed the British to build anti-Indian fortifications on both sides of India and also kept large numbers of British businessmen, industrial officers, professional men, capitalists, contractors and others in India who continued to make money and to do anti-Indian work as and when they so desired. Many of these Britishers have made their fortunes in India during the last 19 years and India's purchases from foreigners of exorbitantly priced machinery and equipment too have been enormous; a few thousand crores worth; out of which the flow of

commissions and coverage could have been a thousand million pounds. So, the chasing out of the British, including other foreigners, was not so glorious, nor a matter of pride, as some simple souls of the Congress would like us to believe. The separation from the British overlordship and the partition of India which was made a condition of the whole transaction, were thus quite inglorious and shameful. After that came the flow of refugees. Hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children were thrown out of their homes, very large numbers suffered death, dishonour and expropriation, and the independent Government of India could do nothing to stop that mass murder and intensive persecution of Indians. As is customary with unwilling and incapable protectors of the people, the Government of India wrote protest notes, sent representations, held conferences and did nothing. Refugee rehabilitation is a disgraceful chapter in the history of Indian independence. Pandit Nehru, who was at the helm of affairs in those days, could not muster up enough inspiration to achieve a better solution of the refugee problem, particularly in West Bengal. The prevalence of so-called Leftism in this part of India is largely due to the

past mishandling of the refugee problem by the Government.

The first few years of our free democratic Government were thus spent in carrying on India's British sponsored system of administration with modifications of names, designations and other superficialities. Fundamentally the courts, the police, the tax-collectors, the services, the departments viz., irrigation, P.W.D., accountants general, customs, education, public health, etc. etc., carried on as before and no one really felt that anything new had commenced to regulate the lives of Indians. In fact, apart from paying higher taxes and finding new difficulties in every field of life, the independent Indians went on in their time honoured manner without experiencing any new pleasures or thrills. In between we had a small scale war with Pakistan's soldiers who had entered Kashmir to attach it by force to their State. The Maharaja of Kashmir called in the Indian Army to save his State and acceded to India. The Indian Army had chased the Pakistanis out of Kashmir but when they were three-fourths out, the British-Americans forced a cease fire upon India. This was accepted by Pandit Nehru and Azad Kashmir was created. In the case of Junagarh and Hyderabad the Indians swiftly over-ran the two States and U.N. protection could not be granted to Kasem Razvi and his Razakars nor to the Nawab of Junagarh.

Then began those long years of planning and inept handling of economic affairs. India had about Rs. 3,000 crores worth of foreign assets earned during the Second World War. These assets were gone through within a short time in a manner which can be called squandering. The Plans required more foreign exchange than India earned by trade, and that was also true of the rupee resources secured by taxation which forever fell short of the Government's spending power. So started borrowing at home and abroad and deficit financing, the three pronged economic plague that had reduced India's Public Finance to a farce. During our nineteen years of independence our national debt increased more than ten fold. Our foreign borrowings were even worse, in so far as we had no debts in Sterling or Dollar in 1947, but borrowed thousands of crores worth in foreign money during the following years. Currency was inflated out of all proportion to the requirements of trade and prices rose everywhere 600/700 per

cent. Rice compared to 1939 sells at twelve times its normal price. Milk sells at a 600 per cent higher rate. Meat, Fish, Ghee or Mustard Oil are unobtainable at any price less than 800 per cent higher than their 1939 prices. House rent has soared to impossible heights. On top of this rise in prices the fall in quality makes the standards of living of different classes of people entirely meaningless. Our medicines, toilet goods, articles of luxury and things of decorative value no longer belong to the same class in point of quality as they did before. Then there came the problem of disappearance of goods from the market. Many things became unavailable or only procurable at a fancy price. The Government condemned the anti-social activities of profiteers but did nothing much to stop these activities or to induce and encourage people to engage in pro-social activities. The Government did nothing much to increase supplies either. In short the Government's outlook was neither positive nor progressive. It attempted a diagnosis of the social ills but concentrated more upon non-governmental factors causing it rather than on governmental faults which intensified the malaise. Heavy taxation and ineffective controls had demoralised the country. These went on unabated and India's economic and ethical health broke down completely.

We entered the sixties with our hopes of prosperity and an easy time still alive and the members of the Congress never gave anybody a chance to be critical of their wisdom and moral superiority. Our political leaders invited important persons from all over the world in a non-stop fashion, who praised our greatness and goodness in return for our hospitality; and the poor people of India were hypnotised by this superb press and publicity work. Some of those big admirers of India and Indian leaders later turned inimical; but others made good the losses suffered through Chinese or Indonesian recalcitrance. The Congress won the 1962 elections on hopes and promises. A long suffering nation is usually gullible. It believes beautiful promises in order to escape the rigours of ugly facts. Jam yesterday and jam tomorrow but never jam to-day. The glory that was India (yesterday), justified the dreams of India tomorrow. So one could ignore the absence of jam to-day and keep it pending for ever. Simple folk have the mentality of children and one can keep them satisfied for long periods with

impossible tales of future enjoyment. But children grow up. India is growing up too. Our people no longer believe the tall tales that are told them. The coming elections therefore may not be so easily won, on the "holier than thou" and the "Jam to-morrow" propaganda. We all know that the Congress members have not been guilty of treasonable thoughts and action. We also know that their fore-runners were patriotic, selfless and courageous. But that makes them puny and worthless by comparison. They also think their business must be run on the *closed shop* principle and do not recruit enough new talent to fill the numerous places where the Congress must prove its merit.

The question now is if the Congress fails to manage the affairs of India in a proper manner, and if the other political parties remain as ineffective as they have been during the last 19 years, then what should Indians do to improve their national government? Should not they try to mobilise the best men and women of the country for the service of the nation? How can that be achieved? Surely the medical men of India can select some new men and women to stand for election. So can the lawyers, the engineers, the teachers, the writers, the sportsmen, the musicians, the religious bodies and so on and so forth. Why must a nation be tied to the apron strings of political parties that somehow manage to limp along?

Confidence or No Confidence

If people attended offices, workshops, schools and colleges one hundred per cent, and also went about freely in taxis, buses and tram cars, would that prove that they had confidence in the government or anything else other than the fact of carrying on life in a customary fashion? If, on the other hand, large numbers of volunteers organised by political parties went round inducing, instructing and on occasions, intimidating people to observe a *hartal* or *bundh*, children would not go to school for fear of rowdyism, shops would not open, trams would not run and so on; but would that prove that the people had no confidence in the government? The fact of a *hartal* or its absence cannot prove the people's

attitude towards governments one way or another. And if the Legislative Assembly discussed this sort of illogical suppositions, it would not be fulfilling the purposes for which it was set up and operated at public cost.

The Hindu-Muslim riots in the forties stopped all business on many occasions for days. But nobody said that those stoppages proved anything against anybody excepting that the stoppages proved the existence of communal tension. In the case of a *hartal* or *bundh* declared by political parties the only thing proved would be the fact of inter-party tension and a clash of will between political leaders of different groups. The people really do not come into the picture at all. If the offices were closed on the *bundh* days that was because people did not come to work. They did not come to work for lack of transport or out of fear. The lack of transport was caused by fear of rowdyism. Not because the bus and tram drivers lacked confidence in the Government. On the other hand if buses were taken out under police escort they would be driven by men who had no opinion on the Government's capabilities, and nothing would be proved about the peoples' views about the Government. No confidence in governments can be proved in a manner of speaking by a general election. Even that may not be fool proof.

Conquest of Mana

The Calcutta *Parvat Abhijatri Sangha* led by Sri Biswajit Biswas and aided by Sherpa guides have climbed the Mana peak from the North side. When the famous British Climber Smyth climbed Mana he took the easier South track and said that the North track was near impossible to negotiate. The conquest of Mana from the North, therefore, has put the names of the Calcutta climbers in mountaineering history. The same group of climbers had attempted this feat once before, but they failed on that occasion. They had however climbed Nandaghunti before that. On this occasion, as before, they had been helped by the *Anandabazar Patrika* group of newspapers in a lavish manner. They had also received assistance from other sources. But

their success is a direct product of their indomitable spirit of adventure, tenacity of purpose, faultless team-work and precision of planning. They have proved that given proper chances our young men and women can attempt a conquest of the Moon. But our Government cannot undertake such scientific expeditions. Our public too have no money. So that our youth will have to be satisfied with what little they can obtain from willing friends. The spirit of youth cannot however be repressed by lack of funds or patronage. Youth will go forward in spite of all obstacles. We congratulate the young climbers on their splendid achievement. They have brought glory to India and inspiration to those millions of young Indians who also hope to emulate the great explorers and adventurous achievers of the impossible of history. We have a great future in every field of games, sports, exploration and adventure, if we can, by precept as well as by example, guide our youth to that glorious destination.

C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar

The death of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar C.I.E., K.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., removes another great Indian from a rapidly dwindling galaxy of talented persons. He had education, culture, administrative ability, legal acumen and a rare and remarkable personality. Twice Vice-chancellor of Annamalai University and once of Benares University, Dewan of Travancore for eleven years, acting Law and Commerce Member of the Government of India and member of numerous committees, conferences and delegations, Sir C. P. was outstanding and unrivalled wherever he went. He was a highly talented writer and orator. He was also a convincing debater and a conversationalist of no mean ability. Among officials and in society Sir C. P. had few equals. A man of great learning, he was familiar with the characteristics of both Eastern and Western civilisations and could act as an interpreter of the highest thoughts and ideas of both cultures. He died in London at the age of 86 years. His death is felt by all Indians as a great national loss.

Mihir Sen Does It

When he crossed the English Channel in the fifties while studying Law in England, Mihir Sen was not fully prepared and trained for long distance swimming. He achieved his objective nevertheless by his tenacity of purpose and undaunted courage. When he returned to India, he kept up his swimming. He swam long distances regularly for years until he could face any swimming ordeal with equanimity. He then started to plan his conquest of the seven seas. The Palk Straits in the Indian Ocean came first in his programme. It was a dangerous and gruelling test in which he proved his mettle and worth. Then came the Straits of Gibraltar connecting the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. He succeeded in crossing that too. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus came last on his list. He had by now acquired a kind of special ability to cross seas and he swam the entire lengths of both quite comfortably. He thus became the first great swimmer of many seas who had swum five great set passages of formidable dimensions.

Teaching Profession in India

The teaching profession is not a highly paid profession in any country. But in India it is one of the lowest paid professions in which graduates of universities are paid salaries which compare unfavourably with the wages paid to unskilled labourers. Those who teach in schools and colleges are well educated persons belonging to the upper class families of India. They are supposed to lead a cultured life and to set an example to their pupils by their own behaviour and ways. If the teachers are paid 3, 4 or 5 rupees a day, they can hardly live on their earnings. The position would be worse for married persons with families. Teachers therefore must be paid high enough salaries to enable them to live as they should. The present position is very bad; for teachers are driven to engage in tuition work of a kind which they should never accept. But necessity knows no laws. Our national standards of behaviour are going from bad to worse day by

day. The reason is Want. It is time that we tried to straighten things out. **Red Guards of China**

Our Fight for Independence

During the Gandhian period the Congress organised fights for freedom. There was bitter and tenacious agitation against and defiance of the British imperialists in India. Though no weapons were used by the Gandhian fighters the whole movement was on a war footing and history would call it a fight. During and after the Second World War, negotiations were afoot for making India free. The British managed to mobilise the Muslim League front against the Congress and the war of Independence lost its spirit of sacrifice and undaunted struggle for achieving its objective. Gandhiji slowly faded out of the picture and Pandit Nehru became the top man on the bargaining counter. Mr. Jinnah bargained for his League. What prices they offered to the imperialist overlords were not given out. But the overlords came out triumphant from the auction table and the assumption was that the partition of India was the fulfilment of their imperialist desire. So, our fight for freedom ended ignominiously and Punjab with Bengal made all the sacrifice.

The International Round Table held towards the end of September 1966 at Delhi revived some questions and doubts which the Congress would find difficulty in answering satisfactorily. Mr. Romesh Thapar asked whether Pandit Nehru's impatience was responsible for the partition of India. Was Nehru right in accepting partition? One may add further questions to these. Was Nehru right in continuing the British pattern of administration after independence? Was he right in keeping many pro-British persons on in power in spite of the fact that these men were engaged by the British for their unfailing loyalty to the latter? Was he right in keeping the Indian Purchasing Missions in London and New York and in swiftly spending all India's foreign exchange earnings of the War period to the advantage of the sellers of foreign goods? Was he right in maintaining the capitalist rights of foreigners intact while he abolished zemindaries for the Indians? The questions may go on, but is it worth our while to ask them?

We do not know whether teenagers make good soldiers; but we know from experience that they make very effective rowdies. In Europe, America and other countries the teddy boy cult had been a social headache for some time and, though it is no longer in its most vigorous phase, it will take time to really die out and to be replaced by an age of education, culture and disciplined self-development for the youth of the world. The teddy boys came into existence as a by-product of the World War and the destruction of stable civilisation in most countries involved in it. Parental control was lax and non-existent for long years and the boys and girls just did what they liked. There were millions of orphans too who lived a life of want, crime and reckless conduct.

China, during her long period of revolution under Mao Tse Tung and under other war lords, too must have produced millions of young men and women of teenage, who have been indulging in rowdyism in a disorganised manner. Now that Mao is finding opposition in many places and people are no longer accepting him as a prophet, he is feeling that the Chinese military forces may side with the opposition any time. So he has to get other soldiers more solidly loyal to him than anybody else. And who can be more gullible and more attached to lost causes than the inexperienced youth of the land? Particularly the orphans, the parentless and the waifs.

The Chinese attempt at regularising and mobilising the forces of anarchy, would be a good thing if Mao did not use the glorified teddy boys as his soldiers. Because if Mao armed these impetuous youngsters they would soon form sub-groups and start fights without provocation. Mao will then find that his "giant" was uncontrollable. If grown-up people with a well developed sense of right and wrong required to be disciplined and controlled to make an army, the boys and girls required it to a much greater degree. Judging by their behaviour Mao has not been able to hold the reins in strong hands right from the beginning. The red guards have become destructive, disorderly and anti-social as soon as they were let loose upon China by their leader Mao. They have tasted blood and found it attractive and satisfactory. Now, if Mao says, "Go slow, do not

smash valuable Ming vases nor tear up the paintings of the Masters of Chinese Art" who will listen to him? Like the Muslim hordes of the middle ages, they will go on destroying until they started to destroy themselves. Mao will not live for long and these unruly forces will soon destroy his Maoism and Mao-archy. It will be unfortunate for China; for the Chinese have been a great civilising force for long millennia and they could have got over their current fanaticism in a better manner.

Increasing Price of Textiles

People have accused Government of indulging in underhand taxation by profiteering through sales of State controlled goods, over and over again; but Government have ignored such protestations. The sale of rice at a much higher price than the price paid by Government for the forcible purchase of rice, is a very good example of this "socialistic profiteering". It would be called black-marketing, but one cannot give it that name for its statutory sanction. Land in the salt lake area has also been sold at a great profit and much above the proposed and promised rates. The salaried classes have found in this a betrayal of "socialism" and they are right in their accusations. Now comes a pre-puja increase in the price of cloth. This is of great advantage to private capitalists and is probably a friendly gesture to kindred spirits by the public sector profiteers. We find no justification for these increases. The puja stocks have been produced months ago and current increase in costs do not affect the costs of manufacture of goods in previous months. The Government's progressive departure from the levels fixed by justice and socialistic principles is becoming quite blatant and brazen.

Economy Drive

The Government's ideas of expenditure are always quite lavish and wholehearted. But when it comes to effecting economies they cannot act with the same comprehensiveness of outlook. For they can spend 2400 crores or 600 crores in one year without flinching and without reference to the people's ability to pay; but in making cuts in expenditure they cannot exceed 91 crores or 3.7 per cent of the normal

expenses and barely 3 per cent of the total investment cum expenditure account. When it comes to effecting savings the normal procedure should be to fix a target first. That is, let us say, 5 per cent of expenses and 10 per cent of the investments or some such estimate. 5 per cent of the expenses would have made about 120 crores and 10 per cent of the investments 60 crores. In other words they could have doubled the savings without making any extraordinary cuts. And another thing should be emphasised. Whenever Governments effect savings they always select the poorer recipients of Governmental largesse to make sacrifices and to lose business. In the present case we have not seen any full description of the savings aimed at. But in our opinion the Government should keep in mind that their economy drive should not cause loss of employment to persons directly employed by Government or to employees of contractors and dealers working for or supplying goods to Government. Purchase of foreign goods should be the first choice for reduction, unless such goods are essential military requirements. Superannuation of top men should be carried out without granting extensions.

Government by Old Men

Old men in Government draw the highest salaries and allowances and probably contribute proportionately in wisdom but not in work. In the circumstances if their wisdom could be purchased by fees paid at the rate of Rupees One Hundred per one hundred words of wisdom the maximum cost would be only a few per cent of the total amount paid annually to all these ancients. Some of them do not even part with their wisdom for the benefit of the people, but merely sit and wait to do something spectacular sometime. Those who do not serve as permanent members of the Government's vast army of incumbents, but merely as Ministers, Deputy Ministers etc. etc. are also mainly of an advanced age. Now that the Prime Minister of India is a younger person, she may be able to replace some of the oldest members of Government by persons who are at least below sixty, in age. This will increase efficiency by making personal supervision possible and also reduce

expenditure considerably by removing numerous three and four thousand wallahs from semi-sinecure posts of importance. Some old men may be very capable and intelligent, but surely, not so many. Old men replaced by younger men receiving half the salary may save ten thousand rupees per person per annum. How many persons are there like that attached to the various Governmental and semi-Governmental services?

Beating Back All Enemies

Mrs. Gandhi has referred to India's ability to resist all aggression. India is no doubt a big country with a population of about 500 million; but this vast population is largely uneducated, underfed, emotionally unstable, lacking in discipline and military training and badly prepared for meeting any aggression on a large scale or with nuclear weapons. Self-confidence and determination are good assets in any defensive war; but a nation cannot fight its enemies with those psychological weapons alone. Guns must meet guns. Tanks, planes, submarines and atomic weapons too must be matched fully and well in order to resist them effectively. Even psychological strength has to be mobilised and stimulated by training. India has not too many soldiers, nor an abundant supply of arms of all kinds. She has no submarines or atomic weapons. In the circumstances, we may agree to share Mrs. Gandhi's feelings; but we must point out to her that even the most courageous and determined fighters require weapons, training and other military paraphernalia in order to make the most of their spirit of self-sacrifice. Preparedness is the basic condition of a nation's ability to resist and defeat enemies. Preparedness cannot be purely psychological. There must be military training and proper weapons too. Clever and inspiring talk can maintain the morale of the people but words cannot win battles nor check the forward movement of enemy forces.

Student Unrest

Students are those members of human society who are not yet fully grown up nor possessed fully of the rights of the grown up

people. They are also not burdened with the responsibilities of those who pay taxes, buy food and clothing, pay for the education of the students and look after their well being. But students are nevertheless affected by the difficulties and wants that the grown up people have to face. If the parents have not enough money, the students feel the pinch too. If the parents are subjected to persecution, humbled and made to feel small, the students feel the pain and the humiliation of all that equally with the parents. In the circumstances, when nobody is quite satisfied with the state of things in the country, the students cannot be expected to carry on their life in peace, quiet and happy agreement with their teachers, examiners, parents and the V.I.P.s of the Government. There is a general atmosphere of dissatisfaction in the country. Government servants, industrial and commercial employees, manufacturers, shop-keepers, tenants, landlords, the rich and the poor, are all "angry young (and old) men (women and children)." There are no ways of solving this dissatisfaction by a single stroke of the pen or by some miracle solution of an all pervading problem. Steady and progressive removal of all wants, injustices irritating rules, regulations and laws, and the establishment of good government, sound management and effective control of social affairs will cure student unrest along with all other unrests.

Foreign Pressure?

When Pakistan invaded Kashmir the first time after the partition of India the Indian army was held back after the Pakistanis had been given a trouncing and were on the run. The second invasion, last year, too, was checked and the Pakistanis saved from utter defeat. The first time it was Pandit Nehru's love of peace that saved them and the second time Lal Bahadurji must have been having the spirit of Tashkent working up in him in advance. For, unless these are accepted as the explanation of the strange behaviour of our Government, one would have to suspect the presence of foreign influence and pressure. In other cases too, like devaluation, we have to accept the Government's denial of the existence of foreign pressure and believe in our own economic nobility in that we

could no longer tolerate the injustice of selling the rupee to foreigners at too high a price. Now we are again overflowing with human goodness and our Minister of Foreign Affairs is making ethical gestures with reckless abandon without rhyme or reason ; for Pakistan is preparing for another invasion with China's whole hearted support and India's good will is uncalled for and unrequited. So, the presence of foreign pressure is suspected by suspicious persons. But then goodness is always misunderstood.

Pakistan Talks of Political Ethics

After Bhutto Pakistan has got a Pirzada to indulge in pseudo-ethical bluster to teach India the real meaning of political justice. Pakistani leaders habitually forget that their country was created by the British by taking two slices out of the body of India arbitrarily and without any historical justification or plebiscite. The Muslims of Pakistan were a very small minority of India. Any plebiscite would have made the formation of Pakistan impossible. British pressure and Nehru's eagerness to come to a settlement at any cost created Pakistan. Then Pakistan started to practise banditry to increase her territory. She had no right to enter by force into any other part of the Indian subcontinent, she should have kept within the territory she obtained by the partition. India's greatest mistake has been to treat Pakistan as anything other than an unwarranted aggressor

in Kutch and Kashmir. And she should have forced Pakistan out of the so-called Azad Kashmir. But Indian leaders follow a weak-kneed policy and agree to talk to the Pakistanis. Pakistan has chased a few million people out of their homes in Pakistan. Quite a large area of Pakistan should be taken away in order to rehabilitate these refugees. Pakistan is an undemocratic dictatorship and she has the impertinence to talk about India's sense of political justice !

Gandhi Not Nehru

That India did not have a bloody war of independence with Britain was due to Mahatma Gandhi's policy of non-violence. His faith in Universal Peace was stimulated in him by the teachings of Tolstoy and Tagore. He also drew inspiration from the prophets of Jainism and the Buddha. Nehru's love of peace and advocacy of the political policy of settlement of international disputes by negotiation, were derived from the Gandhian principle of non-violence. If the UNESCO wanted to glorify this outlook of peaceful settlement of disputes ; they should have looked towards Gandhism to find material for their purpose. Nehru was, in this field, just a disciple of Gandhi. Nehru was 'better known' in Western political circles ; but in India one knows only Gandhiji as the Great Soul who loved all humanity and considered all violence as sin.

RABINDRANATH AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Prof. DEBIPROSAD BHATTACHARYYA

Rabindranath is frequently invoked by the ardent advocates of regional languages to lend their arguments a powerful support. To ascertain whether they are right in doing so will be my main concern in what follows. I shall try, therefore, to state briefly what Rabindranath has to say on the subject; and the subject is one to which he had given a great deal of thought; it forms, indeed, the principal theme of some of his most celebrated essays on education.

One of the best and liveliest discussions of the subject is to be found in, which is probably his earliest essay on education. It was published in 1892, when the writer was a young man of thirty-one, and entitled "**The Mockery of Education.**"

This remarkable essay contains in germ almost everything he will go on saying for the next forty-five years; it is a land-mark in the history of education in our country, expressing, for the first time, an open revolt against English education.

He points out, first, the utterly alien character of the English language; no two languages could be more utterly dissimilar in their structure and idiom as Bengali and English. If any of us doubts this statement, let him try to translate into Bengali a very simple sentence in English: "Horse is a noble animal." What adds to the misfortune of this historical accident is that the subject-matter of current English textbooks (of his time) is equally foreign. Children playing with snowball, for instance, a delightful subject undoubtedly for English school boys, will be very unlikely to excite the smallest interest in a Bengali school-boy; the subject will arouse no associations in his mind, no memories.

The most serious drawback of the

existing system of education through English, is, in his opinion, its alarming wastefulness. Half the time and energy of a school-boy is exhausted in struggling with English grammar. As usual with him, he gives us a simile, to explain what he is driving at.

The simile is that of building a house. Building materials arrive and accumulate in large heaps; everything goes on well except the construction of the building itself. All on a sudden, when we are at the B.A. stage, we are ordered by the university to build a roof.

At this point the reader may ask, very pertinently: What is the harm if we first accumulate materials and then build; learn the language first and then turn to literature? One should have thought that would be the natural, the rational approach. For enjoyment of literature is possible only after a considerable mastery of the language has been attained. It follows that the learning of a language and enjoyment of its literature can never be simultaneous.

To this Rabindranath's reply would be: Nothing could be more cruel to children than to starve their minds, during the most impressionable period of their life. For we are compelling the poor child to learn the grammar and idiom of a difficult foreign language when its mind is hungry for ideas, for thoughts and images. By the time the food is supplied, the gastric secretion has stopped; the mind has lost its appetite through sheer atrophy. This is exactly what happens to the average B.A. student: he has a great deal to read but the joy that might have attended his reading has gone out of the thing. But for the urgent need of passing the examination, most of them

would never have cared to turn a page of Shakespeare or Milton, Burke or Carlyle.

I shall ask the reader to note in particular two things in this essay. First, learning a language can never be an end in itself. (A point which our budding polyglots who flock to French, German or Russian classes would do well to ponder.) Secondly, Rabindranath nowhere in the essay recommends **abandonment** of English; he does not condemn the study of English, he simply criticises the manner in which it is taught; otherwise it would be pointless for him to deplore, as he does, the incompetence of English teachers. The very fact that he criticises the **system** shows that he does not condemn the **thing**. The distinction is of crucial importance.

In the next important essay on the subject, written twenty-three years later—**"The Vehicle of Education"**—he is concerned principally with the question of the medium of instruction. He expresses in this essay, clearly and vigorously, his firm conviction that for the great majority of Bengali students English interposes an insurmountable barrier. If we think that they are doing quite well and feeling no difficulty due to the alien medium, we are deluding ourselves. For one thing, quite a large number of students have no gift for languages. For another, very few of them are lucky enough to be taught English by a competent teacher. Consequently most of them get through their examinations without any intelligent understanding of the subject. The only faculty that is called into play is memory; and an educational system in which intelligence and independent power of thinking can be dispensed with impunity must be utterly rotten.

Let those who are fortunate enough to cross the hurdle get their degrees, and their jobs; he would be the last person in the world to grudge them their invidious distinction. But something has got to be done for their weaker brethren, who are to pay so heavily for their unpardonable offence

of having been born to a language that, strangely enough, happens to be Bengali and not a foreign language. And yet most of these failed candidates would not only have passed but, what is to Rabindranath a thing of much greater importance, got a far better education if the medium of instruction were Bengali instead of English. Here Rabindranath, I think, supposed, with the characteristic generosity of genius, proficiency in Bengali more widespread among Bengali boys and girls than the alarming percentage of failures in Bengali would seem to justify.

If it is objected that Bengali is unfit to be the vehicle of higher education—it is higher education that concerns him mainly here—his answer is:—Japan, a challenge to those who think that western science can be taught only through a European language. (The example of Japan, by the way, will continue to recur in his educational essays.) And there is every reason to believe that what Japan has done could be done also by us with no less conspicuous success. For western thought, he affirms, is more congenial to us than to Japan; and the resources of Bengali, he assures us, are immense. "The capacity of our language for forming new words," he rightly remarks, "is infinite".

If it is argued that higher education through Bengali will have to wait till we produce an abundance of text-books in Bengali of a sufficiently high standard, his sharp rejoinder would be: How can you expect to find standard textbooks in Bengali when there is no demand for them? The demand must be created first; once it is created, once that is to say, the medium becomes Bengali at all stages of education, supply is bound to be plentiful and the standard higher and higher.

It is interesting to notice that although, in this famous essay, Rabindranath does not budge an inch from his firm stand on the question of medium **in theory**, what he suggests in practice is a sort of compromise.

He had sense enough to see that English education had by this time established itself too long and too firmly to be dislodged for a long time to come. The only way in which a place could be found for Bengali in higher education was to open, with the sanction of the university, new institutions with Bengali as the medium. What he proposes, as a compromise, is two parallel streams of education under the university: one in English, the other in Bengali. The advantage of such a *modus vivendi* was that it would leave the existing educational machinery undisturbed. Let us build, he says, a humble cottage, to begin with, a few yards away from the imposing edifice of English education. His practical wisdom told him that even a humble beginning would be infinitely better than doing nothing at all.

In his ceaseless, untiring pleading for Bengali as the medium of education, we notice an intense earnestness, a passionate concern, a firmness of conviction that are attributable in large measure to his bitter personal experience in his childhood and boyhood. Upto the age of twelve, he tells us, in his essay entitled "**The Assimilation of Education,**" (also in his autobiography) he was educated in a Bengali school where everything was taught in Bengali; English had no place in the curriculum of this despised institution. The result was that whatever he learnt he learnt well, and with pleasure. He didn't have to be tormented at every step by the eternal conflict between learning and understanding that afflicted his more enviable fellows at more respectable English schools.

Even after seventy years he could look back to this period of exclusively Bengali education with deep satisfaction, because he learnt at the "Normal" school something thoroughly well that he valued more than anything else in the education of a child—his mother-tongue. At the age of eleven, he could read and understand (if not enjoy) **Meghnadbadh-kavya** without experienc-

ing much difficulty. I am not sure how many of our M.A.s in Bengali now would be able to do that.

There was another, and for a writer a supremely important, reason for his feeling grateful: "One of the chief objects of education", he rightly affirms, "is to enable one to express one's thoughts and ideas." One of the most unfortunate consequences, intellectually, of education through a foreign medium is that the educated people consume without producing. The art of writing, of expressing oneself, is by no means easy, he says, even in one's own language; to do so in a foreign language is infinitely more difficult; the attempt, even in the case of highly educated and talented men, has seldom produced a literary masterpiece. Two classical examples of this, in Bengali literature, are Bankimchandra and Madhusudan, both men of genius who were immensely learned in English language and English literature.

It is at this point that Rabindranath puts forward an interesting theory of his own on the learning of a foreign language; the theory was based on his own experience as a boy. What makes this theory remarkable is its extremely unorthodox character; it flatly contradicts the current, universally accepted opinion on the subject, which states that the earlier a child starts learning a foreign language, the better. (Jawaharlal Nehru, by the way, was a firm supporter of this latest scientific opinion on the subject.)

Rabindranath, on the contrary, holds that the learning of a foreign language should begin only after the child has learnt his mother-tongue well enough to be able to express himself in it. It follows that at the primary stage there should be only one language, and that language the child's mother-tongue. "Up to the age of eleven", he says, "there didn't exist for me any rival to Bengali". Whatever of ease in the use of English he had achieved later was due, he assures us, to this fact. He is clearly of

the opinion that having learnt thoroughly one's mother-tongue first makes it much easier for one to learn another.

It is not for me to pronounce on this difficult subject: whether the teaching of English, in our country, should begin early or late. My personal experience, however, in learning foreign languages tends to confirm the theory of Rabindranath; and my experience is that the larger the number of languages one already knows, the easier it becomes for one to learn yet another. But then we must always be on our guard when a man of genius, even when he happens to be as intelligent and as wise as Rabindranath, starts generalising from his own experience!

We must distinguish carefully Rabindranath's views on English as the medium of instruction from his views on the study of English which is a very different thing. Never for a moment does he say, even when he strongly resents its use as the medium of instruction, that we should abandon English. "We must, however, admit," he remarks in his last educational essay, an address to students (1937), "nothing can dislodge English from the honoured place it occupies in our universities". To banish English, he warns us, in the name of nationalism, from our universities would be to shut our doors upon the knowledge of the West, and western science is, he has told us repeatedly and with profound respect, a very noble thing. Bengal has a right, he says, to take pride in the fact that she was the first in India, to appreciate this truth.

After emphasising the permanent and paramount importance of cultivating English as the one key, for us, to western science, he turns to English literature. The contribution of this literature, a distinguished member of the great European literature, to the rapid and splendid flowering of Bengali literature in the last century was immense. The impact was most powerful on the two greatest literary figures of the

century, Madhusudan and Bankimchandra; the influence, in their case, was not only profound; it was entirely wholesome.

That both of them tried their hands first at English, failed, and then turned to Bengali as their literary medium accomplishing miracles is, to Rabindranath, a fact of capital importance. (Nothing could illustrate better the futility of attempting, even for first-rate minds, to express oneself successfully in a foreign language.) It also illustrates very clearly, by their subsequent astounding success in their own language, the difference between imitation and assimilation:

On the mind of Rabindranath himself the impact of this great literature must have been hardly less powerful. So far from deploring this influence, he was grateful to it. His admiration for English literature was warm and generous; his acquaintance with it deep and wide; how exquisitely sensitive and discriminating his appreciation of it was is shown by innumerable references to it in some of his finest critical essays. As regards his command of the English language, it will be enough to say that it was, in spite of the fact that he never missed an opportunity to make fun of his appalling ignorance of English grammar, hardly less sound than that of his two illustrious predecessors of the last century.

It will be clear from what I have been saying above that what Rabindranath as an educationist rebelled against was never the study of English as **such** but its use as the **medium of instruction**. Opposing the latter consistently and vehemently, he never denied the permanent and immense value of the former in the realm of knowledge.

But even here he was repelled by our attitude to it. There always lurks, he strongly suspects, an ulterior motive behind our desire to learn English which has little to do with a genuine love of the language and, still less, its literature; and his whole soul revolted against this purely utilitarian

outlook on English, as on anything else that is noble in life. "The English language", he says with regret, "has become the language of necessity, of practical utility; consequently our feeling towards it has more in it of the greed of a miser than the passion of a lover. We read English literature with an eye to mastering the language."

Rabindranath, like Bertrand Russell, whose splendid mind he so profoundly admired, has deprecated the modern predominantly utilitarian attitude to education. He was never, any more than Russell, a deluded visionary, oblivious of palpable facts. The very fact that he pleaded the case for Bengali as the medium of instruction, passionately and consistently, shows his sound common sense, his firm grasp of realities. This same practical wisdom is displayed in his generously welcoming the continuance of English as the gateway to all that is admirable and noble in western culture. Had he been alive today—thank heaven he is not!—he would, I am sure, have been deeply pained by the unseemly haste, the hatred, the fanatical frenzy that have characterised our anti-English agitation. He loved Bengali a thousand times more than the most ardent, the most violent advocates of the "regional" languages in education; but with all that he felt and did for Bengali, which was more than anybody ever did or felt for his mother-tongue, Rabindranath was the very antithesis of a fanatic; his mind was always, in political

controversies, remarkably calm and balanced, dispassionate and sane.

We must remember that during Rabindranath's life-time the immense prestige English enjoyed was due more to its practical necessity than to its intrinsic value. Such an attitude is incompatible with a disinterested love for the object; for disinterested love is possible only when the object of our love is regarded as an end in itself.

Now that the departure of the British from India has robbed English of a great deal of its former official prestige and practical usefulness, it is much easier for us to feel a genuine, disinterested love for this great language. It will be cultivated in future, it is true, in the absence of compulsion, by fewer people than at present, but to those few, it will become a labour of love. And among these few would be found, I am sure, most of our finest literary talents who would follow the great examples of Madhusudan, Bankimchandra and Rabindranath himself by enriching our literature, not through an uncritical, snobbish emulation as at present, but through unconscious assimilation that comes of real appreciation and real enjoyment of a foreign literature, and of this real appreciation, this real enjoyment of a great foreign literature—English literature. in our case—Rabindranath himself is a most distinguished example.



JOHN BUNYAN The Immortal Dreamer

V. R. G.

Perhaps few things would be more rewarding by way of pious recollections than a reflection on John Bunyan whom Cowper called the 'Ingenious Dreamer' and the profound influence of the Bible on his life and works.

Though a product of the 17th century, Bunyan stands in striking contrast to many an eminent literary figure of the period like Raleigh, Browne, Burton, Milton and many other prose writers. While the latter were evidently the children of the Revival of Learning, the former was no child of the New Learning but of the Reformation—"the child of that long period of religious struggle and experience, which began when the plain unliterary people of England—the shop-keepers, artisans, and plowman—could first read the Bible for themselves".¹

Not that the fervent religious spirit prevalent in the time had failed to make any perceptible impact on others but they had been so trained up and so steeped in the classical studies, which were the natural corollary of the Renaissance, that their works seemed to be the outcome of the new culture.

But in the case of Bunyan entry into that world of classical culture, of art and beauty shared by many of the greatest Elizabethans, was denied. He "never went to school to Aristotle and Plato".²

Despite all these inherent deficiencies of parentage, opportunity and accomplishment, that Bunyan was capable of rising to the dizzy heights of literary eminence producing a classic allegory, the *Pilgrim's Progress* rated not only as a great religious tract—"the most perfect representation of evangelical religion"³—but hailed also as the

first English novel, is a measure of his immense spiritual experience and abundant imagination.

Paying a handsome tribute to the genius of Bunyan Lord Macaulay aptly observed, "we are not afraid to say, that, though there were many clever men in England during the later half of the seventeenth century, there were only two minds which possessed the imaginative faculty in a very eminent degree. One of those minds produced the *Paradise Lost*, the other the *Pilgrim's Progress*".⁴

Although the extra-ordinary literary faculties of the two celebrated authors, Milton and Bunyan, had impelled Macaulay to group them together making them share equal laurels, yet no two author's equipments differ so widely and distinctly as those of Milton and Bunyan.

Milton was essentially a man of the Renaissance and as such he had the advantage of the varied scholarship and an eye for aesthetics. He was literally "the heir of all the ages". No language was alien to him, no literature unknown. Of his vast and varied inheritance he has really made royal use. Bunyan belonged to the masses. His father was of "that rank which is meanest and most despised of all the families of the land".⁵—"While Milton had all; Bunyan had only the torments of his strange spiritual conflict, the enforced leisure of his long imprisonment, his genius and the English Bible. And it is the comparative narrowness of Bunyan's inheritance, the obscurity of his station, the common-place character of his surroundings, that make him more truly than the cultured Milton, the representative of the great

body of English Puritans, of the earnest, simple minded men and women who had no library but the English Bible, and to whom religion was a vital and absorbing reality" (H.S. Pancoast).⁶

Twenty years junior to the author of the *Paradise Lost*, John Bunyan was born in 1628 on the outskirts of the little village of Elstow about a mile from the town of Bedford. His father was a tinker, a poor and honest workman who mended his neighbours' kettles and pans. It appears that Bunyan was given some elementary instruction ("notwithstanding the meanness and inconsiderableness of my parents, it pleased God to put it into their hearts to put me to school, to learn me both to read and write").⁷

At length he left school and became a tinker like his father. But it was the time of the Civil War and young Bunyan in his seventeenth year became a soldier in the Parliamentary Army, which he served for three years.

After the close of the Civil War, he returned to Elstow married a woman as poor as himself. They didn't have even the minimum household articles as a dish or spoon. Yet, the woman had brought two books presented to her by her father when he died, **The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven** and the **Practice of Piety**. The Bunyans used to read these two books often, though Bunyan had forgotten much of what he had learnt at school.

It is indeed strange that in an ideally tranquil surrounding like that of Elstow, with its pleasing by placid flow of the river Ouse nearby, Bunyan should grow restless.

Of his extraordinary sensitivity we have glimpses even in his childhood. Though given to swearing and telling lies in his childhood as the ringleader of the village, he had never been what that the ordinary man would call wicked, yet he allowed his sensitive mind to be tortured by an exaggerat-

ed sense of guilt over these commonplace failings of youth.

His sturdy exterior was surely no indicator of his inner soul which was the battlefield of that fierce conflict which he has himself described in **Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners**. As the terrible struggle between good and evil in his soul went on, he seemed to see and hear strange visions and voices in the air. One such voice from heaven darted suddenly into his soul asking him if he would leave his sins. His own sense of guilt made him at once give up even his favourite amusements most of which were quite innocuous. He gave up dancing on the village green as well as playing hockey on Sunday; He gave up the delight of ringing the bells in the Church tower. He thought this latter act was a temptation to vanity ("Yet my mind hankered, therefore I would go to the steeple house and look on, though I durst not ring").

One will be inclined to feel that such a violence of emotion would be as unnecessary as it was absurd. But Bunyan was essentially a man of tender conscience. All these strong terms of self-condemnation he appeared to have employed in a theological sense. And the earlier biographers of Bunyan had done a gross injustice to him when they treated them in a popular sense. "But to understand Bunyan, or his greatest book we must follow him through the agonies of his spiritual experiences, with sympathy and imagination. We must realise that in those years of inward torment Bunyan—poor, narrow minded, perplexed but magnificently and utterly in earnest, was making his own painful pilgrimage from the City of Destruction to the City of Peace".⁸

At last he found it. In 1653 he became a Baptist and joined a little community of dissenters presided over by a man whom he called 'the holy Mr. Gifford', an ex-officer in the Royal Army. Gifford became

Bunyan's best friend but died some years later. The same year when Bunyan lost also his wife. He was left alone with four children, two of them little girls, one of whom was blind.

Realising his gift of speech Bunyan's friends persuaded him to preach and after some initial refusal to comply with the request out of modesty he began his career as minister and soon became famous as a Non-conformist preacher. People from even long distances flocked to hear Bunyan who preached not only in the churches of Elstow and Bedford but in barns, and in fields, by the road side or in the market place, anywhere in fact, where he could gather an audience!

After the Restoration he was arrested for preaching in unlicensed conventicles and thrown into Bedford gaol. Those who ruled "were angry with the tinker because he strove to mend souls as well kettles and pans". He was told that he would be set free if he promised to give up preaching. He replied 'I durst not leave off that work which God has called me to'. "If you let me out to-day," he said, "I will preach again tomorrow". He remained in gaol for eleven years, supporting himself by making "long tagged thread laces" Strangely enough he was allowed to preach to his fellow prisoners. He wrote several books including **Grace Abounding** in the prison. In the meantime Bunyan had again married and the parting with his wife and children was hard for him and harder still for the young wife. This brave young woman tried her best to get him released by pleading personally before the House of Lords and the judges. Though they gave her a sympathetic hearing they could not be of any help to her.

In 1672, the Declaration of Indulgence was passed, an act of granting religious liberty both to Roman Catholics and Non-conformists and Bunyan too was released. But three years later on the repeal of this

Act, Bunyan who had naturally resumed his preaching, was again imprisoned. It was during this second imprisonment which lasted for three years that he began to write the **Pilgrim's Progress**.

The **Pilgrim's Progress** was published in two parts, the first part in 1678 in a cheap and unostentatious edition. In addition to the second part of the **Pilgrim's Progress**, (1684) he wrote several other books numbering about sixty including **The Life and Death of Mr. Badman** (1680) and the **Holy war**, (1682) the last of which was declared by Macaulay (with the possible exception of Pilgrim's progress) as "the best allegory that ever was written".

Bunyan spent his last years peacefully. He was a licensed preacher now and people flocked in greater numbers to hear him. Even learned men were seen attending his meetings. In a conversation attributed to King Charles with a certain learned man the King was reported to have told the other, "I marvel that a learned man such as you can sit and listen to an unlearned tinker".

"May it please your Majesty", replied the learned man, "I would gladly give up all my learning if I could preach like that tinker".

Bunyan became the head of the Baptist Church. He rose to great influence among those of his own sect, and was popularly called "Bishop Bunyan".

It is significant that Death came to him while he was engaged in a work of mercy in 1688. Bunyan had specially come to Reading, riding on his horse at the instance of a youth who, having offended his father now felt repentent and sought to make peace with him. Bunyan met the angry father and successfully persuaded him to make peace with his repentant son. Happy over the success of his mission, Bunyan rode on to London for keeping up a preaching engagement. On the way he was exposed to severe rain-storm and before he

could find shelter he was soaked to the skin. This resulted in his sudden illness and he died in a few days. He died in Holborn, London on 31st August 1688 and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

Originally placed outside the conventional bounds of literature by the literary and fashionable classes of the time, the popularity of the **Pilgrim's Progress** was long confined to readers of the lower and middle classes. But by the time Macaulay wrote his sketch of Bunyan in 1854, "the educated minority had come over to the opinion of the common people".⁹ A unique feature of Bunyan as Macaulay observes is that he is "almost the only writer who ever gave to the abstract the interest of the concrete. In the work of many celebrated authors, men are mere personifications. We have not a jealous man but jealously; not a traitor but perfidy; not a patriot but patriotism. The mind of Bunyan, on the contrary was so imaginative that personifications, when he dealt with them, became men".

The secret of the perennial interest of the book lies in Bunyan's masterly treatment of his theme which is so broadly human that Christian's pilgrimage becomes the living and dramatic record of man's spiritual progress. Every thinking man whose hopes and aspirations are not strictly and wholly earthly and material will feel at one time or other called upon to encounter the same type of battle fought by the Christian. Even Froude who profoundly differed from Bunyan on theologi-

cal matters was compelled to agree. "The religion of **Pilgrim's Progress** is the religion which must be always and everywhere, as long as man believes that he has a soul and is responsible for his actions".

Hailing Bunyan as a great artist G.M. Trevelyan, while delivering his commemorative address at Cambridge on the occasion of Bunyan's 300th Birth Anniversary, observed, "Bunyan was not a mere religious enthusiast; he was however, unconsciously, an artist as well. When he wrote **Pilgrim's Progress**, the first fierce paroxysm of his religious experience had waned, leaving him free to employ his art in recording his past tribulations. If poetry is, as has been said, "emotion recollected in tranquillity, "no wonder **Pilgrim's Progress** is a great poem".¹⁰

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COMMUNISM UNVEILED

P. RAJESWARA RAO

The vast historical phenomenon, which, in one generation, has overthrown old orders, revolutionised widely disparate societies, effected the greatest re-distribution of political, economic and military power the world has ever known, which has succeeded over one half of the world and is felt to be a challenge to the rest, requires study and understanding. The pedigree of communism can be traced to Plato, the **New Testament**, the Levellers of Cromwell's days, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Hegel, Marx and Engels.

There is a type of communism adumbrated in Plato's Republic, Thomas More's Utopia, Thomas Campanella's 'City of the Sun', in the New Testament of the Christians and Tripitakas of Buddhists and the Sanatana Dharma of Hindus. There are phrases and flashes in Karl Marx, which still echo the prophetic genius of religion and philosophic socialism, which brings economic justice to the proletariat and the **have-not** working underdog. "He who does not work, let him not exist" is a Pauline dictum, which may be the basis of religious socialism or simply Marxism. But there are many slips and gulps between the ideal and the factual. Marxism is an attempted synthesis between the two apparently antithetical views of life—the Rationalist and the Romantic. Rationalism is the intellectual and moral sanction for the classical view of life. Romanticism is a revolt against the classical conservative attitude. Perhaps Marx himself was not aware of the far-reaching implications of his philosophy. Therefore, it remained full of fallacies, which could be explained only by dogmatic interpretations and spurious interpolations. Marxism is not

a horoscope of humanity. The remedy should not be worse than the disease. Communism lost much of its glamour and its redemptive urge, because of its worship of violence and military expansionism. While Marx described 'force' as the 'midwife of revolution', Lenin described 'State' as a 'monopoly of violence'. In the Marxian dialogue, the words 'God' and 'Justice' are only myths. Engels wrote that there was no such thing as a universalistic moral sense, which transcends the theory of class struggle. He added that "Death is painful not to the dead but to the living".

All serious innovation is only rendered possible by some accident, enabling unpopular persons to survive. Kepler lived by Astrology, Darwin by inherited wealth, Marx by Engels' exploitation of the Proletariat of Manchester. The 19th century covers the most important germinal period in the history of world thought. The very juxtaposition of such fabulous names as Hegel and Nietzsche, Marx and Mill, Comte and Kierkegaard at once calls to mind unprecedented differences not only in political temper and style but also in background and thought. Whole philosophical dynasties rise and fall within a few brief years and the technical jargon of one school becomes the gibberish of the next.

Admiration of the proletariat like that of dams, power stations and aeroplanes is part of the ideology of the machine age. Considered in human terms, it has as little in its favour as belief in Celtic magic, the Slav soul, woman's intuition and children's innocence. It was only with Marx and Engels that communism reached intellectual maturity and became capable of inspiring a serious political party. The

communist manifesto, which contains all the essentials of their doctrine, was published just before the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1848. The Manifesto as regards style, vividness, compression and propaganda force, is the best thing that Marx ever did. He had fanatical confidence in the conquering power of his ideas. His philosophy of political economy is communism.

It may be noted that Karl Marx was the son of a German Jewish lawyer. One paradox is that he was a ferocious anti-semitic, in spite of his belonging to Jewish stock converted to Christianity. If he had lived under Hitler, he could have possibly become a Nazi. He was also anti-Russian. It may be that Marx changed Russia. But Russia also changed Marx. '**Das Capital**' was permitted to be translated into Russian in 1872 by the Czarist Censorship on the ground that it was unreadable and too dull to do any harm. It is, indeed, one of the paradoxes of history that the book, as dull and confused as '**Das Capital**', which no one would read for pleasure, should have generated forces as vital as those which were released by the writers of the **New Testament**. The reason is that Karl Marx focussed the lime-light on to social injustice at a time when the condition of the poor in many countries of Europe was at its worst and when in some of those countries, the intellectual classes were in revolt against the liberal and reactionary regimes. Man is free only if he owes his existence to himself. The class that has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production. Economic causes are at the bottom of most of the great movements in history.

No wonder Marx, preoccupied with the horrors of slum life and working conditions in industrial towns of nineteenth century England, revolted and exclaimed that Religion represented a spiritual force

of oppression, just as the State represented the physical. Evidently, Marx did not go to the source of suffering in man like '**Avidya**' (ignorance) and '**Trishna**' (the endless chain of desires). Lord Acton, in an unpublished essay, is said to have observed: "We may see an error in Marx. But where does it come from? Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, **New Testament**, Plato, Church Fathers, Common Law and Sir Thomas More". Things happen in mind long before they are revealed in history. Ideas transcend national boundaries and racial loyalties.

At the time of Marx's education, Germany was dominated by the philosophy of Hegel. The result was that Marx inherited a passion for systematization. After some years of journalism, he went to Paris and came into contact with French Socialists and learnt that the method of historical evolution must be revolutionary. There he met Frederick Engels, a Manchester businessman, with extensive knowledge of British working class conditions. With his support, he settled in England and compiled his work '**Das Capital**', a classic indictment of capitalism, in the British Museum. Germany made him a system builder, France made him a revolutionary and England made him learned. His was a receptive intellect rather than an original mind. The theory of Marx is perhaps the last attempt to combine absolute, radical, grandiose, humanistic ideals with most hard-headed and cold-blooded realism. At the age of 38, he drafted the **Communist Manifesto**, a great document for the working class, so that he so clearly marked the beginning of a new phase in the development and had enormous influence. He named his work '**Das Capital**', intended to crush capitalism. His **Manifesto** is emotional, fiery and moves the worker, while '**Das Capital**' is calm and cool, full of facts, sober and intellectual. Lenin rightly observed that communism was the product

of German philosophy, French politics and British economics.

Marx, in many respects, was a disciple of Ricardo. He ignored non-economic motives like sentiment and biology. Radicalism was inspired by economic considerations, especially nascent industrialism. Philosophical radicals applied the test of utility to all institutions. Matter, according to Marx, is the stuff of cosmic reality. The Marxist party was called the Social Democratic Party. Dialectical thinking is realism. It takes up a hostile attitude to metaphysics. It holds that matter is primeval and the properties of matter are inexhaustible. Mind is an aspect of matter, being a function of the brain. Ideas, therefore, are not primary phenomenon but rather the reflection of material processes. The thinking of Marx is inspired by hatred. He believed in a cosmic force called dialectical materialism, which governs human history independently of volitions. He cared for the punishment of his enemies

idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization. To suppress religion, which provides an illusory happiness, is to establish the claims of real happiness". The persecution of religions practised by communist regimes is more ruthless and thorough-going than under medieval inquisition. "Church of silence" is the name given to those Churches in the Communist-dominated countries, where freedom of worship is restricted. Sometime ago, Russian men, women and children from Southern Siberia walked into the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and complained of religious persecution. Siberia has been mentioned as a centre of activities of Jehovah's witnesses, who have been called anti-Soviet in Press Reports of the recent trials of some of its leaders.

Communism denying religion became one. Aiming at the complete elimination of priestcraft it made itself a priesthood. To understand Karl Marx psychologically, one should use the following dictionary :—

Yehoweh	—Dialectical Materialism
The Messiah	—Marx (It is strange that the founder of scientific socialism is treated with religious awe)
	—Proletariat
The Elect	—The Communist Party
The Church	—The revolution
The second coming	—The punishment of the capitalists
Hell	—The Communist Commonwealth.
The millennium	

and not the benefit of a friend. Hence, ideas are formed ultimately out of human experience. Marxism is not only for interpretation but for guidance. The vigour of Adam Smith, the temper of Malthus, the spirit of Mill and the zeal of Keynes are over-shadowed by the creed of Marx.

Marx said : "Religion is the opium of the people and it is the sob of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, spirit of conditions utterly unspiritual. The

Revisionism is to Marxism what heresy is to Christianity. But when it comes from above, it is called creative development. John Middleton Murray goes to the extent of saying that "Communism is the one living religion to-day". The logic, which drives a missionary cause to aggressive propaganda, is nothing new to history. "Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature". Communism seems to be a sort of secularised Christian-

ity. The conflict between communists and others is the same as between Athens and Sparta, Rome and Carthage, Jew and Gentile, Greek and Barbarian, Christian and Pagan, Protestant and Catholic. A fanatic's mind is dark, his heart is hard and he wishes to stamp out his enemy. If Marx were alive today, the old fashioned nationalism of Russia, the religious veneration for his doctrine as interpreted by Lenin and other heresy hunts, purges, public confessions, pilgrimages to the embalmed corpse of Lenin, mechanisations and manoeuvres in the party organization would have astonished him.

Prof. Toynbee calls communism Christian heresy. The evils of communism are the same as those that existed in Christianity during the age of faith. The O.G.P.U. differs only quantitatively from the Inquisition. Its cruelties are of the same sort, which were perpetrated by inquisitors wherever they prevailed. The Communists falsify history and the Church did the same until the Renaissance. What gives Marxism its immense vitality is the vision of injustice made good, of the poor raised to power and the proud brought low. Materialistic philosophy became secular religion and dialectical thinking was equated with realism. Though materialism cannot be proved, it is not disproved as Lenin put it. For Marx, matter was the ultimate reality. Socialism is nothing but the **reflex in thought of the conflict in fact**. Marx held that history was a procession of succession of economic systems, each violently replacing its predecessor.

But Marxism in practice led to a number of paradoxes. The successful communist revolution materialised not in a highly industrialised capitalist country like Britain or Germany, but in industrially backward Russia and China with an overwhelming agricultural economy and a feudalistic political structure. His theory of world revolution was kept in cold storage

in the interest of the Bolshevich Regime in Russia. The process of the withering of the State has been reversed. It is not likely that the living State mechanism, with all that one is interested in its maintenance, would let go its prey or allow it to be abolished without a struggle. Bakunin and Kropotkin, who stood for anarchic communism, were excommunicated much earlier. The communists now do not hate the State as the means of subduing and oppressing the masses as envisaged by Engels. There is no equality among the people in a communist State. The party bosses constitute the highest caste within the community. The claim of equality like that of liberty is individualistic in its origin. When both these disappear, there is still brotherhood, as it is called comradeship that has some chance of survival as a sort of social basis, since it seems to square up with the spirit of collectivism. But comradeship without equality and liberty is service under absolute control of the Collectivist State.

Lenin entered into a chain of objective historic forces, but he was a great link in the chain. Not only in the beginning but even in after years when the revolution had to be saved by strategic retreats, such as unfavourable treaties with hostile aggressors and the new economic policy, Lenin showed what leadership could really accomplish. Marxism is philosophy and Leninism is Marxism applied to Government in Russia. Lenin was direct, pragmatic and logical. He was also a grand repudiator. He was inspired by the grandiose vision of the betterment of mankind plus total contempt for human life.

In 1916, Lenin wrote: Revolutions against the Socialist State are possible, justifiable and indeed inevitable if the State follows wrong policies. After the Soviet State was formed, he warned its leaders that doom was certain if they lost their ability to reflect and dispassionately as-

certain when 'Revolution' must give way to reform. Not that they would be defeated from outside but their affairs would suffer by internal collapse if they abandoned their sober outlook. The other revolutions in Europe, Hungary, Germany, Italy etc., were lost not simply because the social conditions were relatively less favourable. When the lower classes do not want them the old and the upper classes cannot continue in the old way; then only the revolution can be victorious. In other words, revolutions are impossible without a national crisis affecting both the exploited and exploiters.

Curiously, both Marx and Lenin were intensely human in their dealings. Marx endeavoured to serve the cause of a class to which he did not belong. Lenin himself quoted Engels to the effect that Socialism having become a science must be studied and he agreed with Kautsky that the vehicles of science were not the proletariat but the *bourgeois* intelligentsia. In spite of his poverty, Marx often refused to charge the usual fee of five shillings for his lecture in the labour quarters as it pained him to receive the amount from persons poorer than himself. Lenin refused to add sugar to his cup of tea when he heard that there was sugar shortage. There was no carpet in his drawing room.

Marx was a devoted and affectionate husband and father, believed sternly in sexual puritanism and adored his wife, Jenny Vonwestphalen; she came of an aristocratic Rhemish family and from her mother's side descended from the Earl of Argyll. Marx's manner of life was *bourgeois* in the extreme. He disliked conspiracy and abhorred violence and never in his life had a serious brush with the police. He lived not on the barricade but in the British Museum, which he called an ideal strategic point for the study of society. It may be noted that Russian Communists and Italian Fascists were permeated with

the mentality of the secret society and the Nazis were modelled on them. When they acquired the Government, they ruled the State in the spirit in which they formerly ruled their parties.

A deficiency in communism is that hatred outweighs love which is not right, even if hatred may in itself have a foundation. Hatred is fed on the feeling that it is returned. To hate is to acknowledge one's inferiority and fear. We do not hate our foes whom we are confident we can overcome. He who wishes to avenge injuries by hatred, lives in misery. The class struggle eschews humanistic appeal. The dictatorship of a class is no better than a dictatorship of an individual. Communism destroys personal responsibility. What everybody owns, nobody cares for. Common liability means individual negligence. Every one tries to evade a duty which he expects another to fulfil. The works of Marx arose from a special historical context and do not have a validity that transcends time. Marxism, which is derived from the principles of social revolution, cannot save us from the dehumanisation of life.

While it is possible and even desirable for communism to proceed in the company of humanism, upheavals breed fanaticism and result in perversion. There was fanaticism in the French Revolution, in the German resistance to Napoleon, in the American Civil War on both sides and in the struggle between the Russian Revolutionaries and Czardom. But, except in Russia, fanatics never seemed to gain control for any length of time. Marx erected hatred into a cosmic principle and the source of all power. Thus hatred, a baser instinct, is indeed the pivot and the fulcrum, around and about which communism functions. Ultimately, a votary of communism will degenerate into a pitiless inhuman person who thinks that all the orders he receives are the best even if

he has to massacre his family and friends. Jealously and hatred grow in his heart. He becomes wild and like the wildest cat, he cannot be tamed. Beria, Yagoda and Yezhov, the Russian Police Chiefs, had to face unnatural death. He who wields the sword ruthlessly has to perish by it. Communism had to be made safe for leading the communists. De-Stalinization is a logical and historical development.

Communism endeavours to promote prosperity by bolstering up the proletariat and liquidating the rest with a view to usher in a classless society. It underrates nationalism and ignores moral values. People do not wish to exchange intellectual serfdom to economic security. We want not only better standards of living but a better way of life. Basic human nature, in its impregnable majesty, will triumph sooner or later over every form of tyranny. It adopts ruthless totalitarianism to achieve its ends. The resulting equality is levelling down and dead uniformity. The earliest Trade Union, according to Sidney Webb, dates from the 17th century and thus began a 100 years before the era of machine production. From 1799 to 1912, Trade Unionism was subjected to persecution. Pitt struck the first blow.

For Communists trade union activity is an activity in an armoury and strikes, the lightening, the hands down, the pen-down, the book-down, the sit-down, the stay-in, a section of the workers going on strike and the other supporting them by remaining on work and doing everything wrong, go slow.

In countries where the Communists enter Coalition Governments, they always make sure of the control of the Police. When once this is secured, they can manufacture plots, make arrests and extort confessions freely. By this, they become the whole Government instead of being participants. Since 1939, the Soviet Empire incorporated territories with a total area of

2,00,000 sq. miles and a population of 2,44,00,000. It has imposed regimes of its choice on seven countries with a population of over 90 millions. The fact that their frontiers are stringently guarded to protect the population from escaping is an eloquent testimony to the lack of support enjoyed by these regimes.

Soviet Russia got Kuriles, the Islands of Japan, as the price of nine days' participation in the Second World War. In 1953, an uprising in East Germany has been brutally suppressed. On 23.10.1956, the Hungarian Revolution began. It was not anti-Communist but anti-Russian. Imre Nagy was of a Tito-type. Freedom's forces won. Russia announced on 29th October 1956, that it would withdraw. On 1st November, 1956, Nagy repudiated the Warsaw Pact and asked for protection from U.N.O. Hence, the second successful Russian intervention on 4th November 1956,—a military decision of Zhukhov. On 20th November, 1956, Nagy was kidnapped by Russians and executed later. Historically, war helped the cause of communism. After the First World War, Russia turned Red. After the Second World War, China and the countries of Eastern Europe turned Red. Mr. M. N. Roy described this phenomenon as Red Napoleonism.

Marxian belief in the inevitability of communism, stands refuted. In Asia and Africa, where the atmosphere of anti-colonialism and under-development was supposed to be tailor-made for communist infiltration, the success of communism has been slowed down and Communist China's combination of economic failure, naked aggression and expansionism have been an eye-opener to the rest of the world. Lenin was reported to have said that the shortest route to London was through Peking and Calcutta. Other factors which played their part in preventing the spread of communism are the success of the Common Market, which symbolizes a 'united and astonishing

economic and cultural renaissance' and in Latin America the favourable trend of the alliance for progress. Last but not the least, within the Communist Bloc "Monolithic unity has begun to give way to the forces of diversity that are bursting the bonds of both organization and ideology".

Never have the two senior partners of world communism—Peking and Moscow—quarrelled more bitterly and openly than they are doing now.

In spite of iron discipline, regimentation and dogmatism, disintegration occurs only in closed societies. The dispute between Russia and China is over means, not ends. They are united in their common hatred of capitalism and the free world. While China is openly opposed to peaceful co-existence, Russia accepts it as a policy for the time being due to its sense of realism. The fight against Communism in

Europe and Asia is only against symptoms and not the disease. So long as democracy compromises with its foundations, it cannot stop the spread of communism. The common people of the world have never known freedom. The forces of oppression and **privilege** have kept the doors of freedom closed against the people. It is necessary to distinguish between the prosperity of a country and the happiness of its people. Those who are anxious to regulate the lives of the people even against their will have to remember that **man does not live by bread alone**. But, as a result of a showdown between communism and democracy, we may either relapse into barbarism or be annihilated totally due to the devastating effects of the nuclear weapons. Safety lies in the realisation of this hard and undeniable fact by the communists and democrats alike.

A British Lesson of Patriotism

It is well-known that on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities the United Kingdom was on the brink of civil war—King George thought so and his words had the tacit support of the Liberal Cabinet. Ulster was spoiling for a fight. The Irish nationalists were quite ready to take up the challenge. Military preparation in the form of collection of fire-arms and ammunition, and of drilling volunteers had been going on on both sides. The suffragettes were up in arms against British society, damaging and destroying property and making the holding of meetings of any sort a thing of extreme difficulty. Even before the menacing attitude of Ulster had become a matter of common knowledge, the labouring classes had been engaged in a strenuous conflict with the class of capitalists who also supply the majority of law-makers and rulers of England. But finding the impunity with which Ulster leaders could make war-like preparations and use threatening language, and the deference and consideration with which they were treated, the labour party had become bolder and threatened to follow the example of Ulster, in the realization of their aims.

But lo! when the war came, all party disputes, all conflict between the sexes came to an end, as if by the waving of a magician's wand. Great Britain and Ireland must present a United front to the enemy, and that they are doing...

Ramananda Chatterjee in *The Modern Review*, September, 1914.

EXAMINATION REFORM ?

Prof. CHITTAPRIYA MUKHERJEE

Recent disturbances in the examination-halls are no more than the final outcome of what we have done or not done all these years in the field of education. Any attempt at putting a barrage at the estuary of the river is surely as unsound a measure as trying to reform the examination system without striking at the root of the problem that has its origin in the student-teacher ratio, in the flourishing "text book business", in the socio-economic background of most of the teachers, and also, in the very objective of the educational system as such.

During my not very short experience both as a lecturer in a college of Calcutta and as an examiner of the Calcutta university I had, like many others in this profession, the painful experience that "commercialisation" of education has gone to such an extent that teaching as such has ceased to be a necessity at all. Scanning the questions answered by hundreds of examinees every year, I observed that out of, say, ten questions set in the paper, only six or seven questions were attempted by all the students and they invariably reproduced, in their imperfect language, the answers written in a very half-hearted manner, in the three or four 'notes' or 'sure success' textbooks. And the range of marks secured by the students by almost echoing the words of the 'gold medalist professor', hardly crossed a 30-40 per cent level. "Suggestions" and "probable questions" formulated by 'professors' have replaced the standard text-books written by experts and educationists.

About a year back, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, while trying to put down the teachers' demands, made the uncharitable remark that, as most of the teachers

earn a lot by 'private tuition' and from 'note books', they have forfeited the right to expect a revision of their pay-scale. But how did all this start? It is true that a vicious circle is constantly dragging down the quality of teachers as well as teaching, but this has its roots in the economic depression and the consequent social humiliation to which the teachers as a class have been put in course of the last two and a half decades or so. To placate the teachers as 'nation builders' and at the same time either to compel them to supplement their income by putting in eighteen or twenty hours of labour or to let their income fall below that even of peons in the Education Department, cannot surely go side by side. Without holding any brief for those teachers who are not honest to their profession, it might reasonably be asked whether the responsibility for ending this vicious circle rests initially with the Government or with individual teachers, many of whom, it is true, are not, temperamentally suited to be in the profession.

It is true that with the very rapid growth in population, particularly in Calcutta which is the worst victim of the present educational disorder, facilities for 'good education' to all and sundry cannot be offered by the Government at this initial stage of our growth.—But does it necessarily follow that the standard of instruction in the schools, particularly in the primary stage, should be diluted without any consideration for the quality of future citizens that we profess to produce? With compartmentalization of state funds, it is true that construction of highly expensive tourists' lodges, sports stadium, 'helipads' or television sets, cannot be deferred so long

as schools cannot be expected to have reasonable student-teacher ratio or adequate open space for recreation, or good accessories. But, any acquaintance with the environment of or teaching standards in most of the schools in Calcutta (social tension in the villages or smaller towns being less acute, those are left out), would reveal a state of affairs which is hardly compatible with what these institutions intend to impart.

And these boys and girls, many of whom would be expected to take up responsible assignments in the running of the state in course of a decade or so, are growing in an atmosphere that hardly produces a 'healthy' citizen. At home, there is no space to move about; early morning papers come out with gruelling stories of free fights amongst 'city fathers', exciting pictures and vivid descriptions of cinemas which are supposed to be the best vehicles for mass education; and at regular intervals, they come across first-hand knowledge about the burning of tram-cars; 'lathi' charge or firing by the police, or mass arrest of their respected, revered and beloved teachers.

And, parallelly, there is the glaring instance of conspicuous consumption by a small group of students reading in more 'privileged' schools. With the cry for spread of Hindi all over India there have grown 'English medium' schools where the wards of only the privileged class can, or are expected to, go. In spite of so-called 'democratization' of education, there are two distinct classes of students,—those who are expected to go to the 'bazar' schools and those who are destined to read in the fewer, more expensive, more fashionable, 'anglicized' schools. In due course, one set of students will be equipped for 'clerical' and other low-grade work and the other set for the 'covenanted' executive posts. And this categorization is made, not on the basis of merit but on social standing. Even in the worst days of British Imperialism this

cleavage on the basis of heredity or economic status was not so widespread.

And what do most of the students do when they are outside the school? Wards of the most 'popular' or 'successful' teachers, whom the Chief Minister brands as sharks minting money round the clock, do not have the privilege of spending even a few moments with their busy fathers. And sociologists, who have already produced enough papers on the family background of the students of Calcutta would find that many of the wards of these 'successful' teachers go astray. And what about those who are not teachers?—The war and subsequent 'developmental inflation' have made most of the parents nothing more than 'beggars'. Even the barest necessity of life has to be secured by begging;—a concession for admission to a school, a slight increase in the quota of rice or sugar, medical attendance by a really good and honest doctor, a railway ticket, or even a cricket match ticket:—everywhere the ward finds his or her father going around with folded hands. Normal legitimate claims or rights of a citizen are denied to most people in the usual way; one has to find out devious ways to get what is normally due. And this invariably piles up to build the character of a budding citizen in most of the houses.

It is true that the entire socio-economic problem of Calcutta, which is at the root of the present chaos in the examination-halls also, cannot reasonably be brought within the purview of the Examination Reform Committee which is now seriously considering the ways to prevent recurrence of the incidents. But at the same time, it is no use denying that palliatives like, more lenient question papers, more liberal scrutiny of answer papers or reduction of the syllabus, will not bring in any lasting solution. To recommend that the University examinations be held by all the colleges within their own premises, would, as experiences have shown, degenerate into even

worse form of fiasco if other remedial measures are not simultaneously taken.

And for a real remedy, one must begin from the beginning. If student-teacher ratio cannot immediately be reduced, we might perhaps draw on the 'monitorial' system of teaching which was in vogue in our country and which, as we find in Adam's Report, was utilised with profit by Bitani during the early stage of her growth. If teachers cannot be paid better salaries, at least for the time being, they can, in all fairness to their difficult task, be given more leisure either in the form of five-day week or lighter teaching load. If publication of 'sure success' notes cannot be banned, prior preparation of a complete and exhaustive synopsis of the syllabus, with extensive reference to the best recommended books, and well-coordinated measures to cover the same within the prescribed period can surely be made. Complete neglect of the English language right upto the Higher Secondary stage has caused most of the disappointments in the higher courses and it is time that a disjointed policy (or rather absence of any policy) on English teaching should be ended. A lower student-teacher ratio,—which certainly cannot be introduced overnight,—would enable the teachers to devote more time for regular and frequent short examinations all through the academic sessions. Lowering the standard

of the question papers at the final stages or more 'liberal' scrutiny of paper would only ruin the future career of the students. Examiners should be entrusted with much smaller number of papers and should be expected to submit thorough and detailed reports on the quality of answers and other trends observed from the scrutiny of papers.

On the whole, the teachers should be saddled with lower volume of work and should also be given a decent 'living wage'. They should, at the same time, be made answerable (not literally of course, but, so to say, morally) for a thorough and frequent scrutiny of short examinations. Admitting all problems about finances, provision should be made (if not under the budget head 'Education', then under, 'Social Security' or 'Lessening of Social Tension..') for requisitioning of more buildings (not so expensively furnished, but with simple equipments and more of open space) to lessen the number of students in the schools.—And simultaneously with all this, all other measures, strictly relevant to the conduct of the examinations should of course be made.

While we think of the problems of holding examinations, we must, at the same time try earnestly, and concertedly, to strike at the root of the social tension which is creating all these problems about holding examinations.



FOREIGN AID The limits of its need

P. R. DASWANI

It has become axiomatic that no under-developed democratic country can develop without a heavy dose of foreign aid. Without some amount of foreign aid, economic development of a country like India would be an arduous and an unduly prolonged task. The question is what magnitude of foreign aid is really necessary. The undoubtedly useful role that foreign aid can play as a supplement to domestic savings has been exaggerated in recent times to the level of a philosophy of foreign dependence. Until the recent war with Pakistan, foreign aid was available in a relatively easy manner and we allowed our dependence to grow without formulating a positive policy towards foreign aid. The indiscriminate use of foreign aid led us to balance of payments difficulties which finally resulted in the devaluation of the rupee.

The immediate need of foreign aid is a harsh necessity; its role is to plug the balance of payments gap which threatens to widen with the passage of time. But is it wise to depend upon foreign aid in the strategic sense, apart from its tactical need? Should we not reduce our needs of foreign aid? Moreover, whatever foreign aid we do accept, it should be in such a form that its use decreases the need of more foreign aid in a basic sense. For example, it is better to accept aid that will increase our research capacity to develop a technology dependent on indigenous sources of raw materials and expertise and in consonance with the pattern of our labour and capital resources. We would find that the amount of such foreign aid will be much less than that needed for the import of certain types of machinery. If we rely on foreign aid exclusively for the purpose of needed machinery, we shall increase our dependence on foreign aid in the intermediate period to a dangerous degree because of the complementary need to import raw materials and spare parts and to obtain technical aid for the setting up and running of foreign machinery. Thus foreign aid instead of decreasing, increases

our need of more aid and so causes the serious balance of payments crises at the time of subsequent drafts of heavy repayments. If we are not careful enough, we may unwisely try to plug the balance of payments gap by relying primarily on more foreign aid besides continuing at the same pace our imports of heavy machinery and foodgrains. Such a policy will set up a vicious spiral and our economy may become chronically dependent on foreign aid putting our freedom of economic choice at stake. Unless we effectively do something about this problem now, we may be on the road to financial disaster.

Foreign aid has played a significant role in India's economic development. It has made possible the imports of foreign machinery and know-how. It has largely balanced the production of foodgrains in India and also that of other strategic commodities such as steel. But the role of foreign aid in the economic development of India has not been without harmful effects. For example, as already mentioned, imports of foreign machinery and know-how on a large scale may lead to a parasitic dependence on foreign aid. The imports of foodgrains beyond the limits of market capacity may unnecessarily depress their prices and thus affect their production potential in the long run.

Some of the conditions for successful utilization of foreign aid could be briefly stated as follows:

1. There should be an increased export capacity relative to the volume of imports so that repayment of foreign debt is made easier and rapid progress is made towards self-reliance.
2. The import of agricultural products under the aid programme should not cause the prices of foodgrains to get depressed so as to affect their production in the future.
3. Foreign financial aid and supplies of foreign commodities such as those under P.L. 480 assistance should not lead to an inflationary effect on the economy.

4. Frequent large gaps in the balance of payments should be avoided. The level of imports should be properly phased, so that no large unplanned imports are made, resulting in a serious gap in the balance of payments.

5. The efficiency of the administration must be maintained since it has to execute the plan projects and to utilize effectively foreign aid needed for them. This implies that foreign aid resources *must not be misused by way of corruption, or drained on account of heavy smuggling of goods in the country, or remain unutilized for long periods of time.*

6. In general the role of foreign aid should be that of *supplementing domestic savings and not replacing them.* This implies that the share of foreign aid in total investment and the share of foreign debt in the total debt of the country progressively decreases with the passage of time.

It is obvious that hardly any of these conditions have been fully satisfied in the context of India's experience with foreign aid. Underdeveloped countries striving for rapid development are plagued by a paucity of capital and an abundance of unskilled manpower. In these circumstances, it might be a mistake to go in for the most advanced technology for all purposes in the initial stages of development. A level of technology may be used which is somewhat in advance of the traditional method of production. This will lead to some increase of efficiency and output, enabling the economy to start a progressive climb up the technological ladder. At the same time, modest initial changes will be *economical in the use of capital* when capital is scarce and provide *more scope for engaging labour when unemployment is pressing.* The character of foreign aid should be altered so as to suit the special requirements of optimum development. In fact, foreign aid in the form of equipment and technical skills has been accepted in many a project without too close a study of the appropriateness of the technique with regard to the optimum strategy of development. Any diminution of aid in such projects would be of ultimate benefit to the economy. It would discourage our engineers from certifying as essential expenditure schemes in which the import content is unconscionably high. Foreign collaboration and availability of foreign exchange under the aid programme does not exclude the necessity to examine the *suitabi-*

lity of technique and the degree of capital intensity involved. Foreign aid can be more useful in providing expertise which can devise the needed prototypes of an optimum technology and also help research in the same direction. To accomplish this, engineering inventiveness has to be inspired by a great deal of imagination and insight into the particular conditions of underdevelopment in India. Moreover, the aid-giving countries should themselves come to emphasize this aspect and insist that the aid they provide should play a limited but a crucially appropriate role in the economic development of different underdeveloped countries. Only then will foreign aid, in a true sense, help underdeveloped countries to help themselves, instead of *saddling their economies with an unduly advanced and specialized technology.*

There is the important question of P.L. 480 assistance from the U.S. government. The use of P.L. 480 and P.L. 665 counterpart funds is closely connected with the question of deficit financing. One of the problems to be considered is the inflationary or disinflationary effect of this kind of aid. Another problem concerns the effect of P.L. 480 foodgrain supplies on the pattern of agricultural production in India specially that of foodgrains. A third problem concerns the use of the amounts retained out of the P.L. 480 funds by the U.S. embassy in India for direct expenditures and its effect on India's foreign exchange reserves.

An inflationary impact can arise when plan expenditures are financed by drawing upon the deposit amount corresponding to P.L. 480 supplies. As against this, an offsetting effect is provided by the sales of these supplies and a consequent receipt of rupees from the Indian public. However, the sale proceeds do not completely offset the inflationary effect of the counterpart funds available with the government. In India a part of the supplies have been deliberately left unsold to build up reserves. Moreover, due to subsidized sales losses have been incurred on the supplies sold off. The losses altogether are substantial and are a matter of concern because the greater the losses suffered the more is the inflationary impact on the economy.

Moreover, if the imports of foodgrains under P.L. 480 exceed market capacity, they could repress foodgrains prices in the context of a gene-

ral rise in prices all round. This could cause a disincentive to foodgrains production and basically damage the food economy of the country. The recent failure of foodgrains production in India was partly the result of these conditions in the past.

Another problem concerns the use of that part of the counterpart funds which is retained by the U.S. embassy for direct expenditure. It is important that the *saving of foreign exchange achieved under this programme, should not be neutralized*. The larger the fraction of counterpart funds retained by the embassy, the greater the risk of such neutralization. The magnitude of the counterpart funds under P.L. 480 is large in comparison to the total foreign assistance received by India. The retention of a significant fraction of these counterpart funds, by the U.S. embassy, can make a very perceptible difference to the Indian economy depending upon the manner of their utilization. *The overtones of an indirect political and economic influence over the Indian society are obvious*. In this context one must watch the implications of the recently announced Indo-American Foundation with Rs. 150 crores of counterpart rupee funds provided by the U.S. government. This amount represents only 10 per cent of the total accumulated counterpart funds which are estimated to be Rs. 1,500 crores at present.

The projects implemented with the help of loans and grants ploughed into the government plan from the P.L. 480 counterpart funds, involve further foreign exchange requirements because of the need for non-project imports of certain commodities essential for the projects. P.L. counterparts funds are thus not only no substitute for foreign aid received in foreign currency but also enhance the need for the latter. It is, therefore, important that this programme is not allowed to distort India's economy by making it

dependant on the need for agricultural commodities in the place of foreign exchange resources.

Lastly, the most important question concerns our capacity to absorb the amount of foreign aid we have been receiving and wish to receive. It can be argued that India has nearly reached the limit of its present economic capacity to absorb foreign aid in view of the very heavy repayment burden that is being carried by our economy. India's exports have failed to compensate the growing gap in the balance of payments and the prospects for a large increase in exports in the future do not appear to be bright. About 80 per cent to 90 per cent of the increase of export earnings in the Third Plan over the actual earnings in the Second Plan became liable to be absorbed in meeting repayment obligations alone in the Third Plan period. The Fourth Plan places the burden of repayment obligations at more than double that in the Third Plan. The problem is accentuated by the need for an ever larger volume of maintenance imports of industrial raw materials and spare parts. This is not necessarily an inevitable feature of a developing economy and *could have been avoided by a more realistic strategy of planning*.

The present situation is such that rescheduling has specifically to be requested for meeting the current repayment obligations as the economy is not in a position to meet its maturing obligations from its own resources. Incidentally, this raises the interesting question as to how far the expression "aid" is appropriate to the foreign funds we have received, the terms of whose repayment are plainly beyond the capacity of the recipient country. The government should therefore, examine critically whether it is in the long-term interest of the economy to rely as heavily as before on foreign aid. The point is whether by accepting aid now, are we really eliminating the need for aid later?

SCIENCE IN KASHMIR—PAST AND PRESENT

Dr. S. M. DAS

Kashmir, the famous land of flower and fruit, was for centuries a beacon light of learning and wisdom. Not only did she attract great saints and scholars from far and near, but also sent out her celebrated scholar sons as torch bearers of knowledge, to dispel ignorance in other lands. For example, *Charaka*, the great physician, taught medicine at the great University of *Taxilla*. *Taxilla*, in those days was a part of the kingdom of Kashmir.

Hieuen Tsang who came in 631 A.D. from China to learn at the feet of Kashmiri scholars, paid them a glowing tribute in the records of his visit.

Sarvajumitra, a Kashmiri prince of the 8th century A.D., became a principal teacher at *Nalanda*. He was a disciple of *Ravigupta*—a Kashmiri scholar.

There arose many literary movements in Kashmir. They attained phenomenal dimensions and spread to adjacent lands like India, Afghanistan, China, Tibet and Central Asia. But unfortunately, the original historical works about these glorious periods are not preserved. So a connected account is not possible; but generally speaking the sciences remained neglected.

However, we have with us *Raj Tarangini* (The River of Kings) a master work on Kashmiri history, by a Kashmiri genius *Kalhana* (1148). The 'River of Kings' is no doubt, concerned more with kings and their kingly ways, yet as the late *Jawahar Lal Nehru* puts it, "it is a rich storehouse of information, political, social and to some extent economic."

Perusal of the original volume of *Raj Tarangini*, and later supplementary volume by *Jona Raja* and *Mulla Ahmed* and other similar works, shows that in the earlier periods of our history, education was not a government concern. It was the private business of great scholars who taught in Viharas, Monasteries, temples and in their houses and even under the shade of big Chinnar trees. Besides *Theology*, *Philosophy* and *Arts*, there were taught scientific subjects like *Medicine*, *Chemistry*, *Engineering* and *Astrology* to the students. For

example, *Charaka*, according to *Prof. Nazir*, lived and taught people at *Panzi-Naru*, a village only three miles from Srinagar. Later on he was called to teach at *Taxilla*. In this great *Kashmiri University*, as *Prof. Majumdar* says, the course of *Medicine* ran for a complete seven years. *Nag-Arjuna*—a soil chemist—lived in the monastery at *Harwan*, nine miles from Srinagar. He used his monastery, like *Johann Mendel* (the geneticist) as his lodge and laboratory. He analysed soils there, and so found the table lands of Pampore fit for *Saffron* cultivation. He got saffron introduced in Kashmir. The monastery at *Harwan* was a temple-cum-school, where this great chemist taught. *Nag-Arjuna* (CA 850-900 A.D.) may thus be called the father of science in Kashmir.

In "*Raj Tarangini*," writes *Jawahar Lal Nehru*, "we read *Suyya's* great engineering feats and irrigation works". *Suyya*, as *Dr. Kaummudi* writes, "was a man of conspicuous talents but low origin." He became a famous engineer and flourished in the rule of King *Avanti-Varman* (855-883 A.D.). *Suyya* was a typical product of a local *Pathshala* (indigenous school). After completing his education he was placed on the staff of the same *Pathshala*. *Suyya* performed a miraculous feat to save our lands from frequent floods. He constructed "a stone dam" across the *Jhelum* and stopped its flow for seven days. During this short period the obstructing rocks and sediments were removed from the river bed. Then the dam was demolished and the *Jhelum* allowed to flow. The word *Sopore* (name of an important town in Kashmir) reminds us of this great engineer teacher, even today.

However, with the advent of *Lohora* in 1103 A.D., all spheres of life in Kashmir, began to show signs of decay. In the days of *Suhadeva* (1301-1320 A.D.), a very bad king and the last ruler of the series, Kashmir sank to low depths in all spheres of activity. Foreign invaders trampled the soil and shattered the original Government into fragments. The State of anarchy gave an opportunity to many local chiefs

to rise. *Rinchena* took advantage of this opportunity and assured effective control of the situation.

With *Rinchena*, there set in a new epoch in the history of Kashmir. He embraced Islam and became *Sultan Sadar-ud-Din* the first Sultan of Kashmir. This short-lived Sultan, consolidated his power and organized his Government in a very good way, but he got no time to attend to educational problems of the masses. Then came *Sultan Shahab-ud-Din*, who for the first time made education a Government concern. He opened many schools and a few Colleges. He was followed by *Sultan Sikander* who attached hostels to many Institutions. But in these Schools only theological subjects were taught, and the sciences had a serious set back.

But the Sultan, who did most to educate the people, was *Sultan Zain-ul-Abudin alias Badshah* (1401-1470), who in the words of *Dr. Kaunmudi*, "was one of the most progressive rulers of Kashmir". This great patron of learning and the learned, sent his agents to distant lands to purchase books. Not only this, he opened a network of schools and big Colleges in Kashmir. He imported great scholars like *Mulla Kabir* and *Ismael Kabrani*. The eradition of these scholars attracted students from distant places, as of yore.

The Sultan took great interest in *scientific and technological education*. He sent students abroad to receive training in technology. He helped these scholars with large sums by way of scholarships and allowances. One such scholar was trained in *paper technology* at *Samarkand*. When he returned home, the Sultan opened a technological Institute at *Phag Pargana*, and the technologist was appointed teacher and head of the Institute. Later on a factory also was attached to the Institution. Another scholarship holder received training in *book binding*. When he returned, he too was appointed as an Instructor to teach Kashmiri students.

Besides, this great Sultan of Kashmir appointed *Iraqi, Turk and Khurasani* technologists to train Kashmiri students in *Weaving Silk and Pashmina*. King Badshah also imported silk worms from Khurasan, and may be called the founder of *Sericulture* in Kashmir.

Srivara writes that the Sultan himself had an inventive brain. He prepared a type of gun-

powder and under his guidance the mechanics invented "new weapons of war". The same authority says that the Sultan personally taught one *Habib* the art of preparing *fire-works*. This report, by as great an authority as *Srivara*, shows that there were good arrangements for imparting training in various science subjects including *Chemistry, Mechanics and War-Sciences*. It must be remembered that the Sultan Badshah received his education in Kashmir alone but his genius organised and imported science and technology from abroad.

After 1850, when Western education was spreading fast in India, when schools and colleges were being opened day after day, when Cities like Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore were having their own Universities, *Maharaja Ranbir Singh*, as *Bazaz* points out, "did not care to start even one new school in Kashmir where education could be introduced on modern lines". *Bazaz* says, "Life continued to flow in muddy channels and the intellects of the Kashmiris, both of men and women, continued to stagnate." This may be compared to the *dark-age* in Europe, when science and learning stagnated for over 400 years.

Upto 1880, Kashmir had no school in the modern sense of the word. However, there were *Maktabs* and *Pathshalas* of Yore. There the priests taught Theology and other aligned subjects to the children of upper and middle classes. The majority were ignorant. The Government had no State Department to look after the education of the masses, so the question of aid or supervision did not arise.

However, in this dark age, a shining star arose. In 1881, *Rev. Kncwles* gathered a small number of boys to run a *C. M. S. Boys School*. It was a red letter day in the history of this land and Srinagar. The ruler as well as the lotus-eaters of the land, opposed this Christian project tooth and nail, with the allegation that it was a method to convert the children to Christianity. But the School made a slow headway and gradually rose to the status of a full-fledged high school with a well-equipped laboratory to teach science. In 1891, when *T. Biscoe* joined this school, it had 250 Kashmiri boys on its rolls. In 1895 a *C. M. S. Girls School* was started. This new adventure was considered almost equal to treason and was opposed vehemently by all, from the

man in the street to the Mulla on the parapet and the ruler on the throne.

But the *brave missionaries*, with their burning desire to dispel illiteracy, did not lose heart in the face of unimaginable difficulties. They adhered to their activities in other important towns of Kashmir. Thus, *C. M. S. Schools were opened at Baramulla and Anantnag*. All these mission schools were well managed, and had *well-equipped laboratories* to teach the sciences. Again, Kashmiris were fortunate enough to benefit from the talent, experience, efficiency and knowledge of such learned men as *E. Burges* and *C. Barten* of Trinity College, Cambridge; *E. Lucey* of Christ Church College, Oxford; *Robinson* of Queen's College, Cambridge; *T. Gray* of Jesus College, Cambridge; and last but not the least *T. Biscoe* M.A. of Cambridge.

The success of these mission schools awakened the state authorities to the need to open schools. Thus as late as 1922, there were at Srinagar only *five* high schools (two state high schools, a Muslim High School and two C.M.S. High Schools).

Outside Srinagar, there were some other Mission Schools, one at *Anantnag* and one at *Baramulla*. These Missionaries did not forget the girls of the soil. They opened some more schools for them in all important towns.

In the early years of the present century *Dr. Annie Besant* of the Theosophical Society of India, established a *Hindu College* at Srinagar. But later on it was taken over by the Government and renamed as *Sri Pratap College*, Srinagar. After some time *science classes*, leading to F.Sc. degree (non-medical), were started under a *Bengali Professor* named *M. L. Chakravarti* (M.Sc., Chemistry). Mr. Chakravarti was a benevolent teacher. *He used to give out of his own pocket, a substantial lunch* to his few science students to induce them to stay on for practicals after their usual short college hours. Among these early science students of Kashmir, Mr. *T. C. Raina* and *V. D. Zadu* are worthy of mention. The former continued post-graduate and got a Doctorate from Germany, while the latter became an Engineer and returned from the U.S.A. with an M.Sc. Degree.

As there were no *degree classes in science subjects* at Srinagar upto 1924, many students, after passing intermediate in science, had to

switch to art subjects. *Prof. G. L. Nazir* is a living example of such students.

In 1925, the late *Maharaja Hari Singh* became the ruler. In contrast with his predecessors this last Dogra ruler was indeed very progressive. Soon after his coronation he gave a fillip to education by opening many new schools and raising others to a higher status. In S. P. College' *Biology* was introduced under *Prof. Bahadur Singh* (a hard-working man from the Punjab) in 1926. It will not be out of place to say that he left behind in the College a splendid and rich museum. Without the least idea of casting aspersions, one may make bold to say that his successors—all Kashmiris—did nothing substantial to add to this biology museum or at least to preserve the rare specimens scientifically. The Physics, Chemistry, Zoology and Botany laboratories were all reorganised and modernised.

Maharaja Hari Singh chalked out an intensive programme to get young men of the soil trained in scientific and technological subjects in foreign countries like America, U.K., and France. In this way, were got out the local M.Sc's., M.R.C.P's, F.R.C.S's and M.R.C.V.S's etc. It was in his time, that S.P. College was bifurcated—the degree classes being shifted to Amar Singh College, a newly created Institution, which has flourishing science departments now.

In 1947, when the Maharaja's rule ended, Kashmir had a large number of high schools and three science colleges. In many of these high schools there were arrangements for teaching the sciences, although these arrangements were often poor. No Post-Graduate studies existed at all, and all our M.Sc's and Ph.D's were from outside Kashmir. The only subject represented at Post-Graduate level was the once famous school of *Geology* at the then Prince of Wales College—Jammu, which was affiliated for M.Sc., to the Punjab University, and had on its staff such eminent Geologists as Prof. Wadia. This ran for a number of years but was discontinued prior to Indian Independence.

The *Post-Graduate Science Departments* in J & K University were started in 1961, although Mathematics was started as far back as 1958. With the starting of Post-Graduate classes in the Sciences, both at Srinagar and Jammu, an impetus for research was provided. The production of M. Sc's in the different Science subjects also

provided an immediate impetus for expansion of facilities for teaching the sciences in schools and colleges. From 1961 to 1964 the number of Science Schools and Colleges increased rapidly and the fresh M. Sc's were recruited to man these science departments. Thus the efficiency of science teaching has improved immensely in the last few years.

Scientific research in Kashmir had been mainly conducted by some foreign workers including British I. M. S, I. C. S, and other officers whose studies were based on limited material collected and observed from time to time. Some of these workers were Lydekker, Rud, Heckel, Gurthar, Lawrence, Hutchinson, Drew, Oldham Bentham and Hooker and Angler and Prantle. Some work was also conducted by the survey parties of Zoological, Geological, Botanical and Geologic Surveys of India.

Modern research in the sciences has now been established in Kashmir, as is evident from the stream of research papers being published since 1962 in various standard scientific Journals of India and abroad. Recently, the publication of the Science Research Journal of Jammu and Kashmir University, "*Kashmir Science*", has given a fillip not only to scientific research in Kashmir but also has put Kashmir on the map of the World in the field of scientific advancement. The subjects tackled and published in the first volume of "*Kashmir Science*" ranges from a advanced Chemistry and Mathematics to modern researches in the fields of Kashmir Zoology, Botany and Geology.

The *School of research in Zoology* has published new work on fishes and fisheries of Jammu & Kashmir, the Ecology and geographical distribution of Kashmir animals, helminth parasites of vertebrates from Jammu and Kashmir, a survey of Kashmir fauna, and Rare animals of Kashmir. *Botanical* researches include papers on fungal and mosaic diseases of Kashmir plants and ecological aspects of plants. Researches in *Chemistry* include studies on soil-horizons with respect to soil stabilization, chemical constituents of some weeds of agricultural importance and synthesis of amoebocides. Work in *Geology* consists of researches on stratigraphy and other aspects of Kashmir rocks. Recent *Mathematical* investigations include Barry and Hayurian problem, and convergence of integrals.

The *scientific problems* now being investigated in the *Research School of Zoology* are the problems of fish species and their ecology and distribution in Kashmir; the structure, physiology and modifications of the digestive canal in relation to food; age and growth studies with the help of fish scales; the life history and development of the common food—fishes of Kashmir; studies on Dal-Lake fauna, plankton and fish food; and the all important problems of pituitary and pisciculture. Attempts are being made to work out completely the helminth diseases of fish, poultry, and cattle in Kashmir. The insect orchard pests—called aphids (plant-lice)—are also being extensively worked out.

In *Botany*, the studies include plant ecology and gymnosperms of economic importance, Dal-Lake flora, and other morphological work on Kashmir plants. In *Geology*, the recent school of research at Jammu is tackling important problems on stratigraphy, soil erosion and palaeontology. The researches in *Chemistry* include a wide range of subjects from soil analysis to chemical analysis of plants of agricultural and medicinal importance. Problems on statistics and higher mathematics are being tackled in the school of research in mathematics. The newly established Department of *Physics* has specialised in Nuclear Physics and with facilities available researches will begin in other important fields.

The *Gulmarg Laboratory* which has been investigating the phenomenon of cosmic rays during the last several years has now been affiliated to the Jammu and Kashmir University. It is hoped Cosmic Ray Research will proceed with renewed vigour now.

Kashmir is famed for its art, throughout the world, but science has remained in the background for over a century. The complete history of science-education and science studies in Kashmir is still to be written. But although more than fifty years have passed since science was first established in Kashmir, there has been no mouth-piece for all the sciences during all these years. It is hoped that the establishment of Post-Graduate courses in Sciences in Jammu and Kashmir University in recent years, the establishment of research-schools, and the inception of the science journal "*Kashmir Science*", will give a fillip to advancement of the sciences in Kashmir of the future.

SANNYASI INCURSIONS IN BENGAL

SUDHANSU TUNGA

The humble Sannyasis wearing beards and *jatas*, whom we always view with awe and respect on account of their religious sanctity, posed a serious threat before the East India Company during the latter half of eighteenth century by their annual raids on Bengal. And they, hundreds and sometimes thousands in number, were equally a terror to the people at large; their very appearance was dreadful, as dreadful as the Marhatta incursion known in Bengali as the *Bargir Hangama* which took place almost simultaneously, or a decade or two earlier, in the districts of South West Bengal.

Though popularly called Sannyasis, they had no particular import, and all religious mendicants—be they *Sadhus*, *Yogis*, *Bairagis*, *Fakirs* or vagabonds—both Hindu and Muslim, formed the great class of Sannyasis. They pretended to beg alms but their intention was entirely different, i.e. to make money by means they themselves thought proper. They had no fixed abode and marched through from one place to another, looting and plundering whatever fell on their way. They carried arms of all sorts and had horses, camels and even elephants etc. They sometimes lent money at exorbitant rates of interest and entered into trade of valuable stones such as diamonds, corals, etc. Turbulent in nature and nomadic in character these people were always guided by violent passions and, as Warren Hastings writes, “they neither married nor had families, but recruited their members by stoutest of children which they stole from the countries through which they passed.” Some among them did not put any garments on as the Nagas who went completely

naked through all seasons, hot or cold. Sometimes the Sannyasis were hired by Zamindars and landlords, even Rajas and Maharajas, as mercenaries. Nawab Mir Kasem is said to have hired a band of armed Sannyasis to get back his *Masnad* which he had lost earlier. Often they were recruited in army; there were many Sannyasis of all classes in the Rajput and Marhatta Army. Thus, for their fighting nature, they were entertained greatly by the Kings and Nawabs. A Fakir leader named Shah Sultan was even granted a *Sanad* by Prince Shah Suja in 1659 whereby they “were entitled within the countries of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to confiscate as they liked properties which were without heirs”. Rani Bhawani of Nattore and the Raja of Nepal also supported them much simply because they being religious people were not subject to general laws of administration.

Their Hunting Grounds

North Bengal comprising the districts of Jalpaiguri, Dinajpur, Pabna, Malda, Bogra, Rangpur, Mymensingh and Dacca etc, most of which are now in East Pakistan was the principal hunting places of these raiders. They advanced through these districts every year to their places of pilgrimage scattered here and there, viz, Gangasagar in 24 Parganas, Agradwip in Nadia, Chilmari in Rangpur, Singjoni and Begunbari in Mymensingh and such other places in the Brahmaputra. The Muslim Fakirs also had their places of pilgrimage in the neighbourhood. Chief among them were Adina Mosque in Malda and Pir Bader-Ud-din and Mulla Ala-ud-din in Dinajpur.

Though North Bengal was their main target they occasionally visited West Bengal too, especially on their way to Puri in Orissa, another important place of Hindu pilgrimage since very early times. It is reported that some seven thousand Sannyasis both foot and horse were seen encamped within 30 miles of Khirpai in Midnapore in 1773. Another band of armed Sannyasis also appeared the same year in Agrardwip in Nadia. Due to sharp precautionary measure taken by the Government no casualty was, however, reported in either case.

Usually homeless these mendicants wandered from place to place looting and plundering and took refuge in the famous Joshi Math in the Himalayas and the jungles of Nepal Tarai during off seasons or when chased by the enemy. They also established a great many monasteries in the districts of North Bengal which served to be their fortresses in times of danger; and from these places they made their raids in the next year anew.

Notorious Raids

The earliest inroad of the Sannyasis is reported to have taken place in the year 1743 when a gang looted the Hindu temple of Bhawanipur in Bogra district. It is also said that Bhaskar Pandit, the notorious Marhatta plunderer who was stationed in the neighbourhood, on hearing the news rushed to the spot, drove the raiders across the border of Rajshahi and restored the looted property to the temple. They were seen the next time in 1763 in **Bakerganj**, after a lapse of 20 years; and, as Hastings reports, they had an encounter with the Company troops and put in danger the life of Mr. Kelly, an agent of the former. Since then their appearance became a regular yearly phenomenon which continued, with few intervals, almost to the end of the century, and the Company had to face lots

of difficulties to tackle them. In 1763 there was, however, another raid in which the Sannyasis looted the Rampur Boalia Factory in Rajshahi and captured Mr. Bennett who was the officer-in-charge of the factory. Cooch Bihar was also not in safety for a number of years; they were found also there looting and plundering as usual.

In November, 1770, some 5000 Sannyasis proceeded, as a report says, through the Rangpur district who carried arms with them. In the following year a large body of them were seen near Serajganj in Pabna. They laid all principal towns of the district under compulsory contributions. They were about 1000 in number. In the same year Dacca was also under the incursion of these people who exacted money from the local inhabitants. A band of 2500 armed men was also watched in Ghograghat and Gobindaganj in Rangpur in the same year. In the following year a gang of much greater number of raiders under the leadership of Majnu Shah appeared in the Bogra district and looted whatever they got. The Company sepoy, however, pushed them back for the time being but they appeared again in the following year. The Supervisor of Rajshahi at Nattore reported in 1772 the appearance of 2500 Muslim Fakirs who "plundered all goods and effects and carried away one of the principal men of the district". They were numerous and it was difficult to expel them. A party of 300 men with arms is also reported to have seized from Jaisindhu Pargana of the same district Rs. 1000 "which were ready for despatch" to the Company headquarters. The Council of Revenue remarked in the same year that the losses by the inroads of the Sannyasis amounted "altogether to 8969 Rupees". And the same year one Captain Thomas of the Company was captured and killed in a skirmish with 1500 Sannyasis in Swaruppur Pargana of Rangpur. Next year about 5000 Sannyasis attacked the Jaffarshahi Pargana of Rajshahi and con-

fined the **Naib** of the Zaminder and demanded a ransom of Rs. 1600 for his release. Collector of Dacca described in 1773 that about 5000 Sannyasis reached Kagmari Pargana only a day's walk from Dacca when the people of the locality fled away out of fear. It is also reported that the plunderers collected lots of money and proceeded towards Mymensingh. In a few month's time they came back to Dacca again and started exacting money from the innocent people. The Company sent its men to fight back the enemy from the city. But the enemy was numerous, about 3000 in number; and in a battle with them the Company lost all its men except 12 sepoys and one Captain Edwards was killed by the enemy gunshot.

Alarmed by the Sannyasi menace the Company took a cautionary measure against them and stationed sepoys and barkendazes in all district headquarters of the affected areas. Sannyasis, who watched from close quarters the Company's power disappeared for a year or two. People of North Bengal heaved a sigh of relief. But they made their fearful appearance again in 1775 and started their usual menace which rolled on year after year. In 1787 a gang of them proceeded, it is reported, towards Cooch Bihar, the territory of a native Raja, and captured the Raja, the Rani and the grandmother and looted and took possession of their valuable property. Two months later, however, the Sannyasis were made captives and the Raja and Rani released by the Company officials. In 1793 the Museedah Pargana of Rajshahi was plundered and the inhabitants robbed of their property by a gang of Sannyasis who also destroyed the **Cutchery** of the Zamin-dar of the said Pargana. The same year they proceeded towards Dinajpur and Malda districts and committed the same violent crimes leaving people in fear and destitution. It is reported that one Momin Mandal along with others was robbed of

his entire belongings and made a captive. Another captive of the same raid was used by the Fakirs as a coolie to carry their loads to a place of safety for them.

The next year they also appeared again in Dinajpur and plundered the district in spite of the Company safeguards stationed there. It is calculated that from the two districts of Rangpur and Rajshahi the plunderers took as much as Rs. 19000 and many valuable properties belonging to people which amount to far greater a number. The next year they marched towards Cooch Bihar and plundered as usual though the Raja with the British forces at his disposal made a vain effort to disperse them.

In the year 1800 a most terrible incursion was made by more than 1000 Fakirs in the Khetal thana of Bogra. The Fakirs kept there for a number of days plundering and exacting money from the innocent people. The officers of the thana were threatened by the raiders but remained ever vigilant with the help of other people. In a clash with the Fakirs two lives were lost of the vigilant party and 16 of the raiders made captives. This is possibly the last incursion of the Sannyasis of any importance in Bengal as recorded so far.

The Leaders

Sannyasis and Fakirs were guided and governed by a leader for each gang having diplomatic intelligence and robust physical power. One of such leaders, and most notorious of all, is Manju Shah of some Muslim sect known as the Fakirs. He had a number of headquarters scattered in Bogra, Mymensingh and Rangpur districts. "The no-man's land", writes the **District Gazetteer of Rangpur**, "lying south of the stations of Dinajpur and Rangpur and west of present Bogra towards the Ganges far removed from any local authority was a favourite haunt" of the plunderer. And he

had "a machine called Bhela which when revolved vomitted forth fire all round". At that time fire arms were unknown to the people of that locality. He was so ferocious that some of the most powerful Zamindars left their Zamindaris and went elsewhere. Glazier in his book entitled **The District of Rangpur** writes: "It is said that the ancestors of the present Raja of Gouripur of Assam had to leave Kairabari, their original home, on account of the depredations of Majnu". He threatened to destroy Karai, a small Pargana in Bogra belonging to Chand Roy, the Dewan of Bengal during Ali Vardi's time, unless a sum of Rs. 50000 was paid to him. He had in his troop a well-designed Rajput gang which was more stubborn and merciless. So vehement and defiant he seemed to create terror before the people of North Bengal that he was made a legend even during his life-time and village poetasters used to write poems on him which children and aged alike committed to their memory. It is believed that the fearful leader died in 1787 at Makhanpur in U.P. which was his greatest resort of safety.

Another notorious banditti leader was Bhawani Pathak, who was in league with Majnu Shah. His chief haunt was the districts of Bogra and Mymensingh. He was described as a "desperate man" having taken and plundered the property of people his means of communication as well as his chief and other men from Upper India. He had a number of boats, all packed with arms and ammunition, which served to be his means of communication as well as his housing abode. He was killed in 1787 in a clash with the Company forces near Govindaganj in Rangpur. Another dacoit, a woman named Debichoudhurani, who was also in league with Pathak lived in boats and had a large number of armed men of very ferocious nature and, as Glazier writes, "committed decoity on her own account besides getting a share of the

booty obtained by Pathak". Both Pathak and Debichoudhurani were made incarnations, though in a different and much sacred way, by Bankimchandra in his famous novel **Debichoudhurani**.

Other noteworthy leaders are Musa Shah, Cherag Ali Shah, Subhan Shah, etc, who were the successors of Majnu. They all belonged, as their names indicate, to Muslim community and were therefore known as Fakirs. There were also leaders like Gobinda Giri, Ganesh Giri, Moti Giri, etc., of Giri sect, who were equally ferocious by nature. Though differing in their religious beliefs, these people were identical in their methods of attack and plundering attitude, which were always merciless and ferocious. Sometimes they quarrelled with each other amounting to murders simply because of their particular religious point of view; the Muslim Fakirs were in this respect more ferocious and turbulent than their Hindu counterparts; otherwise they preferred to work together.

Company Measure

The East India Company, which was the governing authority of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa when the Sannyasi rabbles were terrorising people by their heinous offensives for nearly half a century was not a silent spectator though its effort to fight back the menacing agents did not meet with much success towards the beginning. The people at large, though they were the actual victims suffering much at the hands of the Sannyasi plunderers did not give any assistance to the Company and, on the other hand, gave refuge in some cases to the former when the Company troops made their way to them. As a constructive measure the Company, however, appointed Supervisors in all district headquarters of the affected areas and sepoys equipped with arms of all sorts were garrisoned at their disposal. They could keep watch on the

movements and attitude of the travelling Sannyasis; and whenever any attack was apprehended due course was adopted to fight them. The Supervisor of Rajshahi stationed at Nattore reported the Council of Revenue in 1777 of the appearance of 2000 Sannyasis and asked his help. The Council sent accordingly a company of sepoys to Nattore to give strength to those already stationed there. But all this seemed very little to deal with the offenders, and the Government therefore took more severe steps to punish them, especially when two of the Company officers were killed in encounters with the banditti. Warren Hastings apprehending the strength and severity of the Sannyasis advocated increasing military power; accordingly each Supervisor was advised to report the Council of every action of the Sannyasis. Moreover, a Circular was issued by him on January 21, 1773 to the effect that any person with arms entering in the territory of the Government would be **regarded as the enemy of the Company** and that such rigorous action be taken **against them as** might be thought proper. A notice was also given simultaneously to all **Bairagis** and Sannyasis "to leave the country of Calcutta, its precincts or any other place of residence in it within seven days" of the publication of the notice and "depart from the **Subahs** of Bengal and Bihar in two months". The said notice also further read that if any Sannyasi had been found in Bengal and Bihar even after the date as declared, his property was liable to seizure and his person to hard work to the public buildings. All Zamindars and farmers were also directed to supply informations of the movements of the plunderers to the respective Revenue Collectors stationed at each district headquarters. Experiencing that the Sannyasis took refuge whenever chased or attacked in the hills of **Bhutan** and thus escaped capture, Hastings entered into a treaty with the Raja of **Bhutan**.

According to the treaty the Sannyasis were prohibited by the Raja to enter in his territory.

Military establishments were also increased to a considerable extent. In the year 1766 six new corps were raised and made over to the Revenue Department for safeguarding the revenue exactions of the Company. Some six years later, an arrangement was also made with Chait Singh, Raja of Benares, to receive horses for the need of the Company. And in 1772 another treaty was made with the Maharaja of Nepal according to which Sannyasis were refused admission in Nepal. In 1794 an order was also passed by the Governor General against the Sannyasis. Accordingly the Magistrates of Dinajpur, Purnea (Bihar) and Rangpur received orders to issue proclamations notifying all Zamindars and farmers that they in case of their property being looted and persons attacked by armed Sannyasis were at liberty to repel them by force and in doing so if they killed any miscreants they would not be held responsible for their death. It was also notified that all Zamindars, landlords and farmers were authorised to seize any arms borne by any Sannyasis and Fakirs. The translated copies of the said proclamation were made public in all **thanas** and **cutcheries** of the districts. The monasteries, which were established by the Sannyasis in some of the districts of North Bengal for their stay-in during off seasons, were placed under guard by the Company forces; and if any Sannyasi or Fakir was seen outside those monasteries, forthwith arrest was made of him.

The Sannyasis, who were thus denied all kinds of privileges which they used to enjoy earlier could not challenge the stern Government measure any more and as soon as the new century dawned they ceased to be a menacing element for the people of Bengal and Bihar.

DEVELOPING ECONOMY AND DEVALUATION

Prof. B. C. NIMKAR

Tossing the issue of devaluation on the cross currents of various analyses has, while disturbing the apparent silent surface of a weak economy ; created also a veil of fears and expectations along with a chain of wishful thinking which almost blurred the vision of searching unbiased analysis. Although the fear that it may not be the 'way out of the difficult situation' but may drag the economy into a '*vicious spiral*' is not altogether unfounded. Let us shake off the veil of fears and misgivings to look into the pattern which is operating at the deeper levels.

An indisputable fact is obvious ; that our planning made us victims of uncontrollable economic forces where we find ourselves helpless in stopping the wheels of mounting prices, inflation, deficit financing etc., once we had started on the course. It was planned that during the Third Plan money supply would increase by 35 per cent, which would be offset by increased production but actually money supply increased by 57 per cent while the real national income rose only by 15 per cent as against the target of 30 per cent. The obvious result could only be 'too much money chasing too few goods.' Prices shot up with higher and higher speed'. Wholesale prices

rose during the Third Plan by 40 per cent ; the Price index went up from 124.9 in 1960-61 to 165.0 in 1965-66.¹ Similarly, the consumer's price-index shot up from 137 in 1960-61 to 188 in January 1966. The utmost pressure of increasing 'aggregate demand schedule through multiplier and inflation' was felt on the prices of foodgrains and necessities the index of which rose from 126, in 1960-61 to 173.1 in March, 1966.* It was mainly this factor which disrupted the economic mechanism turning the market into a wholly 'sellers' market'. As a result of too much money creation and credit expansion by the commercial banks followed by the betrayed hopes of proportionately increased production, abnormal rise in the general price level was inevitable. Unbalanced extra purchasing power (i.e., created money) put in the pockets of the people, multiplied 'demand for goods' by many times while production increased only a little. 'Pressure of demand' on an over-ambitious but weak economy went in increasing which unfortunately was fully realised until too late. We gathered together all the factors which mobilised the forces of inflation. In the First Plan deficit financing was proposed to be of the order of Rs. 290 crores ; in the Second Plan it was 1200 crores ; in the Third Plan, the

1. Base year 1952-53 = 100.

Following are the statistics for the analytical comparison of the relative price rises

Average of weeks.	All commodities.	Food grains.	Liquor & tobacco.	Fuel power & Light.	Industrial raw material.	Manufacturers.	Finished products.
1960-61	124.9	120.0	109.9	120.0	145.4	123.9	122.8
1961-62	125.1	120.1	100.9	122.1	142.6	126.6	124.6
1962-63	127.9	126.1	100.9	124.4	136.5	128.8	127.1
1963-64	135.3	136.8	119.6	139.4	139.5	131.1	129.7
1964-65	152.7	159.9	131.2	144.9	162.7	137.3	134.8
1965-66	165.0	168.9	136.4	150.0	189.1	149.1	145.3

*. Base year 1949-50=100.

figure came to 550 crores,² but realities again betrayed our calculations. Money supply with the public rose from 1,162 crores in 1945-46 to 2,869 crores in 1960-61 and 4,513 crores in March, 1966, recording an increase of over 40 per cent in five years.³ Meanwhile various long-term ambitious projects undertaken increased employment, income and purchasing power and started the multiplier process but influenced 'supply' only insignificantly. There is always a time lag between investment and production; and longer the gap, stronger the impact of inflation. Thus the restless purchasing power generated by various sources and forces made the general price level rise, wages caught up with prices and dragged the economy in to a vicious price-spiral. In the international market our prices became exorbitant, forcing devaluation or, as officially conceded, a 'recognition of reality'. The most pressuring factor was the fear of devaluation which was widespread and which held up inflow of foreign capital.

The crux of the problem is whether this is really a way out of the difficult situation. We are obviously in a spiral-price-rise leading to devaluation and devaluation, in turn, leading to price rise. The long history of war-time experiences has demonstrated incontestably that measures like price control, rationing etc., can be of use for short periods only and that too with doubtful success. Unless the restless market haunting purchasing

power is quenched or satisfied, price control would only artificially suppress the demand for goods, shifting goods from open markets to black markets with the whole gamut of its attendant evils such as profiteering, hoarding, accumulating unaccounted money, corruption, lowering of morale etc., and would end in frustration, monetary instability, disbelief in the Government's capacity to retain the value of currency, and finally collapse of the economy. For lack of economic stability and lack of confidence in the Government's capacity to maintain the value of currency, the propensity to consume would increase, because if tomorrow's purchasing power of money is highly and abnormally doubtful, people would exchange it for goods as soon as it is possible, keeping only a small provision for contingencies. Thus with expanding money supply, there is always the increased propensity to consume, increased velocity of circulation of money, exerting still a greater 'pressure of demand' on the economy. Before the crisis and disasters ensue it is better to give up reliance on failing measures of price control and rationing, and a comprehensive realistic formula evolved to check the impending greater crisis.

Still increasing excessive pressure of demand has to be relieved by reduction and diversion if the economy is to be saved from collapse through uncontrollable price-rise. To sum up, the forces

2. Against this estimate actual deficit financing during the First Plan was Rs. 420 crores and during the Second Plan it was 1,000 crores.

3. To what extent inflation is out of proportion with the economic strength of the country is revealed by the following figures. As would

be observed only 4 per cent of total notes issued are backed by Gold. Only 6 per cent are issued against foreign securities and the rest, 90 per cent are issued against Govt. of India rupee security. It reflects critically dangerous adverse balance of payments as well as the internal hollowness of the economy.—

Reserve Bank of India,	Issue Deptt.	As on 22. 7. 1966
Notes held in Bombay Deptt.	25,01,73,000	
Notes in circulation	28,20,15,06,000	28,45,16,79,000
Assets		
Gold coin and bullion held in India	115,82,25,000	
Foreign securities	161,42,01,000	2,77,31,26,000
Rupee coin		87,93,94,000
Govt. of India Rupee Security		24,79,91,59,000
Internal bills of exchange and other comm. papers		Nil
Total		28,45,16,79,000

which led to the economic crisis were large scale reliance on deficit financing for a long time ignoring the need for a realistic assessment of internal resources ; ambitious plans much beyond what the internal resources could accommodate, long term targets which, operating through the mechanism of employment, wages, and the levels of income, raised the purchasing power without corresponding increase in optimum production and, lastly, the enormous amount of black money created by black marketing, tax evasion etc., which remained outside the fiscal control. Devaluation is bound to raise further the price level, and its very object would be defeated, unless it is made to work through bold and realistic measures. The immediate need is to induce self-generating, self-sustaining forces and not to let it remain a helpless tool in the hands of foreign political and economic pressures. For that purpose

our plans should evolve under the impact of the existing economic frame-work which comprises resources and necessities determining the rate span of growth. This implies (1) emphasis on the projects with the shortest possible gap between investment and production, so that the least quantum of extra purchasing power may be generated in anticipation of increased production; (2) Strict measures for credit control through banking channels ; (3) All steps needed for money contraction such as a surplus budget and strict measures for implementation of price control, during the transitional period ; (4) Imposition of deterrent punishment for profiteering and blackmarketing, etc. Let us reiterate that devaluation in itself is no remedy but only a temporary expedient providing time for controlling the disturbing forces inherent in the present economy.



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

THE FOURTH FIVE YEAR PLAN

When we endeavoured to present in these columns last month what we considered was more or less a complete and comprehensive critique of the techniques of planned development in the manner in which it was being essayed in this country over the last fifteen years, we hoped that the principal causes that may be assessed to have led to the admitted failures of planning on the one hand, and the mounting inflationary pressures on the economy which have already culminated to what must be acknowledged to a near-breakdown point, would have been clearly understood by the powers that be and which would be accepted as guide-lines for formulating our course of action in the matter of planning for the future.

Apparently, the lessons, hard enough so far as they are admitted to have been, do not yet appear to have been devastating enough to counsel wisdom in the Olympian fastnesses of the **Yojna Bhaban**. The Fourth Plan draft outline adopted by the National Development Council last month and since discussed by Parliament does not seem to envisage any of the sorely needed rethinking in this field.

The objectives and the broad priorities envisaged in the Fourth Plan Outline do not, on the face of it, seem to differ even modestly from any of the earlier Plans. It is much larger in size and scope, no doubt, although in relation to the Rs. 21,500 crore Plan Outline adopted by the NDC last year at 1963-64 prices and, especially, in the context of the post-devaluation 1966 prices (The Plan estimates are said to have been

drawn up at current prices), it is of a considerably attenuated size. What would appear to be especially amusing in this connection—it it were not so tragic in its ultimate implications—is that these varying estimates (One recalls a tentative earlier Fourth Plan estimate of the size of Rs. 25,000 crores) were all considered equally feasible by the authorities of the Planning Commission,—a view which, apparently, was confirmed by the Finance Ministry of the Government of India. The processes of estimation in this behalf might, one wonders, yield considerable material for interest on close examination, if also not for a great deal of mirthless amusement!

But even in the context of the considerably attenuated value at current, post-devaluation prices, the share of the Public Sector in the Plan's estimates of outlays aggregate Rs. 16,000 crores which is very nearly double that of its investments during the Third Plan (Rs. 8,631 crores) which, together with the increasing burdens of expenditure on defence and civil administration, caused very severe inflationary pressures in the economy; in his statement on devaluation, the Union Finance Minister admitted a 80 per cent rise in the wholesale price index during the decade between 1953-54 and 1963-64. In a recent estimate published by the Reserve Bank of India, it has been assessed that wholesale prices have increased by as much as 15.6 per cent within the one year between 1965 and 1966.

In the Third Plan, the public sector investment of Rs. 8,631 crores—which was estimated to have been approximately 98 per cent of the original assumptions in this behalf—was sustained by deficit financ-

ing of the order of Rs. 1,150 crores. This is a method of resource-gathering which, it has now been firmly announced by the Union Finance Minister and confirmed by the Planning Minister, would not be resorted to during the Fourth Plan. The principal burden of inflationary pressures in the economy is laid at the door of deficit financing of this order. There is no doubt that deficit financing of such a reckless order is a questionable means of financing capital investment unless, of course, care were taken to ensure that the finance so created were used more purposefully and were able to yield results fully in accord with estimates in this behalf. But even apart from deficit financing, investments, on the whole, would appear to have been largely infructuous during the Third Plan on account of faulty implementation of Plan projects. That wrong priorities also played some part in the whole process, contributing their own inevitable pressures upon the price structure, should be equally obvious. But to revert to our discussion, while investments actually absorbed 98 per cent of total allocations for the Third Plan, yield from investments in terms of increase in the national income, were very much short of targets assumed in this behalf. In the Third Plan the target of increase in the national income was put down at a 6 per cent annual compound growth rate or 30 per cent over the entire Plan period; the actual now assessed is said to be of the order of 12 per cent over the entire Plan period which is, roughly, a little more than a third of the original assumptions in this behalf. Significantly, there has been no increase in the per capita income level (which is, generally, a wholly unreliable method of assessing individual prosperity) because, it is said, the increase in the population during the corresponding period fully offset the increase in the national income. It should be obvious from these facts that although deficit financing in the manner and of the order in which it was

resorted to for the Third Plan must have played a significant role in creating the raging inflationary pressure during the Third Plan, the whole of it cannot be laid at the door of this one factor alone. Faulty implementation of Plan projects resulting in only a 40 per cent realization of development targets against a 98 per cent investment, must have been another and, by far the more overwhelming, inflationary factor in the entire process.

Looking at the Fourth Plan in the shape in which it is now formulated, we find the resources position for the estimated outlays of Rs. 23,750 crores to be frankly even murkier than it was in the Third Plan estimates. Foreign aid prospects have been put down at no more than approximately Rs. 2,000 crores (in terms of rupees at present exchange rates) over the next five years. Apart from the obvious gap in the foreign exchange content of the estimates, how are the Government to get together the balance of the Rs. 14,000 crores that would be required for the Plan? In spite of substantial additional taxation far in excess of the originally assumed targets in this behalf for the Third Plan, the public revenues yielded a negative surplus of some Rs. 470 crores during the Third Plan which had to be compensated for by a corresponding increase in the quantum of deficit finance. It is now estimated that at current rates of taxation, there would be a surplus of Rs. 3,010 crores on Central and States' accounts by a process of severely tailoring non-plan expenditure; but even if this miracle were really achieved, there would still be a substantial gap of some Rs. 1,800 crores (The States will have to find Rs. 700 crores of this) to be filled. There is no doubt ample scope for a great deal of austerity at many levels, especially in the Government's consumption expenditure, but there are also political pressures to reckon with which the Government may not always find it possible to withstand effectively. An outstanding case in point

is the recent relaxation of the Gold Control Order prohibiting the use of ornament gold of a purity of above 14 karats.

To sum up, the Fourth Plan, in the manner it has again been reformulated, would appear to be as much an exercise in futility as was its immediate predecessor, albeit on a much bigger scale. The idea seems almost to be that the larger the size of a Plan the more easily would it help to dispel the unrealities which surround its spelling out. The principal unreality would seem to be the Plan's complete disregard of the actual availability of resources which alone could make it meaningful. One would not mind if Mr. Ashoke Mehta and his high power pseudo-intellectuals found pleasure and delectation in a childish game of make-believe, which is apparently what they have been indulging in in the name of planning, but for the distressing, almost the devastating consequences to the people at large. The Government of India and their super-Cabinet, the Planning Commission, have demonstrated, over the past fifteen years and longer, their complete inability to handle anything like the responsibilities of development planning, to the utter distress of the nation and progressive impoverishment of the people. How futile and distressing has been the acquittal of their responsibilities in this behalf already all too apparent to need fresh enumeration; we would go more into details in this matter in our discussion in these columns next month.

THE GOLD CONTROL ORDER

The Gold Control Order was promulgated several years ago by Shri Morarji Desai during his regime as Union Finance Minister. The averred purpose of the Order was, first, to prevent or, at least, to severely restrict smuggling of gold into the country in large quantities at considerable outlays of precious foreign exchange and, secondly, to restrict the possibility of gold being used

as a store of value for secreting large quantities of tax-evading (and, generally, illegitimately acquired) **unaccounted money** which, apart from depriving the public exchequer of its legitimate dues, was assumed to be largely used for under-cover speculative activities difficult, if not impossible to detect, as such money is not usually amenable to the fiscal and monetary discipline to which the organized credit market is usually subject.

There was, very naturally, a great deal of criticism of the Order at the time, especially relating to the part which enjoined that ornaments of a purity of more than 14 karats could no longer be manufactured, on the plea that it would put out of employment a large community of gold smiths in the country. This was hardly a legitimate criticism as it was eventually proved that the generality of the people gradually went over to the use of 14 karat gold for their personal adornment when they found that the cost of acquiring gold ornaments of a higher purity was much higher, even apart from its being wholly illegal and culpable. The Customs authorities, at whose instance mainly the Gold Control Order was said to have been formulated and promulgated were also not said to have been wholly satisfied with its actual terms for, it is understood, they felt that unless the business of gold refining was wholly taken out of the hands of private individuals and firms, loopholes for gold smuggling would always be left exposed. We, in these columns, criticised the Order because we felt that the Union Finance Minister provided an **out** for owners of large quantities of gold by providing that returns were to be submitted only by holders of non-ornament gold of a certain minimum quantity, the others being wholly exempt from the obligation of accounting for how they had come by it. We felt that the Gold Control Order to be really meaningful should have been preceded by a lightening sealing of all public and private deposit vaults (just

as they did in Burma) to be followed by a notification calling upon **every one without distinction** to submit returns in a prescribed form detailing the quantity of gold held by them, describing how they have been stored and accounting for how they were acquired. After all these returns had thus been received and sorted out, they should be verified against the actual stock held (most large quantities would be in deposit vaults); all discrepancies between actual stocks and returns should lead to forfeiture to the State of the excess quantity without any compensation. Of the balance stocks of gold about the manner of the acquisition of which no satisfactory explanation could be produced, should be assumed to have been amassed out of tax evasion on under-cover speculative gains and quantities of gold corresponding in value with the amount of tax dues to Government should be forfeit to the public treasury. Of the net residue, gold holdings beyond a certain specified quantity should be acquired by the State at the current international price. If such a procedure were adopted, we felt, it would effectively prevent gold smuggling in the future, immobilize substantial quantities of **un-accounted money** which had been causing a great deal of visible dislocation to the credit and price mechanism (which, in fact, it continues to do even to this day) and would relieve pressures upon the supply and prices of essential consumption commodities such as foodgrains, edible oils etc.; at the same time this would help to considerably reinforce the dwindling gold and foreign exchange securities' backing to our weakening currency. But the then Union Finance Minister was not prepared to go as far as that which, to our mind, was the only way, in which the Gold Control Order could be made purposive and meaningful.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, after he followed Morarji Desai for a second term in the Union Finance Ministry, attenuated

much of the potentials of the Gold Control Order when he talked publicly about its harshness, even if he did not actually provide any very substantial relief from its so-called rigours. Possibly because Morarji Desai was still an important and forceful factor in the Union Congress Legislative councils, Mr. Krishnamachari did not feel it would be quite safe to wholly scrap the Order much as he would like to (we assume, this from the little he had publicly said about the Order then). It was left to Sachin Chaudhuri and an impending general election within the next five months, for the Gold Control Order to be again made the pretext for heavy political pressures upon the Union Finance Ministry. As could be expected, the working goldsmith was used as the obvious pawn in this very questionable and murky game. The plea that by the Order restricting the manufacture of ornaments of a purity of more than 14 karats, the bread was being taken out of their mouths, was obvious nonsense. Apart from the microscopic few among the ladies who could afford it and who would have gold ornaments more for the purpose of using them as a handy store of value rather than as a means of personal adornment, most women all over the country who are used to gold ornaments for personal adornment, use it more as a means of social distinction than for any other purpose and to them the compulsory prohibition against the buying and selling of ornaments of more than 14 karat purity was more a relief than an imposition. Besides, the use of gold ornaments, even of a 14 karat purity, has been steadily losing ground over the years, from long before the Gold Control Order was promulgated. There was no legitimate reason why the working goldsmith should not find it equally remunerative to make ornaments of 14 karat gold and should have to go on hunger strike to induce the Government to relax the Order in this behalf so that his employment may not be jeopardised. Some inter-

ested party or parties must have put him upto this. It should not be difficult to imagine who such parties would be likely to be. Those in whose interest large scale gold smuggling had been going on in this country for years past, must have had a hand in it and our so-called Leftist or Opposition politicians in their mad rush to make election-eve political capital out of it, obviously lent themselves to boosting this very questionable offensive against the Government on a very legitimately formulated and enacted legislation. What would appear to be even more strange was that even some prominent Congress legislators were inclined to throw their weight in on the side of the campaigning gold smiths. The Government have been weak in agreeing to relax the Order to the extent of allowing resumption of manufacture of ornaments of 22 karat gold or of even higher purity. This, we feel, is the veritable thin end of the wedge which may very well crack wide open the very foundations of the Gold Control Order whose wholesome and effective implementation, as it was, was not always very easy.

THE FOOD MUDDLE

The food muddle by the Government would, from the trend of Opposition demonstrations, processions, morchas and what not, appear to have been practically the one important factor, over the years, which appear to have been keeping the Opposition parties in the West Bengal Legislature, now (at least for the time being) generally known under the integrated nomenclature, the ULF (United Left Front), alive and kicking. Their politics, in sum, would appear to consist of opposition to and disagreement with whatever policies and programmes that the Congress Government may put on the legislative and administrative anvil. Like the celebrated Mohammed Ali Jinnah, they appear to have reduced their politics to the simple exercise of saying 'no' to everything that the

Government may propose or do and to hold up traffic, paralyze all productive activities, and generally to further confuse an already deeply confounded state of affairs in society, by organizing occasional 'bandhs,' 'hunger-strikes,' invasions of the legislatures and such like pastimes for the delectation of their friends and admirers, and in pursuance of this negation.

Of course in, perhaps, the friendliest spirit (though not as frankly publicly confessed) the West Bengal Government seem only to be too ready and pleased to oblige their friends of the Opposition (now also the ULF) by continuing to pursue an admittedly muddled food policy. For, even the greatest and the least critical admirer of the West Bengal Government could not possibly shut his eyes to the deeper and deeper muddle which is generally known as the food policy of the Government. In the manner in which this muddle has been made deeper and more involved every year over the years since China did a bit of invading on our Northern boundaries, there would appear to have been an element of deliberate design, something of purpose aforethought, in this apparent muddle. Was this really so, for the purpose of keeping the Opposition happy and harmlessly occupied? Some very nasty minded people of course insinuate that this muddle was necessary to enable the profiteer to put more money into his own pockets than would otherwise be possible. And, when asked why should the Government be so eager to enable the profiteer to do more profiteering than he had already been doing?—the insinuating cynic returns with a caustic smile—because a share of this additional profit comes back to the Party to finance its elections with. This, he says, is happening all over the place and is quite an open secret, if secret at all it can be called. But if that were so, why does not the Opposition act more purposefully to expose this? the carping cynic is asked. Pat, comes the answer, the Opposition is also travelling on the same boat at the same time; it also gets a share of the spoils, although in smaller dribblets than the one on

the throne of power which enables it to keep together its slogan-shouting and flag-wagging rabble.

There may be something in these cynical observations, one is almost inclined to believe. For, even if the statistical accounts that are published by the Government of our production of rice and imports of wheat were accurate instead of being considerably played down, we have again and again demonstrated it in these columns, that there should be sufficient to yield a 16 oz. daily adult cereal ration to everyone in West Bengal and still carry over a small margin to the next year's season. Instead of a 16 oz. daily adult ration, the West Bengal Government allow only a less than 10 oz. daily ration in the statutory rationed areas, and only about 8.5 oz. to the modified rationing areas. Nevertheless, we seem to be in perpetually short supply of a distressing variety. Funnily enough, however, when one looks at the manner, quantities and techniques of smuggling of rice that has been going on into the cordoned off areas; when one looks, moreover, at the endless stream of rice in quantities moving from one place to another on the peripheral areas alongside of the statutorily rationed zones in the metropolis of Calcutta; and when, finally, one finds that any quantity of rice one may desire to buy may be available at any time of the year at a price, why so much could be allowed to be made about the distressing shortage in our cereal production and supply. It would appear to be a wholesale and hardly concealed conspiracy between the ruling party and the Opposition and the newspaper press to maintain a myth of acute food shortage in the State. It seems hardly credible that something very similar is also not being played on the broader national stage in New Delhi by Subramaniam and his minions. Prafulla Sen occasionally thunders that the Opposition has been making political capital out of the peoples' food; why not? Is not he himself and his bosses in New Delhi doing the same?

PRICE PRESSURES

In a recently released estimate by the Reserve Bank of India, it is disclosed that the spiralling inflationary pressures on the economy which had begun to make increasing impact on the economy from about the end of 1962 and which appeared to acquire a considerably accelerated momentum during 1964-65, gathered increased acceleration during the first half of the year 1965-66. In 1964-65, it was assessed, wholesale prices increased by 8.7 per cent, while during 1965-66 it further advanced by 15.2 per cent. The increase in the price level during the Third Plan period as a whole has been estimated to have been of the order of 35.2 per cent over the entire Plan period, against a rise of 30 per cent during the Second Plan period. Correspondingly, the consumer price index during the 1965-66 season, also increased by 9.4 per cent.

The reason for this significant rise in the price level is assessed in the Reserve Bank study to have been, mainly, due to a sharp decline in agricultural output, unused industrial capacity, stagnation of exports, heavy strain on dwindling foreign exchange reserves and last, but not the least, the shooting war that Pakistan forced upon India during the end of last year. The report, however, concedes that the largest proportion of the price rise is accounted for by the rise in food grains prices. Curiously enough 1964-65 was the year which witnessed a record increase in food grains production and it should be considered significant that it was during the same year that the beginning of a more accelerated pressure on the price structure began to make itself felt. Despite the record food grains harvest of the year, the price pressure which had already acquired added momentum during the previous year's slack season continued to gather further increasing momentum during the months immediately following the new harvest and continued into the busy season of the following year.

All this creates a positively discouraging background for the beginning of the Fourth Five Year Plan this year. The

resources position remained quite hazy in spite of the very substantial addition to the level of taxation during the previous years. It has elsewhere been conceded that the level of additional taxation over the Third Plan period has been the most substantial in recorded history; nevertheless, instead of showing a revenue surplus over the period as was originally anticipated, there was a substantial deficit of the order of around Rs. 470 crores over the Third Plan period. This, together with the originally estimated resources gap in the estimates of the Third Plan investments, caused deficit financing of the order of over Rs. 1,100 crores to be resorted to during the Third Plan period.

In the Fourth Plan estimates, now finally approved of by the National Development Council, revenue surpluses at the Third Plan taxation level have been estimated at around Rs. 3,010 crores over the Fourth Plan period. Nevertheless, the prospects of any very substantial improvement in the Government's budgetary position during the current Plan period do not seem to be at all encouraging or happy. There is likely to be continued pressure on the price mechanism as a consequence with its inevitably unavoidable impacts on the prospects of the Fourth Plan. Trends might, possibly, have yielded to a certain measure of corrective influence if, in drawing up the Fourth Plan, its size were to be confined within realistic limits of actually available resources. This would, no doubt, have robbed the Government's propaganda offensive in behalf of the Plan of much of its glamour for the gullible and unlettered masses; but that might have been the only way to pursue development planning in an atmosphere of stability, of wholesome and appropriate utilization of resources, of working new industrial or agricultural capacity to be laid down during the new Plan to their fullest extent.

In this connection it is necessary to revert to a consideration of the prospects of devaluation in the immediate future. The Union Finance Minister and his team

of 'yes-men' experts have said that **devaluation was not an end in itself**; that it was merely an instrument by which the national economy could be placed on a footing of reality with its environmental and functional dynamics. One of the prime requisites, in this connection, was to hold the price line at the level at which it subsisted on the date of devaluation. The heavy price escalation over the sixteen years of planning which made Indian exports at the official exchange rate wholly unattractive to all foreign buyers had to be corrected by scaling down the value of the currency to a realistic level at which the country might be able to maintain competitive parity with other operators on the world market. This would also, incidentally, help to reopen the flood gates of foreign aid for the Fourth Plan which had remained shut against India since the year before when Pakistan invaded India and compelled us to engage in a shooting war with this temperamental neighbour in self defence.

In spite of everything that the Government have been able to do, and they did not consist of any of the known instruments of fiscal and monetary management, the price line has not been held at the level at which it subsisted on the day of devaluation. The price of food grains in the open market—and it is necessary for a clear understanding of the situation as it actually obtains in the country in this behalf to underline that the area so far brought under statutory distributional arrangements is only microscopically infinitesimal and by and large, so far as the average consumer is concerned, the food grains markets as a whole remains primarily a free market—has been steeply rising. In West Bengal, for instance, during the months between April and September this year, the price of average quality rice in the open market in the fringe areas surrounding the statutorily rationed and cordoned off Greater Calcutta metropolitan area, has risen by as much as 40 per cent in the wholesale sector and by a little more than 50 per cent retail. Compared to Government's statutory prices,

the open market retail price of rice in April this year was a little more than 70 per cent higher; to-day it is as much as 155/160 per cent more costly. Apart from food grains, there has been substantial rises in other primary consumer commodities; edible oils cost now 5 per cent more wholesale and 7.5 per cent retail; soap for washing purposes 10 per cent; toilet soap, tooth pastes etc. 12.5 per cent, and so on and so forth, since the devaluation of the rupee has been announced. Coarse and medium cloth and ordinary handloom fabrics now cost an average 15 per cent more. There is talk of additional excise and sales tax revenues to be provided for in the next budget to enable additional resources for the Fourth Plan to be ensured; these will be, as they have always been, passed on to the consumer through their prices. We have not seen any official estimate of the increased impact on the price level following devaluation and cannot, therefore, present a total picture of the situation as it has been emerging since devaluation. But from our daily purchases of various consumer goods of essential daily requirement, we could not help feeling that the incidence of price rise during the last few weeks since the par value of the rupee has been reduced, has not been inconsiderable. And this rise has been comprehensive and all-enveloping.

So, it would seem, that the end towards which the devaluation of the rupee was sought to be used as a means and an instrument has been, primarily for the ineptitude of the Government and their various agencies, been fast receding from reasonable reach. We commented, when the Union Finance Minister claimed while announcing devaluation, that his Government would take necessary measures to enable the price line to be effectively held, that neither physical controls at strategic points, nor gullible dependence upon the assurances of trade and industry would do the trick; if it were really intended to freeze prices at the level at which they happened to be on the day, only those fiscal and monetary measures which are designed to ensure such a price freeze, could achieve such an end. Evidently, the Government were not either far-seeing enough or strong enough to do this. There were obvious apprehension of heavy political pressures against the imposition of any price-wage freeze which might even cost the party its success at the polls early next year. So, a policy of futile make-believe—which convinces nobody and achieves no purposeful end—and dangerous drift has got to continue. But where will it all end? When prices will have increased by another 80 per cent within the next five—not ten—years,—what then?—further devaluation?

SOME TRENDS IN SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY AND MOVEMENTS

Prof. J. C. ANAND

Leftist Ideologies—both the socialist and the Communist—have been in transition since the close of World War II. Important changes have occurred both in the content and nature of these ideologies. Revisionism in the Communist ideology has attracted fairly wide notice but corresponding changes in the socialist ideology have remained relatively neglected,...particularly trends in the under-developed countries.

Socialism has gained great popularity since the end of World War II. In the pre-war years, socialism was largely restricted to the European countries and the number of its votaries was relatively small. The total membership of the "Labour and Socialist International" was 6 million¹ in 1923, the year of its foundation. In subsequent years, there was a sharp decline in the membership and most of the Continental socialist parties disappeared under the heel of Fascism. In 1939, after an anaemic existence, the Socialist International (I. S. I.) bowed itself out. But the post-war years have seen a great revival of socialism. A new Socialist International with a total membership of 10 millions and 42 socialist and labour parties was founded in July, 1951.² In a number of countries, the socialist parties have been returned to power. Outside Europe, the member and the strength of the socialist parties has been large and robust enough to lead to the establishment of a permanent organisation of the Asian parties

in the form of the First Asian Socialist Conference in January, 1953.³

It may appear strange that the revival of socialism has synchronised with revisionist trends. What is even more significant is that the revisionist trends, which have appeared both in the European and the Asian socialist circles, are pointing in different directions. Whereas in the industrialised countries of Europe, these trends have been bringing socialism closer to democracy and the concept of a welfare state, in the developing countries of Asia, and this also is true of Africa, there has been a movement towards authoritarianism. The result has been that a gap has been growing between the socialist movements in the industrialized and the under-developed areas of the world. What direction the democratic socialist ideology takes in the under-developed countries is of the utmost importance to all the democratic states—particularly to us in India.

For a few years after the end of World War II, socialism was marching from success to success. But in the 'fifties' some new factors emerged which forced the socialist parties to have a new look at the socialist ideology and to accept far-reaching changes in the socialist theory and practice. In Europe, the success, and in Asia, the failure, of socialism has led to the revisionist trends which are so diverse.

1. The International Year Book...1962 (Bruke's Peerage Ltd, U.K.) p. 38.

2. *Ibid.*...p. 38.

3. The term Socialism has been used here strictly in the sense of "Democratic Socialism".

Socialism In The European Countries

The term socialism came into use in the 'thirties' of the 19th century in the political literature of England and France. In England it was applied to the cooperative system of Robert Owen and in France to the social philosophy of Saint Simon. But during the last one hundred and thirty years it has come to acquire such an expanded and ambiguous content that it has become difficult to define it with clarity. Broadly speaking, it, as distinguished from Marxist-Leninist Communism, applies to such schools of thought as subscribe to gradualism and democratic procedures for the achievement of the socialist society.

The Continental socialist parties have their Marxian origins modified by revisionist teachings of Bernstein, Jaures and others. Till the fifties they retained the Marxian jargon and belief in the theory of social classes with a limited acceptance of historical materialism. The British Labour Party, however, began with a Fabian heritage with almost no traces of Marxism. But in the 'thirties' of the present century, British Socialism had a strong infusion of Marxian thought through the writings of Harold J. Laski and John Strachey. However, there are some features of the socialist programme which have been common to both these wings of European socialism. The foremost among these has been faith in nationalization of the means of production in society. Both Marxian socialism and Fabianism have been having a common base in collectivism. And it is this feature which has come in for revisionism most in the changes that have occurred in recent years in the programmes of the socialist parties.

Revisionism began largely in the 'fifties'. On the Continent, one party after another has revised its ideology and programme and said farewell to its Marxian heritage. Nationalisation has no longer remained the desired goal.

The attitude towards capitalism has undergone climatic change. Dangers of bureaucratic centralisation have been stressed and dissatisfaction expressed with the working of the nationalized industries. It is being argued as to whether socialism is not the same thing as the welfare state. Greater emphasis has come to be laid on the stabilisation of the socialist gains already achieved than on the extension of socialist policies to new fields. It is being recognised that the Marxian analysis no longer fits the new situation and the existing socio-economic system cannot be explained in terms of the Marxian categories. The Marxian jargon has been abandoned in many cases and its tools of analysis have been laid aside.

The revisionist position has been fully reflected in the declaration of the Frankfurt Congress of the Socialist International. After stating that "Without freedom there can be no Socialism" and that "Socialism can be achieved only through Democracy," it explained the economic programme of the socialist parties affiliated to it in the following terms: "Socialist Planning does not presuppose public ownership of all the means of production. It is compatible with the existence of private ownership in important fields, for instance in agriculture, handicraft, retail trade and middle sized industries." "It took a pragmatic view towards nationalisation. It said, "Socialism does not demand a rigid uniformity of approach. Whether Socialists build their faith upon the Marxist or other methods of analysing society, whether they are inspired by religious or humanitarian principles, they all strive for the same goal—a system of social justice, better living, freedom and world peace." ⁴

4. Gerard Braunthal in Joseph S. Roucek (Ed), *Contemporary Political Ideologies* (Littlefield, Adams and Co. New Jersey, U.S. 1961 (paperback edition) p. 132.

Similar changes have followed in the programmes of individual socialist parties.⁵ The traditionally Marxist Austrian Socialist Party in its new programme adopted in May 1958 has stated that "Public ownership will arise mainly in the case of those large undertakings whose power constitutes a threat to the economic and political interests of the community. Small and medium sized undertakings will not be socialised in any circumstances. "The Dutch Labour Party in its new programme adopted in November 1959 has rejected "State Socialism" and the bureaucratic assumption of power "and declared that" ownership of the means of production should be made subservient to the well-being of the nation. ... It is desirable for different forms of publicly-owned and privately-owned production apparatus to exist side by side. ... Public control must be exercised over the privately-owned undertakings if this should prove to be necessary in the interests of the community. The German Socialist Democratic Party in its programme adopted in November, 1959 has accepted that "Private ownership of the means of production is no longer identical with the control of power. Economic power, rather than ownership, is the central problem today." The basic programmes of the Scandinavian Parties are also patterned on that of the Socialist International. The Swiss Social Democratic Party in its new programme adopted at Winterthur in 1959 has favoured "either" establishment of "conditions necessary for fair competition" or "Public Control" or "actual transfer to public ownership" in case of *only the monopolistic enterprises*. Ironically, remarks Crosland, the French Socialist Party, almost alone retains in its constitution an

explicit commitment to the class struggle and the nationalization of all the means of production."⁶ Thus it appears that "there has been a "swing in the pendulum from a deep doctrinal attachment to socialism to a devaluation of ideology. The shift in position has served to underline the dilemma facing a movement which is not quite sure of its basic philosophy in an age of transition."⁷

The swing of the ideological pendulum has been so sharp that British socialism, which has been traditionally more flexible and pragmatic, has come to appear more orthodox and conservative in outlook than the continental socialist movement. "Once it was leading, now it is lagging behind," says Saul Rose in a survey of the revisionist trends in British Socialism.⁸

The British Labour Party has not abrogated clause 4⁹ of its 1918 Constitution which commits it to a programme of nationalization, but its stand has been virtually modified in important respects. Elected to power in 1945

5. *Ibid.* See also Crosland, 'The Future of the Left' in the *Encounter*, March, 1960 and M.R. Masani in the *Times of India*, April 4, 1960.

6. Crosland, *The Future of the Left* in the 'Encounter', March, 1960.

7. Gerard Braunthal in Joseph S. Roucek (Editor), *Contemporary Political Ideologies* (Littlefield, Adams and Co., New Jersey, U.S. 1961-Paperback edition) p. 132.

8. Saul Rose, *Socialist Doctrine and the Labour Party* In 'The Listener', January 10, 1962 p. 54-55.

9. Clause 4 reads as follows : The object of the Party "was to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and change."

with absolute majority in the House of Commons for the first time after the Second World War the Labour Party ¹⁰ proceeded to put its programme of nationalization into effect. It nationalised the Bank of England, the coal mines and civil aviation in 1946, inland transport, electricity supply and distribution in 1947 and gas supply and distribution in 1948. The iron and steel industry was nationalised in 1949, which, however, was put back under private-ownership in 1952 by the Conservative Party Government. Its achievements in security and social welfare legislation were remarkable. But in the 1951 General Elections, it lost its majority in the House of Commons. What is more, it lost the two subsequent General Elections conceding progressively increasing margins on both occasions. This started a process of self-analysis inside the Labour Party and an important section argued whether the stress on a programme on nationalization was not misplaced. In fact the need for rethinking on socialism had been expressed as early as 1952 in the *New Fabian Essays*, edited by Richard Crossman. Mr. Crossman had himself confessed that the Labour party had lost its "sense of direction." He talked of the "loss of momentum" and stated that "even if the Labour Government had won a large parliamentary majority, the advance to Socialism would have been halted." It had almost exhausted its stock of ideas and the Party stood in need of rethinking of its ideological focus. Some of the contributors, particularly C.A.R. Crosland and John Strachey went far in the direction of revisionism already manifested in the Continental socialist circles. Later writings of Crosland, John Strachey

and Douglas Jay ¹¹ provided an impressive exposition of revisionist arguments in British Socialist literature. It was, however, in October 1960, that Mr. Gaitskell made a specific effort to secure the revision of clause 4. However it did not succeed because the old radicals had become new conservatives in retaining clause 4 for reasons which were largely sentimental. However, the conference recognized that 'both public and private ownership have a place in the economy.' In the Labour Party Conference in October, 1963, a new compromise solution emerged which may best be described in words of Richard Crossman. "What was needed, Harold Wilson argued," writes Crossman, "was not to drop Clause 4, but to redefine our Socialism in terms of the scientific age. Instead of nationalising old, ailing sectors of the economy, we should apply public ownership at the growing points of industry—in the manufacture, for example, of products created by the government sponsored research and development. ... By re-thinking old socialist principles in new scientific terms he has given to a labour movement, unable of itself to throw off the stuffy traditionalism that was making it obsolete and absurd, the moral lift required to make a new start." ¹² It may be fair to conclude that British Socialism has gone far towards revisionism.

What is true of Continental socialism is true also of the Labour parties in Australia and Newzealand as well as of the Socialist Party in Japan. Changing socio-economic conditions

10. The two Labour Governments formed in the 1920s were 'minority government', held in office by support from the Liberal Party members.

11. Crosland—, "The Future of Socialism" (1956),

Strachey—"Contemporary Capitalism" (1956) and 'End of Empire' (1959): Douglas Jay, 'Socialism in the New Society', (1962)

12. The Guardian, October 4, 1963, p. 24.

in the industrialised countries have made old-style socialism a bit out of date in the context of the present society. Prophecies of the collapse of capitalism in a none-too-distant future appear to many in these industrialised societies, geared to the demands of the social-welfare state, as a bad dream of a disordered mind. Conditions of full employment and a reasonable rate of economic growth have made the electorate indifferent to the socialist parties and their programmes. And what is more, as Crosland pointed out, "Above all, the governments of the Left became identified with the high taxation, rationing, controls, austerity and inflation which inevitably characterised the post-war period and in some case recurred after Korea."¹³ The common man is satisfied with the existing conditions and no longer wishes to be burdened with the austerity programmes of the socialist parties. Many of the working-class men like to "think of themselves as middle class."¹⁴ The working of the nationalized industries has been somewhat of a disenchantment. When Mr. Mark Abrams in his survey conducted in 1956 asked what would have pleased them least about a Labour victory, as many as 33% of interviewed samples responded, "further nationalization."¹⁵

Socialism in the industrialised countries has reached a point where it can afford to rest on its oars. The very success of socialism has been the chief road-block to its further progress on predetermined lines. "Without

ending the inequalities of a capitalist society, it (has) succeeded in reducing them."¹⁶ The condition of the underprivileged classes had improved to a point that class distinctions are no more than minor irritants. The fight against inequality has ended, for any further advance is distrusted by the electorate as savouring of bureaucratic totalitarianism. Socialism has moved so far in the direction of pragmatism and humanism that it is difficult to distinguish it from "Welfare Socialism". This is not to say that no further improvement is possible in the industrial societies of Europe but it must be recognised that their major goals of banishing poverty and ensuring full employment in a democratic society have been largely achieved.¹⁷ The economics of prosperity has replaced the politics of security.¹⁸ It is no longer possible to say that economic power in society is identical with the political power. Further changes can be achieved by fiscal measures set forth by the mechanism of the Keynesian economic doctrines.

The growing disillusionment of socialism in Europe with Marxism may also be explained in terms of changes in the communist ideology since the 20th party Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R., both negative and positive. Socialism has lost its vigour not because it has failed but because it has succeeded far too well in its objects. Conditions that gave it birth and sustenance in the

13. C. A. R. Crosland, *The Future of the Left*, in the "Encounter", March, 1960.

14. Mark Abram's survey of 1956, cited in Douglas Jay, *Socialism in the new Society* (Longmans, 1962), p. 381. The survey revealed that roughly 40% of all the working class adults like to think of themselves as middle class.

15. *Ibid*, page 382.

16. Lane Davis, *British Socialism and the Perils of Success*, in *The Political Science Quarterly*, 1954 p. 505.

17. In 1959, the Swedish Prime Minister, Tage Erlander proudly announced that the major goals of socialism have been completed. See Roucek (Editor), *Contemporary Ideologies*, p. 131.

18. This is how Butler and Rose summed up the *Survey of the British General Election of 1959*.

19th century and the early 20th century have disappeared. The old stock of ideas has been exhausted and needs replenishment in terms of the problems and aspirations of the new society, which is neither capitalist nor socialist.

Socialism In The Asian Countries

Socialism in Asia is comparatively a recent growth. The oldest Socialist Party in Asia was formed in 1934 in India¹⁹ yet in the last three decades it has made impressive gains. The first Asian Socialist Conference, held in January, 1953, represented 9 Socialist parties with a total membership of 602,000.²⁰ In 1956, when the Second Asian Socialist Conference was held at Bombay, two new nations—Ceylon and Nepal—were also represented, raising the number of participating countries to eleven. But the total membership did not increase appreciably.²¹ Yet the influence of Socialism has been wider than reflected in the statistics of the two Asian Conferences. Many political parties and groups professing the socialist ideology, particularly the Indian National Congress, were, and have remained, unaffiliated to the Conference. At present the ruling parties and groups in India, Ceylon, Israel, Burma, Indonesia and Cambodia are

committed to Socialist programmes—though in Burma, Indonesia and Cambodia, it is not exactly democratic socialism which is being practised by the ruling groups. In 1956, the five largest parties in terms of membership represented at the Second Asian Socialist Conference were: India (283,000), Indonesia (150,000), Japan (120,000) and Israel (25,000).

But inspite of much loud talk about socialism, the theory and practice of democratic socialism is on the decline in the underdeveloped areas of Asia. In Burma and Indonesia, a new form of socialism is emerging, which is authoritarian in conception and execution. Perhaps the fight for socialism has ended in the industrialised countries of Europe but has just begun in the developing countries of Asia and Africa. And it may be noted that the fight is against authoritarianism, both of the communist and of the non-communist varieties: and it is going not too well for socialism.

Three distinct stages can be marked in the evolution of socialism in the underdeveloped countries of Asia. In the *first stage* socialism did not much distinguish itself from communism, except in its commitment to nationalism as against communist internationalism. In fact, Frank N. Trager has pointed out that the development of the leftist ideology in South East Asia began 'primarily with the Communist version of Marxism'.²² And even where it was influenced by non-communist Marxian sources, as in India, socialist groups were deeply influenced by, and remained close to, Communism. In Burma, where the early socialist ideology was imported 'via the Gollancz Left Book Literature'²³ and the

19. Saul Rose, *Socialism in Southern Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1959), Page 1.

20. Countries represented at the First Asian Socialist Conference were Burma, India, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Lebanon, Malaya, Pakistan and Vietnam. See "Three Years of Asian Socialist Conference," published by the Preparatory Committee of the Asian Socialist Conference, Bombay, November, 1956, page 5.

21. Alex Josey, *Socialism in Asia* (Donald Moore, Singapore, 1957) page 78. membership at the Second Asian Conference was 607,000.

22. Trager, *Marxism in Southeast Asia* (Stanford University Press, California, 1959) page 292.

23. Hugh Tinker in Saul Rose (Ed), *Politics in Southern Asia* (Macmillan, 1963) p. 111.

Comintern did not take any direct interest, the Socialist and the Communist wings worked together in the nationalist movement. During the 'Popular Front' period, mutual cooperation led in India to the admission of the communist members to the Indian Socialist Party. There were three important reasons for the appeal of Communism to the Asian socialists. The Communist movement had a solid record of achievement to dazzle the Asian peoples : the October Revolution in 1917 may be regarded as the beginning of the leftist ideology in Asia. In the second place, Lenin's theory of Imperialism has had the widest measure of appeal for the national liberation movements. It rationalized for them the poverty and squalor of the colonial countries, the role of foreign capital and the connection between capitalism and imperialism. In the third place, the organisation and the fanatical zeal of the communist parties made a deep impression on the leftist sections of the nationalist movements. For a long time the dividing line between the socialist and the communist parties was not democracy but nationalism. Both were eager to overthrow imperialism and capitalism by any means available to them, but whereas International Communism subordinated the national interests to the Moscow line, the socialist parties placed the national interest first and gave it paramount place.

With the liberation of the Asian countries from the yoke of the colonial powers, the socialist movement came of age. This marked the second stage in its evolution. A sharper differentiation took place between the communist and the socialist parties. Socialist parties hopefully looked to their improved prospects in many of the newly developing countries which had, as in India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya, Ceylon and Nepal, adopted democratic constitutions with socialist orientations. In Burma and Indonesia, the new ruling groups had strong socialist leanings and

included prominent socialist leaders. In India, the Indian National Congress moved steadily towards socialism under the leadership of Nehru. In Ceylon, a number of political parties adopted socialist programmes.

There was a radical transformation of socialism both in theory and practice. In the first place, socialist parties emancipated themselves from the communist and even Marxian influences. Particularly interesting is the discussion on the issue that took place at the 6th annual session of the Socialist Party of India at Nasik in 1948.

In the second place, each socialist party sought to discover indigenous form of socialism which should suit the material and psychological needs of the nation. In the third place, efforts were made to make a new adjustment between socialism and religion. In each case it was recognized that Asian socialism had to develop itself on lines different from socialism in the European countries for the prevailing conditions were very different. These changes are reflected in the writings of J. P. Narayan and R. M. Lohia in India, U Ba Swe in Burma and Sjahrir in Indonesia : as also in the 'religious socialism' of the Masjumi party in Indonesia and the pragmatic socialism of the Indian National Congress Party. In some respects, Sukarno's socialism, based on the traditional concepts or 'gotong-rojong', also falls within this framework.²⁴

The socialist movement began to emphasize its dependence on democratic principles, both for the achievement and construction of a socialist society. This is best reflected in the

24. See Georges, *New Asian Approaches to the Theory of Socialism in The Review, A Quarterly of Pluralist Socialism* (The Imre Nagy Institute for Political Research, Brussels), 1961. pages 55-67.

principles and objectives of socialism adopted by the First Asian Socialist Conference held in 1953. It professed that "Socialism can only flourish in freedom; in a democratic society it can only be realized in a democratic way, including peaceful methods of mass struggle. On the other hand, full and creative democracy is only possible in a socialist society. Socialism, therefore, upholds the democratic rights of the people..."²⁵ This brought socialism, at least in theory and professions, close to European socialism.

However in the late fifties, socialism entered its *third phase* in some of the countries of Asia. This phase may be described as the *period of disenchantment with democratic socialism*. Socialism has moved in Burma and Indonesia in Asia, and the U. A. R. in Africa, etc. into new patterns of authoritarianism. Sukarno's theory of '*guided democracy*' was embodied in his '*concept of Government*' message in 1957. The nature of the new concept of '*guided democracy*' became clear when the elected parliament was dissolved on March 5, 1960 and a new '*Gotong Rojong*' Parliament was sworn in. Soon after, came Sukarno's order dissolving the Masjumi and the socialist parties for their opposition to his principles of '*guided democracy*'. There is hardly any doubt that the main support behind Sukarno was the army. In Burma, the trends of events has not been very different. The army coup d'état in February, 1962 demolished the democratic set-up and initiated a new tendency in the course of events which left little scope for a democratic way of achieving socialism. The Revolutionary Council's thesis entitled '*Burmese Way to Socialism*', postulating a single party system (in this case '*Burma Socialist programme party*') has close family resemblance to the communist was of bringing

about socialism. There are, however, important differences between the two. The agency of social change is not a workers' party but the Army, and connection with the Communist International is absent. But the Burmese way to socialism clearly depicts the nature of the new socialism which is emerging in Asia. It is totalitarian in form and conception and authoritarian in the functional techniques. It relies on charismatic leadership and the support of the army for its success and sustenance. It is intensely nationalist in temper and tone. Here the model is Fascism rather than Communism.

The developments in Indonesia and Burma are not very surprising. They are a logical result of the conditions that have been prevailing in these countries since they attained Independence. They never had a solid democratic base upon which the superstructure of democratic socialism could be raised. And these are not the only countries in Asia and Africa that are ripe for some form of authoritarianism. If socialism appears to them to be the only way to solve their economic problems, the Communist or "Burmese way to socialism" appeal to them as the only possible method for achieving it. Perhaps Communism could have succeeded as well had it made some compromise with nationalism. But it refused to do so and played its hand too early in the abortive uprising of 1948 in Burma, Indonesia, India and Malaya.

There are, perhaps, a few developing countries in Asia where democratic socialism has some prospects of success: these are Israel, India and Ceylon. But the task is gigantic and efforts to implement it must be both sincere and effective. What socialism in Asia must be able to do is to raise the standard of living of the common man sufficiently to at least match the results achieved by Communist China. What these

25. "Three Years of Asian Socialist Conference" (1956), p. 15.

countries need is rapid economic development through democratic means.

Conditions favouring socialism in the industrialised countries of Europe and Asia are very different. As Alex Josey wrote in 1957, "In the West, where democracy is known and practised, where capitalism, according to some, no longer produces unemployment, poverty and squalor, where there is a decent standard of living with prospects of it getting higher, where there are industries and water sewerage, where incorruptible public services and efficient public facilities and utilities are taken for granted, socialists can indulge in the luxury of debating the merits of nationalization, public ownership, control of economic power; automation, atomic energy, huge food subsidies, efficient public health services and educational schemes, and other proofs of an advanced civilization.²⁶ In the underdeveloped countries of Asia, the problem is how fast and how well can the transition be effected from the feudal or semi-industrialised stage of economic and social

development to a highly industrialised and an egalitarian society. The problems of individual liberty and human personality trouble the common man less than the satisfaction of basic material needs. The democratic base is weak, and in most cases just being built up. The rate of population growth is alarmingly fast and rate of economic growth low and depressing. There is a wide lag between the scales of expectations induced by egalitarian ideologies imported from the West and those of achievement. In some of the countries, even the elementary conditions of law and order are lacking. Public morale is cracking up. The obvious models in such a situation are those of Soviet Russia rather than those of U. K. or the U. S. A.

India is the key to the future of democratic socialism in Asia. If it succeeds in India, it may serve as a model to many other nations which are striving to survive in this struggle between democratic socialism and other authoritarian forms—which may be communism or the "*Burmese way to Socialism*". It is a fight for not socialism alone but also for democracy.

26. Alex Josey—*Op-cit* p. 2-3.

INDO - U. S. FOUNDATION

Prof. Sunil Banik

The United States Government's proposal for setting up the Indo-U.S. Foundation and the Government of India's subsequent approval at the Cabinet level of the same have evoked a national debate.

The proposal was made public during the visit of our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, to the United States, when President Johnson announced his Government's decision to set up the Indo-U. S. Foundation endowed with about 300 million dollars (equivalent to Rs. 150 crores) out of P. L. 480 Counterpart Funds of a total amount of 575 million dollars worth of Indian currency now held by the United States Government in India. It was also reported that the Indo-U. S. Foundation would be set up in India under the joint approval of both the concerned Governments to function under a Board of nine distinguished Indians and an equal number of distinguished non-official Americans, with an Indian Chairman, for the first five years, and an American Executive Officer "to promote and advance science, technology, research and also techniques of teaching in firms and factories to face the challenge of the new World". Other than the Management Board, there will also be a Governing Body, with equal number of members from both the countries, to scrutinise the proposals for grants and this body will meet very frequently.

The proposed foundation will be an independent institution and will be guided by the laws of India. The Foundation, when set up, will also help Indian students to prosecute higher studies and research in the different fields and also to help them to meet their travelling and other costs for studies in the United States. It has been stated that the

proposed Foundation will work in close co-operation with the Ministry of Education, University Grants Commission and other educational institutions and also different international foundations like the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Asia Foundation, etc., in order to render valuable assistance to Indian education and research and also to initiate a process of educational and cultural intercourse with other countries as well as to boost technological innovation, which is the kingpin of rapid economic development.

The proposal, as soon as it was announced, received a mixed reception—suspicion and apprehension from one side and also welcome, if not very active, from others. The Government of India faced a barrage of criticisms and even opposition from members of Parliament, cutting across party affiliations. Even the members of the academic community were very vocal in criticising the proposed Foundation. Some Congress as well as leftist members of Parliament, however, said that the proposed Foundation will be an evil American design meant for propagating the "neo-colonist way of life of American rulers" into the Indian body politic. One member of Parliament said that it would be "far better for us to remain illiterate, unscientific and untutored than to be mal-tutored by having this Foundation, which is a dangerous business" and added that the proposed Foundation, if set up, will be "a national disgrace and national humiliation." It was also apprehended that the foundation would not only change our entire educational policy but would also force us to change even the existing curricula.

Shri M. C. Chagla, Union Education Minister, while welcoming the Foundation, said that the Foundation would act as a "great impetus" to research and education in India. He said that the Government would never allow any inroad into the Indian cultural and educational pattern through the Foundation. The scope of injecting an American way of life in our country through this Foundation will be nil; because it will be governed by non-official trustees and will function in conformity with Indian culture, and promote and protect India's highly sensitive areas of education and culture. The proposal will not be humiliating or against the self-respect of India. He said that the total expenditure of the Foundation would be a small fraction compared to India's total expenditure on education and the over-all educational policy will be determined by the Government and not by the Foundation.

Shrimati Gandhi, while repudiating the criticisms against the Foundation, said that, it would be humiliating for India to suggest that the setting up of the Foundation would amount to selling out the country to America. She also revealed that the proposal of setting up the Foundation had been under study by the Cabinet of the Shastri Government and also the American Government for over the last one year. The previous Indian Cabinet had accepted the proposal in principle and the present Government only stood by the decision of the previous Government.

Recent disclosures in the *New York Times* about the involvement of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency in academic institutions of America as well as of other foreign countries with U.S. sponsored scholastic projects for carrying out intelligence or espionage services through surreptitious means has given some weight and new dimension to the criticisms levelled against the proposed Foundation, by

the Opposition Members and the academic community. The said newspaper also stated that such interference by the C. I. A. of America might be dangerous and insidious even for the political stability of a country if it is pursued silently through academic institutions. This criticism, unlike other criticisms made by the crypto-Leftists against the Foundation, is not politically motivated. In fact, the whole issue requires an objective and pragmatic understanding instead of a prejudiced thinking. However, one point is clear which is that the Government failed to take the public as well as the academic community into confidence on this proposal, even by putting forward such arguments, that the total expenditure of the Foundation would be too small to influence the country's educational policy and that the character of the Foundation will be independent.

The proposed bi-national Foundation was a top secret item of the Government during the last several months and the people as well as the members of Parliament were not given an opportunity of expressing their views on the subject before its finalisation. This prolonged secrecy of the Government engendered misgivings and suspicion in the minds of the members of Parliament and the academic community. It was reported that the proposed bi-National Foundation had been accepted by the Government of India and also approved of by the Planning Commission, U.G.C. and the Ministry of Education as early as in February, 1965. On the other side, the proposal for establishing bi-National Foundations in foreign countries by the American Government was under close discussion and study by the American Government in the Congress and in different Committees right from 1960. The Mutual Educational and Cultural Act was passed in 1961 to enable the Government to set up such Foundations by utilising the accumulated holdings of

foreign currencies (from PL-480 counter-part funds) in the selected countries.

The A. I. D. was working for the last two years to chalk out a detailed blueprint of such Foundations in India by sending top people for discussion with the different agencies of the Government of India, viz., Ministry of Education, Planning Commission, etc. When the scheme was finalised with a broad agreement from the Government of India, it was placed before the various American Congressional Committees in 1955. Even the President of America and other executive and legislative wings of the American Government were informed of the progress made in this connection and the necessary green-light received from the Indian Government in this respect. But unfortunately in India, which is known as the largest democracy in the world, this information and the developments in connection therewith were not revealed before the Indian public.

While it is true that typical anti-American or pro-American views should not cloud our vision on the question of setting up such a Foundation, it is equally true that the proposal without proper evaluation of its immediate and far-reaching implications should not be thrust upon by the Government ; otherwise it is bound to face the same consequences as the "Voice of America Deal."

Receiving foreign aids as such and, more particularly, for educational development, is neither humiliating nor nationally suicidal for a developing country. India had received foreign economic and military aid on a massive scale from America, Russia and other countries. During 1951-61 India had received \$ 6,000 million in economic aid from America, \$ 1,000 million from the Soviet Union and also \$ 4,000 million from the Commonwealth countries, apart from numerous other grants and assistance, to private institutions, not

to speak of military aid. We had also received various aids from America for our educational development either directly on Government-to-Government basis or from Government to private institutions or from various Foundations to the Government and numerous private institutions. It may be stated that we have never questioned their possible political implications while receiving such aid directly or indirectly. Similarly, the Government of India had previously received crores of rupees from the Government of America for the development of technical training institutions, training of teachers, setting up and equipping Medical Colleges, establishment of engineering colleges and also for the development of primary education apart from the large grants received by the different educational and research institutions of this country from the different Foundations in America.

Recently the Government negotiated with the U. S. Government for aid worth \$ 1.7 million for setting up 100 Summer Science Institutions this year in order to revolutionise the system of science education in the secondary schools throughout India. The aid, it is expected, will be funnelled through the United States A.I.D. It was stated that the U.S. National Foundation would execute the Summer Science Institution project and a large number of American experts and equipments will be involved in this scheme, which is a follow-up of the Summer Science Institution Project launched some years back. During the Plan periods vast American funds and experts were involved in different social-overhead projects in India. Such involvement of American funds and experts in large numbers failed to insinuate the American way of life in the Indian body-politic and culture, which has a tradition of its own and which has succeeded in maintaining its distinctive identity even under 200 years of British rule, with all its imperialist and colonialist impositions.

Even after independence the vast exodus of financially and intellectually equipped Indian students to foreign universities, particularly to U. K. and U. S. A. failed to import undesirable and unwanted foreign culture in our way of life. And whatever foreign culture and habits they had acquired superficially disappeared soon after their return to India. Moreover, the argument that foreign financial assistance in our educational development will open up the possibilities of our culture being vitiated, is not a responsible one. This argument is primarily due to the fact that we do not consider investment in education as productive. The outlay on education during the Plan periods has been very small in comparison with the requirements of developmental planning. Even in the first years of the Fourth Plan we find a drastic cut in educational expenditure from Rs. 180 crores in 1965-66 to Rs. 98 crores in 1966-67, i.e. an Rs. 82 crores cut in one single year. Education should be considered both as an object of immediate consumption as well as a form of capital outlay for further production. If the expenses on education and research are considered as productive then acceptance of foreign assistance is quite consistent with the acceptance of foreign assistance in the field of our industrial and agricultural development projects.

The culture of a country should change in order to be in tune with the changing conditions of the age of technology and science. Similarly, with the transition of Indian society from the bullock-cart to the atomic age, the directions of educational endeavour and its administration should also change. In fact, higher education and research in India are dependent on foreign books and information. We have not hesitated to acquire foreign technology, science, know-how and even economic planning.

Foreign assistance should be considered as an international co-operative venture in which

both the aid-giving and the aid-receiving countries gain something from each other's experience and practical problems. We have many things to offer to others just as we need many things from others—this borrowing and lending between nations with different developmental and cultural backgrounds and levels is an encouraging process. Importing something from others is not necessarily harmful if it is essential and quite in conformity with our cultural and other requirements. However, imitation with misconception is bad as also over-simplification of skills and culture of other countries would lead to costly mistakes.

For the advancement of scholarly enquiry and broadening of individual horizons and capacity, such international co-operation is necessary and indispensable for the modernisation of our traditional society in both the economic and social fields. Intellectual and cultural links between different countries will produce radical changes in our outlook towards science and technology. It is not bad if the best values of America are allowed to come in to enrich our educational system and science.

Due to scarcity of resources and also lack of our understanding of perspective planning, we allocated only a little for education, technology and research at the fundamental theoretical levels during the Plan periods. Economic planning in India might ultimately get bogged down due to comparatively small outlay on these social overheads.

The funds for the proposed Foundation, it is stated, will be invested in Government securities, the interest from which amounting to about Rs. 9 crores will be the working fund of the Foundation. So, this amount, though insignificant in terms of total educational needs, is yet significant for educational development at a time when allocation for education is still very meagre in comparison

with the needs of the hour. Moreover, the investment of PL-480 counterpart funds in securities would also strengthen our sagging capital market.

The purpose of the Foundation and the purpose of our educational policy should not move in opposite directions and as such the purposes of both should be closely identified. This can best be achieved if a link up can be established between the Foundation and the educational administration. The Chairman of the University Grants Commission should also be the Chairman of the proposed bi-national Foundation. A majority of the members of the Board should be from India and that also from the universities of India.

Recently Government discussed the issue of administrative and operational control of the Foundation with the members of the academic community. The educationists suggested that the Foundation should be merely a grant-making body and all grants should be channelled through Government sponsored institutions like the U. G. C., C. S. I. R., I. C. A. R., etc. and in order to frustrate any future American influence the Chairman as well as the Chief Executive should both be Indian. The draft Constitution of the Foundation provided an Indian Chairman and one American Chief Executive Officer for the first five years and the provision to rotate these two offices between Indians and Americans alternatively for each subsequent five years.

While it is essential that the Government should reconsider the position and scope of activities of the proposed Foundations and also incorporate into its structure some of the suggestions of the critics so as to check foreign influence from vitiating our educational and cultural pattern, it is also required that our Government's interference in and

pressure on it should be an insignificant minimum.

The main issue before us is the scope of possible and probable American influence on and interference in our educational system through the Foundation. If the whole amount is transferred from the PL-480 fund to the Education Ministry for expanding the educational opportunities according to their own schemes and choice, then, of course, there cannot be any room for American influence. The American Government has some amount of liberty to spend their own funds, it can even take back the money from India through trade channels. Since America is interested in setting up the Foundation instead of outright grant of the amount to the Ministry, all these apprehensions crop up. If the American Government forced the Universities and institutions favoured by it to introduce a compulsory syllabus on American culture, history, education etc., the Education Ministry can rightly reject it, suggesting that such courses should be optional. If the American Government agrees to such a proposal then there will be little possibility of introducing American influence into our educational pattern and if they do not agree, then the burden of withdrawing the Foundation offer will be on them. Again, with a majority of Indians on the Board of the Foundation it would not also be possible for the American members of the Board to introduce anything undesirable and unwanted in the policy and programmes of the Foundation in the future.

We must find out possible American interest in setting up the Foundation as also advantages to India. If the balance of advantages is in our favour then we should accept it. Foreign aid without strings is nothing but outright relief or charity which is definitely insulting to any self-respecting nation in normal times. Of course, relief

is welcomed by all countries in times of distress and disasters—man-made or nature-made. So, this aid in setting up the Foundation must also have some strings attached and if the strings are acceptable to us we should go ahead with its establishment and if the strings are against our national interest, let it be withdrawn by the American Government in which case it will damage the American image outside. No country with self-respect can accept or impose anything against one's national interest.

It is equally difficult to understand how the American professors and experts who would be coming to work under the Foundation can effectively carry on espionage and intelligence activities, even if we accept

that all such American experts and teachers are C. I. A. men (which is absurd). We have our own intelligence agency to counter possible efforts in this direction, but what is more important is that Indian teachers and students in the field of higher education are sufficiently intelligent and cautious to be relied upon to put to an end any such insidious activity before it is too late. We must have faith in our own people, particularly the enlightened, thinking class. In our country, with a free Press, freedom of discussion and speech, indoctrination and brain washing is not possible to an extent which might really concern the stability of our political democracy and culture.



FARMERS OF THE FUTURE

A. P. SOM

A Silent but striking revolution is now taking place all over India on the farm front. One of the forces behind this revolution is the Young Farmer's Association. (YFA).

Its message is : Youth in India can and must play a key role in revolutionising the country's traditional agricultural practices to achieve self-sufficiency in food.

Formed ten years ago on the initiative of a group of young men, YFA is a non-political, non-sectarian, educational enterprise. Its purpose : to organise the Indian rural youth to build a prosperous India.

YFA's, ultimate aim is to shift emphasis from subsistence agriculture to one of production oriented agriculture all over the country.

"Only through youths we feel we will be able to achieve this," says Mr. B. J. Trivedi, Joint Secretary of the YFA. The young trainees at the various YFA centres will form the spearhead to spread the message of scientific cultivation through their respective local clubs and other organisations.

While the YFA regularly organises seminars and conferences and puts out publications to spread its message, it devotes considerable attention to one important activity : establishment of training centres to help young farmers modernise agriculture and increase per person and per-acre output.

During the last two years, YFA has established five permanent training centres

in Baroda (Gujrat), Bangalore (Mysore), Rewa (Madhya Pradesh), Amraoti (Maharashtra), and Rakhra, near Patiala, (Punjab).

At these centres, three to four courses are conducted in a year. On an average, 30 young farmers in the age group 17 to 30 are selected to take part in each course lasting three months.

Courses offered at these training centres include vegetable cultivation, proper use of fertilizers and manure, plant protection, poultry, animal husbandry, and applied nutrition.

According to Mr. Trivedi, nearly 1,200 young farmers have already been trained at these centres. "The success of the project is reflected in the fact that the Madhya Pradesh Government has asked for two more training centres to be established in the State," he noted.

Another notable achievement of the YFA is the launching of a crash programme aimed to produce 50,000 tons of additional foodgrain and food equivalent in India by 1967. Nearly 5,000 young farmers will bring under intensive cultivation 15,000 acres of land at selected centres all over India.

The programme has already made a good start at Bulandshahr in Uttar Pradesh. A record potato crop was recently harvested through the collective effort of 26 participants working on 45 acres in the region.

SINO-AMERICAN CONFRONTATION

SATYABRATA DUTTA

It can be said with a degree of certainty that the strained relation between China and the U. S. A. has reached a point of no return. Senator J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee warns people about the "fatal expectancy" of war in Peking and Washington. According to the Senator the danger of war in the short run between China and America is real because an open-ended war in Vietnam can bring the two great powers into conflict with each other by accident or by design at almost any time (*New York Times*, March 7, 1966). The steady escalation of the war in Vietnam and the violent anti U. S. campaign and the call of military preparedness by China are considered as preludes to the catastrophic clash towards which the two nations are heading at a rapid pace.

The Talk of war so obtrusively prevails in the two countries that a showdown seems to be imminent. The United States views with apocalyptic alarm China's global design which is much in evidence in what is known as the September 2 thesis of Marshal Lin Piao, the Defence Minister of China.

Lin Piao's Sept-2, Thesis

In an article published in last September Marshal Lin, who is also the Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Communist party, defined the "global strategy" of China. Lin Piao relied heavily on the military strategy enunciated by Mao in war against the Chinese nationalists and called Mao's doctrine as of universal practical importance for present revolutionary struggles. Mao had earlier contended that revolutionary bases must be established in the rural areas so that cities might be encircled from the

country side. Extending the same theory in his global project Marshal Lin assumed North America and Western Europe as "the cities of the World" and Asia, Africa and Latin America as "the rural areas" and asserted that the Chinese support for revolutionary wars in Afro-Asia and Latin American regions was a strategy directed at the eventual encirclement of the U. S. and Western Europe. Accusing the United States of the most rapid aggression in human history and as a most ferocious common enemy of the people of the world, Lin Piao went on declaring that "every thing is divisible. And so is this colossus of U. S. imperialism. It can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America can destroy it, piece by piece, some striking at its head, others at its feet." Strategically, world war is some thing that is welcome because it would result in turning hundreds of millions of people to communism and the doom of the U. S. War, according to Lin can temper the people and push history forward. In this sense war is a great school.

McNamara's retort.

A more militant zeal was demonstrated by the U. S. Defence Secretary Robert S. McNamara when in a testimony before the House Armed Services Sub-committee he declared that missile forces planned by the Pentagon would be more than enough to wreak an unacceptable degree of destruction on both Soviet Union and Communist China simultaneously without using any bomber or even after absorbing surprise nuclear attack (*New York Times*, January 26, 1966). McNamara further announced Lin Piao's article as a blunt warning of Chinese global design. Mr. Dean Rusk, Secretary of State,

went to the extent of comparing Lin Piao's article with Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* in which Hitler outlined his plan for world domination. McNamara also pointed out that the Chinese nuclear arsenal was growing much faster than American officials had expected. The U. S. Defence Secretary further disclosed that within two or three years the Chinese would be capable of launching a nuclear attack on countries within 700 miles of China. He also repeated his estimate that it would be a decade or more before China could make a nuclear attack on the U. S. itself.

The obvious concern of America is to prevent expansion of China's sphere of influence in those regions which are susceptible to Chinese contamination and to prevent the emergence of a missile wielding China who according to the present estimate of the Pentagon could develop and deploy I.C.B. Ms by the mid or later part of the 1970s.

Diametrically Opposite Views.

As for China, she is acutely concerned with American manoeuvres in East and South East Asian regions. The presence of the Seventh Fleet, American Army and influence in her neighbourhood and the attempts of the United States to create countervailing forces in the peripheral areas of China are all viewed by the Chinese as interosculate. China therefore concentrates the major part of her foreign policy objective on the U. S. A. and spearheads all her activities against America who poses a direct threat on the security and integrity of China.

In the present power-structure of the world, America's projection of policy over China is faced with two alternative decision-making-processes. The first choice is to engage in free and open dialogue with China and open the door for China's participation in the world scene. It has been a frequent

assertion of the Administration that in reality America does not pose any threat to China's security and normalisation of relation with a peaceful Red China is the objective of American foreign policy. Mr. McNamara recently told Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Communist China has no reason to fear military action by the U.S.A. as a result of American involvement in Vietnam (Incidentally, these utterances are viewed as mere propaganda offensives by China because they are not backed by genuine gestures). The logical corollary of the alternative policy is to rely on military solution of the problem.

The scholars in academic and research organisations and a section of the politicians are inclined to believe that contrary to the assumption of the Administration, China does not represent "international Communism on the March, a quest for more territories or blind aggression" (J. K. Fairbank). China is just trying to play its national role in the historic sphere of influence. They urge that the U.S. should shift her China policy to provide more "incentive for moderation" on the part of China. They view a military solution as dangerous and blame irresponsibility of leadership for being blunt over viewing the consequences. Indeed the democratic senator Wayne Morse goes to the extent of saying that "Communist China cannot be contained militarily by the U.S. nor could it be defeated with bombing, conventional or nuclear". The belief that a settlement with China should be reached on the basis of political accommodation rather than on expanded military action is gaining ground in the U.S.A.

Chinese Enigma.

But the present policy makers in the U.S.A. are more conditioned to consider the issues of foreign policy primarily in military terms. It

seems that a sort of Chinese enigma prevails over them. They appear to have taken the position that the best way to strangle China is to encounter her militarily. They assume that the Chinese threat is essentially military in nature and therefore they provide a military response to a military manoeuvre.

Powerful Deterrants

It is apparent that objective factors are there to bring about an imminent Sino-American flare up and it can be apprehended that a chance spark may touch off a nuclear conflagration. Yet a realistic appraisal of the forces that are manifest in present day international order need not dampen one with a pessimistic outlook about the future of the world. There are checks and balances in all political approach and both in the case of the U. S. A. and China the presence of some strong deterrants impose definite limitations in their respective projection of policy. It is these deterrants that are considered a real safeguard to the peace and security of a nuclear-armed world.

Soviet Nuclear Strength

It cannot be denied that militarism is gaining tremendous influence over American policy in recent times. But even then it is a fact that those entrusted with the execution of policy in the United States are quite aware that America's decision to launch a war on China cannot by itself unleash a war. The presence of Soviet nuclear deterrants is a direct check on America's policy execution in the Asian region. The U.S.S.R. may have a strong feeling against China but eventually the Soviet Union cannot take a passive role to witness the defeat of Communist China, ideological rift notwithstanding. The Soviet desire to avoid any open confrontation is really genuine, but more earnest is her respect for ideological and national obligations. She can hardly avoid direct participation in a war which is brought at American initiative. Those

who harp on Sino-Soviet ideological differences should also take cognizance of the basic principles of the Soviet foreign policy, which adheres to "cementing the unity and cohesion, the friendship and fraternity of the Socialist Countries for securing a favourable international condition". (*Resolution of the 23rd Congress of the C.P.S.U.*)

Policy of Containment

Again, a better part of American decision on China is based on the somewhat dubious success of the policy of containment, applied against the Soviet Union in the post-war world. The apparent success of the policy of containment, enunciated by the U. S. career diplomat George F. Kennan (currently an Administration critic) was due to identity of interest of the United States and her Western allies. Both the U.S.A. and Western European nations were obsessed with Russian military power. The Allies could make common cause with the Soviet Union to deter what they called "Soviet aggression". But the policy of containment in its European model is most likely to prove sterile in relation to China and Asian countries. The United States can hardly rely on the peripheral areas of China for a military build up. She can claim some sphere of influence here and there but these are in most cases extremely fluid. Pakistan, on whom America placed increasing reliance, has abandoned her original benefactor and is now a staunch ally of China. America's China policy therefore wavers for lack of any firm action. Prof. Morgenthau rightly exposes the dilemma of American policy over China when he says "our Asian policy is neither here nor there. It tries to contain Chinese power with half-hearted military means which are not going to succeed. Either we bring our means into line with our objectives or we have to cut (*New York Times*, March 13.) down our objective to the measure of the means we are going to employ".

The third factor to be reckoned with is the break up in the Western system of alliance. It is certain that America's Western allies will not try to implicate themselves in America's involvement over China and Asia.

The Chinese have also their obvious limitations. Being an infant nuclear power China knows well the consequences of an open conflict with what is known as the "paper tiger". The Chinese armed forces of two and a half million would be relatively meaningless in a nuclear war. Moreover China has her manifold domestic problems to complicate any open confrontation with the U. S. A.

In the context of the limitations discussed above, it is safe to assert that realism cannot envisage the possibility of an imminent confrontation between the two powers. Within the objective of their foreign policy structure and in the broad framework of national and ideological interest, it would be quite possible for America and China to co-exist. Two basic and pertinent questions crop up in this connection. How far ideological factors stand in the way of a better Sino-American relationship? Whether the clash of national interest between America and China is irreconcilable? One should however be on one's guard to make any generalisation about the concept of national interest; it is so complex an idea. Exponents of Chinese policy may disown any place of national interest in their foreign policy objectives because of their adherence to proletarian internationalism. But in modern times national interest has, however, absorbed much of what is known as proletarian internationalism. The needs of the age have also impelled men to cultivate values in many more spheres other than on matters purely ideological. The appeal of ideology must be strong with

the Chinese but national interest also plays a vital role in their policy-making. So far as China's contact with the outside world is concerned, the goals of her national interest determine most of her activities too in the international sphere. Similarly if American ideological conviction is considered as prevention of erosion of freedom anywhere, this need not be given precedence over America's concern in her national interest. The obvious conclusion is that ideological feeling is not so strong to-day as in earlier decades. The Sino-American dispute does not, therefore, hinge on ideological differences.

It is rather an outcome of the power approach so dominant in the politics of the two countries. China's anxiety for a power status in the world is born essentially of her past bitter experiences. For centuries the Chinese have been disgraced, humiliated and subjected to unequal treaties. A resurgent China, anxious to regain her position in the world, finds herself isolated and it is obvious that the feelings of isolation have generated a certain degree of rigidity and adventurism.

To conclude, apparently the Sino-American dispute seems to have reached a peril point of no return but this does not in reality present an immediate threat to world peace. The presence of powerful deterrants must place definite limitations on the designs of both America and China. A power-conscious America should concede that she has been pursuing her perennial interest in a radically changed world. It is, therefore, expedient on her part to accept, in her own national interest, the limits of involvement. An ethnocentric China must also learn to exercise restraint and moderation in international behaviour. And it is in this direction that world public opinion is tending to assert itself.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

A *Guide to Field Study* edited with an introduction by Sankar Sengupta, published by Indian Publications, Calcutta, 1965; D/C size, pages XIII, (introduction) + 112 + 7 (index); price Rs. 11.50 (cheap ed.) and Rs. 16.50 (*de luxe ed*)

The book under review is a collection of 15 papers, contributed by various authors including the editor, which originally appeared in the *Folklore*, the organ of the Indian Folklore Society, Calcutta, the editor of the volume being the Society's General Secretary and Director of Research. Sri Sen Gupta, who has now re-published the papers with an introduction, has to be congratulated for making them available to students in a handy volume.

The 15 papers, the titles of which indicate their scope, are the following: (1) H. D. Sankalia—Fieldwork and Archaeology, (2) M.N. Basu—Field Methods in Cultural Anthropology, (3) B. N. Varma—Prospects of Social Research in India, (4) A. K. Sarker—A General Contour of Field Study in Economics, (5) Sankar Sengupta—Purpose, Method, Techniques and Approach to Field Work in Folklore Study in India, (6) L. P. Vidyarthi—Field Researches in Social Anthropology in India: two examples, (7) B. Banerjee—Some Suggestions on Field Work in Geography, (8) T. Pande—Folklore Research: a preparation for field trip, (9) P. K. Bhowmick—Field Research in Social Anthropology,

(10) V. Elwin—Field Work in Tribal World, (11) N. K. Bose—Some Hints on Preliminary Field Survey in Tribal Areas, (12) G. N. Chatterjee—Field Work in Psychology: an empirical study on discrimination between secondary school teachers of similar socio-economic condition, (13) R. M. Sankar—The Evaluation of Field Work and its Role in Social Planning, (14) P. K. Maity—Folk Religion and Field Investigation: a case study, and (15) S. N. Samanta—The Role of University Art Museum in Education and the Importance of Field Collection.

It seems that the name of Dipak Kumar Barua has been wrongly included in the list of contributors at p.v.i.

The papers are, in most cases, of the popular type and all of them are not of equal importance, some of them being very small. But, on the whole, they are interesting and some of them will be of use to the field workers in various subjects of study.

When the book is revised for a second edition, the editor and the contributors should try to eradicate errors in their contributions (e. g. in the legend on Pantaleon's coins reproduced at 10) and to improve upon the language of some of the writings (e. g. p. 112).

D. C. SIRCAR

CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
by Dr. C. B. Memoria & Dr. S. D. Singh
Chauhan; Sahitya Bhaban, Agra; Price
Rs. 5.25 :

Since the attainment of Independence, India has been going through a process of economic reconstruction on the lines of the advanced countries of the West, and as the result of which many complicated problems have been created baffling solution by the authorities in Government who have largely been responsible for initially generating them. In the context of these circumstances, it has now become necessary for the educated intelligentsia to think afresh on the reactions of the first three Five-year Plans and to devise possible action to redraw the Fourth Plan which has been just put under way under the most depressing conditions compelling devaluation of the currency within the very first three months of its commencement. Clear thinking on the basic economic foundations on which we would have to build a superstructure of development and progress is essential.

It is this clear thinking which has been sought to be introduced by the authors, two

eminent economics teachers of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. It has been divided into five parts; (i) Agricultural problems, covering nine chapters, (ii) Industry & Finance (ten chapters); (iii) Population and Labour (seven chapters), (iv) Transport (4 chapters;) and (v) Miscellaneous problems (seven chapters). In the last part such varieties of subjects as the Five Year Plans, Metric system of weights and measures, State trading, the so-called Socialistic pattern of society, Export promotion, the European Common Market, etc. have been discussed.

In economic matters conflicting views on identical problems by different scholars have been common. The authors have tried to reconcile many such conflicting views and statements through statistical resolution and, thereby, to present an objective and integrated view of the science of economics and, in that context, to discuss the many current problems from which the country has been currently suffering. This will prove a very handy and useful aide to advanced students and to public workers alike, I have not the least doubt.

A. B. DUTTA

Indian Periodicals

THE DAY OF REPENTANCE

Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, writing in the *NOW* of August 19, 1966, in his characteristically misanthropic and barbed style under the above legend, discusses the malaise which seems to have been gradually overtaking the whole of civilized mankind in its grip and which would appear to have been inducing a sense of helplessness and pessimism even among the most eminent optimistic thinkers of the world to-day. The discussion stems from the customary nonsense that is uttered from the ramparts of the Red Fort in Delhi by the Prime Minister of India of the day on every 15th of August and which is invariably hailed by a majority of the newspaper press and, of course and necessarily, official publicists of the Government of India, as gems of thought pregnant with a sense of achievement and hope. Begins Mr. Chaudhuri :

When Aurunzeb added a barbican in front of the Lahore Gate of the Red Fort of Delhi, the imprisoned Shah Jahan wrote to him : 'You have put a veil before the face of my bride.' The same barbican has now become the platform for the bla bla that is uttered on the 15th of August by the Prime Minister of India for the time being, which means that it is still the structure from which a figurative veil is sought to be drawn before the face of every reality in India.

Since 1947 we have been treated to a good many of these tunes in baritone and tenor, the contralto will come this year. I am writing in advance of the performance, but I do not expect to be proved wrong by it. ...We shall have the same triviality accompanying the same, but no, a growing tragedy. A day which ought to be a day of repentance will be treated as if it was a day of mafficking.

With this preliminary introduction, the writer goes on to analyse the world background of the mood which has led him to write in the tone and the manner in which he had engaged to do it :

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I wonder how many people in India have read *Disenchantment* by C. E. Mantague (son-in-law of C. P. Scott, the famous editor of the *Manchester Guardian*). It was a beautiful though a bitter expression of disillusionment that had come over most of the young men who had joined Kitchener's Army in 1915 and, instead of perishing on the Somme, had come through even Passchendaele, to live for the rest of their existence in a world which seemed to be as grey and deep a morass as that ghastly battle-field...

The interval of twenty years between the two World Wars was a period of pessimistic brooding for those who had the capacity to see through things and be chastened by the exposure, and a period of frivolity for those who suffered but wanted to forget their un-understood pain. Even at the commencement of the era, the brooding had become prophetic....Dean Inge, whom the complacent wing of English society called the Gloomy Dean (ten times more gloom would have been justified), said in his Roman Lecture, *The Idea of Progress*, delivered in 1920 : 'Ancient civilizations were destroyed by imported barbarians ; we manufacture our own.'

Certainly Dean Inge's country has done so. The United States has done so, and so have most Western countries...

Even before the Second World War, H. G. Wells, an optimist if there was one, and the most energetic preacher of the brave new world that was to come out of science, had lost all his faith. The Second World War did not improve matters. It did not, indeed, begin with the kind of enthusiasm which seems to go halfway to meet disillusionment, but it ended in an event which justified the worst forebodings, namely, the employment of the atom bomb.

In 1955 I was one day talking with Bertrand Russel and I heard him giving expression to unqualified pessimism about the prospects of mankind. While sharing his views so far as the existing situation went, I tried to balance it by setting forth the grounds for optimism regarding the final outcome. He ... observed : 'Perhaps what you say will happen in five hundred or a thousand years, but I shall not be living then.'

Indeed, it is impossible for any one who has sensibility, any faculty of feeling and thinking, not to live

in unbroken dejection through our times, and even to feel that one was in a torture chamber . . .

Look only at the antics of the youngest and strongest of the countries of the world, which is also the most progressive in the historical sense—the United States. One day I told an American diplomat that much as I admired America there were two things coming from it, the very things which affected the outside world most, which were utterly vile. These were, of course, American Policy, and the American national projection. Soviet policy and projection were angelic in comparison.

American foreign policy is determined to create two things in any part of the world in which it is interested : either wars which in their combined futility and ferocity can be compared only to the Thirty Years' War, which laid Germany in ruins ; or pro-American native regimes which are corrupt and exploitive and so wholly unrepresentative. As regards cultural projection, I have only to point to the state of affairs in India. It gives me pain to say that there is not one nontraditional vice or perversity that is to be seen amongst us to-day which has not come from the United States. Even the monkeys or pop-culture of British provenance who come to India recently are only feeble imitations of the gorillas of American pop-culture

Up till ten years ago I cherished the hope that civilization might still win the battle by quoting a line of the music of Schumann about the march of the Davidsbundler against the Philistines . . . An English critic quarreled with this and said that my book should have closed with a dying fall and not a fanfare. The critic seems to have been right ; this is what I feel to-day.

Of this world background of the increasingly invading forces of barbarism, Mr. Chaudhuri seems to view the contemporary, post-independence Indian scene with a sense of utter dejection and gloom :

After independence the Indian intelligentsia, with their abject servility to the West, were bound to take over, along with the industrial techniques a good deal of this barbarism and decadence of the contemporary West in a readymade form. In fact, they are doing so on a grand scale. But their own contribution to our present sorry state of affairs is actually greater. If the Hudson is washing itself into the Ganges, it is, in itself, a very turbid Ganges. I felt the existence of this corruption in Calcutta all through the thirties . . . By 1934 I had lost all faith in the capacity of the Indian

middle class to build up a new country. This conviction of their incapacity went on growing until I felt that independence would really be a setback to civilized existence . . .

What brought me to this was my experience of the Calcutta Corporation from 1934 onwards. From 1937 I had a greater opportunity for watching its work at closer quarters as private secretary to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, then leader of the Congress party. Up to the year of 1941 when Mr. Bose was placed under detention, I was, in a manner of speaking, in the dirty kitchen where the *hors d'oeuvres* of Indian independence were being made with very much adulterated ingredients. That gave me in advance an acute indigestion for the main meal.

It must be kept in mind that the municipal act sponsored by Surendra Nath Banerjee made the Calcutta Corporation the first Indian public body of the highest status to be completely Indianized. Its working under the new dispensation was bound to be a dress rehearsal of what Indians could or would do with power in the public sphere, political or civic. In point of fact, for the first few months it did seem as if an improved civic existence was coming. But Mr. C. R. Das, who was the first Mayor of the new Corporation died, and Subhas Chandra Bose, who was the first Chief Executive Officer was placed under detention. Then what was bound to happen happened.

The old Calcutta gentry who, after the British community, were the privileged order to the city, at once joined the Congress (knowing on which side the toast was buttered) and, of course, they swamped whatever idealism there was in the civic programme. It became a means of aggrandizing these people, and the whole Corporation a close preserve for them. I observed all this from 1934 to 1935, when I officiated, off and on, as editor of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, and from 1937 to 1941 as Mr. Bose's Secretary. What I saw dismayed me utterly, for I was not such a sceptic about my countrymen as I am now. . . . What I saw was an appalling indifference to the public interest and an unscrupulous determination to advance private gain at the expense of everything else. The scales fell from my eyes.

The writer then goes on to relate a few instances of his personal experience of the measure and depth of the corruption and nepotism that marked the administration of the Calcutta Corporation which, even to one inured to these, what may only be

described as endemic qualities of the administration, would seem to be simply astoundingly brazen and horrifying :

... The Councillors used to have periodic heart-searchings about the rules of service of the Corporation's employees in the name of efficiency, but really to bring in more carcasses for the vultures that they were. In the late thirties such a revision was again proposed, and I was asked to draft the rules by Mr. Bose. The initiative had come from Dr. B. C. Roy who was anxious to increase the efficiency of the staff by giving them a better deal.

I thought a better deal called for at least some safeguard for the employees. I had never seen a Departmental candidate promoted to a higher post : young and inexperienced outsiders related to the Councillors were brought in at their expense. So, I put in a clause that, provided qualifications were equal, a Departmental candidate would get preference as a matter of course. The Congress Municipal Association was to discuss the draft in the evening, at which the formidable Dr. Roy was to be present. So, in the morning some Councillors of the scavenging jackal type dropped in to have an advance look at the draft, so that they might not be caught on the wrong foot. They went attentively through the draft and at one place one of them cried out in horrified tone :

Councillor : What is this Sir ?

S. C. B. (Mr. Bose) : What is that ?

C : This rule about preference of Departmental candidates.

S.C.B. : That is as it should be. Else they would not work.

C. : But that also means that our relatives and friends will not get jobs, for there will always be qualified Departmental candidates. You will have to take that out, sir.

—And, taken out it was

In the evening Dr. Roy looked through the list and blew up. 'What is this ?' He cried in rage. 'You had better put a ban on all promotions.' He snatched up a red pencil and began to score through the list. I was standing by him and saw the massacre. The Councillors understood enough from the manipulation of the pencil, and looked on with livid fury. One cheeky beggar, bolder than the rest, shouted from the other end of the table :

C. : I know very well for whose sake all this sympathy for the Departmental candidate is being shown.

The whole question of Departmental vs. Outside candidates had come to a head over the post of the Superintendent of Sir Stuart Hogg Market, one of the most lucrative one for its perquisites, which had fallen vacant. Dr. Roy was in favour of giving it to the Superintendent of the Cornwallis Street Market. He was not the man to be browbeaten . . . and so he carried out employing his characteristic *tutoiment* : B.C.R. : Look here, so and so, don't talk too much. I also know some thing about your goings on.

So, some posts were, in the end, kept for Departmental candidates.

The writer goes on to relate several other stories which might have sounded quite funny but for their under-lying tragic implications. He continues :

The cumulative effect of the experience was shattering. It made me feel that there was something in the Christian assumption that man's nature was inherently evil. I realised that if the Government of the country came into the hands of Indians, India as a whole would become a Calcutta Corporation writ large. *That is what it has become.* The microcosm has blown itself into a macrocosm.

What makes the general public incapable of revolting against it even when they are sickened by the spectacle, is their own enfeeblement. They are feeble in different ways. The upper middle class, which from its education could be expected to be most sensitive to the corruption in the public order, has been won over by indirect bribes—well paid jobs for its members. Their capacity to think vigorously and effectively has also been sapped by their servile imitation of the West, which makes their personality, already weakened by the Hindu decadence, still weaker by the addition of the Western decadence.

Of course this affects intellect as well as character. The former is so weak that it has become incapable of even detecting the malady, not to speak of finding a remedy. Wherever one goes one comes across only a pitiful belief that a change of political party or regime will, by itself, bring about improvement. They do not realise that political systems can do nothing by themselves, and that each one of them is only as good as the men who work it. So, in certain circumstances even a monarchy can be better than a democracy . . . Will anyone maintain that there is more freedom in the democratic West to-day than there was in the Roman Empire ? Marcus Aurelius wrote that from Severus he had come 'to conceive the idea of a commonwealth based on equity and freedom

of speech, and of a monarchy cherishing above all the liberty of the subject.' This freedom, the United States, which is talking itself hoarse about freedom, does not give even to its citizens . . .

The other social orders are so demoralized by their wants, disappointments and their sufferings, that they have no strength left even to believe in the possibility of amelioration. In this state of benumbed pain they are further anaesthetized by the organized *tamasha* that is provided partly by the Government and mostly by the profit-seeking concerns of mass entertainment which take their methods and models from the decadent democratic West. There come moments when people feel their condition to be unendurable, and then they break out in demonstrations . . . which only destroy the authority of the State without bringing about any improvement.

The writer sees this as a great human problem. He says :

In the ultimate analysis it has to be realised that the political problem in India is a human problem, that is, a moral and spiritual problem, and that nothing can be done at this stage without tackling it on that plane. Long ago Plato said that the different political systems were reflections of certain states of the human soul . . .

'And remember how we described the man of the people. His origin, if you recollect, lay in an early training under a parsimonious father who honoured only the money-making desires, and slighted those that are unnecessary and that would not exist but for purposes of amusement and display . . .'

Such a state of affairs, added Plato, was followed by tyranny. Curiously enough, in India today democracy and tyranny co-exist. This can be ended, not by political changes, but by a moral regeneration.

No great political thinker of the world has ever said that political life can be separated from the moral . . . The purely amoral political thinkers are either system-makers or practical counsellors. But Marx is not one of the amoral ones. Only his solution was amoral, whereas his inspiration was certainly moral. It was his anger against the injustice of capitalism which

led him to seek a remedy whose efficiency would not depend on the weak will and efforts of man alone, but be guaranteed by a course of historical evolution which he formulated as inevitable. To him morality and the evolution were identical. And it is not surprising, therefore, that his doctrine was less an intellectual theory than a kind of religious faith . . .

In contemporary India, however, the inevitable revolution . . . might not come at all before the government of the country by the Congress has reduced the people to a state of abject degradation and barbarism out of which no historical development will drag them out. So, a more short-term and more directly moral programme would be desirable. Somehow, that sort of approach is more in harmony with the Indian temperament, which is naturally didactic . . .

There is a very striking instance from European history of this kind of impact on political anarchy and political life of a moral and religious movement . . . An ecclesiastical council held in 909 A. D. described the state of affairs in the following words :

The cities are depopulated, the monasteries ruined and burned, the land is reduced to a solitude. As the first men lived without law or constraint, abandoned to their passions, now every man does what pleases him, despising the laws of God and man and the ordinances of the Church. The powerful oppress the weak, the land is full of violence against the poor and the plunder of the goods of the Church. Men devour one another like the fishes in the sea.' . . .

'How then are these robbers, Christian or what do they deserve who slay their brothers for whom they are commanded to lay down their lives . . .

'You have only to study the books of antiquity to see that the most powerful are always the worst. Worldly nobility is due not to nature, but to pride and ambition. If we judged by realities, we should give honour not to the rich for the fine clothes they wear, but to the poor who are the makers of such things—for the banquets of the powerful are cooked in the sweat of the poor !'

This kind of preaching is certainly more in harmony with the spirit of the Indian people than the so-called secular chatter of the present ruling calss.

Foreign Periodicals

A Little Disorder

Red China is both the bogey-man and the most absorbing conundrum to the democratic West. Ideological cleavages between the Kremlin and Peking which still seem to persist unresolved and which, at one time, was fondly expected to spearhead an ultimate rift in the Communist world to the profit of what is commonly known as the democratic West, do not appear to be moving towards the desired finale. In the meanwhile Red China seems to have been steadily gaining in both stature and strength as well as in increasingly militant Marxist ideology. Recently, occasional tidbits of news assumed to have been flowing from reliable sources in the inner councils of Peking appeared to hopefully figure a sick and disease-wracked Mao Tse-Tung and a consequent power-struggle and rift in the highest echelons of authority which would now seem to have been somewhat confounded, although doubts in this connection do not seem to have been wholly laid to rest. Says *Time* in its issue of August 19, 1966 under the above legend :

All week long Peking throbbed with the fever of crisis. A sea of demonstrators jammed the streets carrying red banners and pictures of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung. Mao himself turned up briefly at one rally and was greeted by the singing of the nation's newest hit, *We rely on the Helmsman When we Sail the Ocean*. After he left crowds rushed forward to try to shake hands with those who had shaken hands with Mao.

Behind the frenzy was some kind of struggle in Peking's higher *inner councils*. Hints emerged that certain party officials were arguing for a softening of the ten-month purge that has swept the country. One day Peking's newspapers were nine hours late reaching the stands. The reason for the delay, according to rumours in the Capital, was a decision to withdraw a front-page picture of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung.

Thus, at week's end, when a message crackled from Radio Peking that an important announcement would

follow in a few hours, Sinologists the world over jumped for their monitoring sets. What had been going on in Peking, said the broadcast, was the first meeting in four years of the Central Committee of Red China's Communist Party.

But if there were any differences within the Party, They did not show up in the Central Committee's communique. It disclosed that the oft-postponed Third Five Year Plan is under way at last, and commended Mao for his *brilliant* policies. As for the purge, the Committee declared that "an invigorating revolutionary atmosphere prevails in the whole country and the situation is one of a new all round leap forward emerging. If things seemed to be a bit chaotic as a result, what did it matter? "Dare to make revolution and be good at revolution" cried Peking. "Don't be afraid of disorder."

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The Prospect Ahead

But even apart from the fears of and speculations about Red China, what would seem to be of far more immediate and vital concern to the democratic West, especially to the U. S. Administration, is the war in Vietnam and the dangers of its possible escalation over wider areas in South East Asia. President Lyndon Johnson does not appear to have many supporters of his Vietnam, in fact South-east Asian policies, even among the European democracies. In fact, even within the U. S., there is an increasingly widening-area of public opinion, especially among the intellectuals, which considers U.S. involvement in Vietnam particularly and South-east Asia generally as irrational, wasteful and even wholly unfair. The latest report on the Vietnam situation in the issue of the *Time* dated August 19 under the above head line, seeks to present a critical analysis of the admittedly complex war situation in Vietnam :

TRUTH—the whole Truth—is an inevitable casualty of any war, if only because it is often drowned in the din of combat or smothered by the demands of security.

This is particularly so in a war as complex as that in Viet Nam, which has ignored most of the time-honoured tenets of military experience. Last week the U. S. was exposed to a spate of assertions, contradictions and speculations about the Vietnamese War that illustrated both the strength of a democratic society and the frustration of searching for clear answers to elusive problems. From it all, one sobering message emerged: although the War in Viet Nam is going well in many respects, some of the most decisive battles—and the hardest decisions—still lie ahead.

For instance, estimates of the probable duration and cost in further absorption of men and materials in the Viet Nam war, recently reported to have been emanating from Saigon, would seem to be of horrific proportions. The fact as to whether these estimates are supposed to have been formulated upon a realistic assessment of the situation as it is and is likely to develop in the future, or whether they have been deliberately cast in their admittedly stupendous proportion with a view to strengthening the hands of that notorious wing of policy-makers in the Pentagon who would rather shorten the War by recourse to the U.S.'s arsenal of nuclear warheads, is something which it is impossible to prognosticate upon. Continues the *Time* report:

The week's seesawing began with a report from Saigon citing Army and Marine Corps studies in the Pentagon concluding that North Vietnam could endure its present rate of losses in the South for another eight years. Even if the present U. S. man-power commitment of 292,000 troops in South Viet Nam were raised to as much as 750,000 according to these projections, the Communists would still be able to replace enough men through infiltration and recruiting within South Viet Nam to continue the fight for several years.

From Lyndon Johnson on down, official Washington replied to these chilling estimates by denying any knowledge of the studies; the President even told his press conference that Defense Secretary McNamara did not agree with the conclusions of the *non-studies*. The Administration has wisely made no public timetable predictions about the end of the War, but many Americans have certainly felt that it could hardly last beyond a year or two more.

Yet the men who are running the war have, for the most part, a consistently harder view than Washington of its length and future costliness. They do not take too seriously the Administration's belief that North Vietnamese rationality will sooner or later open Hanoi's eyes to the impossibility of victory. They see a long, grubby, sloggish war ahead of them, and their professional responsibilities compel them to assess realistically both the enemy's strength and their own needs. Few of them think that the job can be done with much less than double the present American force, and some indeed feel that the American buildup must reach 750,000—though the Pentagon says that it does not envision such a commitment.

It would appear that the measure of deployment of troops and arms to the Viet Nam theatre of war has, so far, been the largest since the engagement in Korea in the fifties. The following analysis of U. S. armed strength in Viet Nam would be interesting:

U. S. troop commitments are steadily moving toward planned higher levels; last week more than 3,000 fresh troops arrived in Viet Nam. The number of American troops will reach about 400,000 by the end of 1966—at which point it will equal, for the first time, the U. S. troop strength in Korea—then go up to half a million by next spring. The problem is that the enemy's buildup continues to match step for step, that of the U. S. in the past year, the allies have not been able to increase their troop strength advantage to 4-1, despite the influx of Americans. Although the Communists in the first seven months of 1966 have had 25,250 men killed—more than three times the number of allied combat-dead—and lost another 15,000 in prisoners and defectors, the latest intelligence reports put total Communist troop-strength in South Viet Nam at 280,000, a net increase of 50,000 since January.

Continued infiltration from the North is believed to have brought between 35,000 and 54,000 fresh Communist troops into South Viet Nam since January. The Communists also have an effective "recruiting" program that still supplies between 10,000 and 15,000 men a month. Many of these recruits—as well as much of the rice on which the Viet Cong live—come from the Mekong Delta region, a huge area in which, instead of combat units, the U. S. has advisory teams that work with the South Vietnamese army. Because the Viet Cong are able to operate so freely in the Delta, apparently as the result of at least a partial accommodation with the South Vietnamese, the U. S.

believes that the war cannot be successfully concluded until the region is pacified. To that end the American troops will be sent into the Delta, probably in the next few months, to begin fighting what promises to be virtually a whole new and bitter war.

Some military sources feel that the U.S. will eventually need four divisions in the Delta, but the Pentagon scoffs at the figure, insists it will be much lower. The White House is also concerned by the amount of 'material' now being stockpiled by the North Vietnamese in the demilitarized zone, and there is some speculation that U.S. troops may have to go in and clean it out. Military commanders in Viet Nam are counting on a reserve call-up to make regular units available to them before the end of the year, and the Senate Appropriations Committee last week urged the call-up of some reserves to help meet the rising manpower needs of the war.

Apart from the rights and wrongs of this war in Viet Nam, and especially of U.S. involvement in the same—it has been openly claimed even by some leading American leaders that the Viet Nameese Government, to whose assistance American troops, equipments and materials had to be deployed so that liberty could not be suborned or liquidated by the Communists in the area, has never been any more than a U.S. puppet—the most interesting fact of this war would seem to be that try as hard as they could, and despite apparently devastating and largely destructive attacks upon the North at supposedly crucial and strategic points, they do not seem to have been making any visible dents upon the fighting capacity, or of the supplies of strategic materials to the North. Continues the *Time* report :

The bombing of the oil facilities in the North, which the Pentagon claims was highly effective, has had little ascertainable effect on the North Vietnamese ability to move men and supplies. The oil tanks are being dispersed and put underground, and some Western observers in Hanoi say that the North's main problem is that supplies are pouring in so fast from Red China and the Soviet Union, that bottlenecks are developing, particularly in the port of Haiphong. Inevitably there are some shortages, as evidenced by the slogan for the

North Vietnamese militia : "Shoot down more U.S. aircraft with less ammunition."

Lyndon Johnson recently told an aide that friendly sources had informed him that both Hanoi and Moscow are 'convinced that we are falling apart.' Hanoi seems to think that its battered economy and bloodied army will endure longer than U.S. domestic support of the war which adds up to an unfortunate judgment by the Communists and a gloomy prospect for the U.S. But if Hanoi continues on its present course, the President is determined to increase U.S. military pressure as needed. The Communists, as the President observed recently "have less to write home to mother about than I do." Just how long it will take them to grasp this homely idea, is of course, what all the talking is about.

The crucial spearhead of the war, so far as South Viet Nam is concerned should, it is being increasingly realised now, be concentrated around the Delta of the Mekong which largely provides the rice which sustains the South Vietnamese army in its struggles against U.S. might. A blow dealt at the South Vietnamese and the Viet Cong in this area would, it is gradually being realised, be in the nature of a blow on the head. Says the *Time* :

Since American manpower in South Viet Nam has been engaged most spectacularly with the Viet Cong or the North Vietnamese regulars in the Northern half of the country, the headlines tend to overlook another sprawling sector of the war : the Mekong Delta below Saigon. In terms of bullets fired and casualties recorded, the Delta is a good deal quieter than it was two years ago. But it has hardly lost its importance.

Every day there are bloody clashes by the dozen between the Viet Cong and the South Vietnamese troops which carry almost all the Delta load. The three Divisions of government troops in the Delta conduct some 30-odd battalion-size actions and 2,500 small patrols a week. Last week a truckload of South Vietnamese Delta reserves was disastrously ambushed. In An Xuyen province, government troops have tangled repeatedly with particularly bothersome Viet Cong battalions.

But the fact is that the South Vietnamese do not possess the men or equipment or mobility to conduct sustained operations. Thus, for some time, they have barely been able to hold their own. Since the rice-rich Delta must be cleaned out if the war is to be won,

what is clearly required is American man-power and gun-power. As a result, U. S. Military commanders have been giving increasing attention to the need for U. S. troops in what has been the exclusive war of the Delta's IV Corps. Commander, Lieut. General Dang Van Quang, and his 16,000 men.

The first Americans are likely to arrive by the end of the year. Plans call for an initial 4,000 U. S. troops in the Delta, and the total could rise far above that. Troops will probably be from the Army, though the Marines have long chafed to get into the Delta action. In any case the campaign will be no picnic. A steam-hot, table-flat expanse of mangrove swamps and paddy fields, often standing in water up to a man's neck, the Delta is rife with an estimated 80,000 veteran Viet Cong guerillas.

The American reinforcements will have the benefit of some U. S. preparations. Twelve U. S. Special Forces camps have already been set up in the Delta. The U. S. Navy patrols its 2,500 mile labyrinth of rivers

and canals with 71 PT-type boats and three hovercraft. Along the coast patrol boats of the Navy's Operation Market Time have cut down on Communist gun-running. As elsewhere, it will be difficult to separate friend from foe—demonstrated last week when U. S. Air Force jets strafed and bombed a Delta hamlet near the village of Truong Trung killing 24 inhabitants and wounding 82, among them women and children.

Amid a chorus of protest President Johnson personally requested an explanation, asking the U. S. officials in Saigon to answer three questions: (i) Were there Viet Cong in the hamlet? (ii) Were the inhabitants forced by the Viet Cong to remain in the hamlet during the attack? (iii) Did Viet Cong shoot at a spotter plane that directed the strike? The answer to all three questions, according to American spokesmen, was yes—and illustrated the tragic dilemma of fighting an anti-guerrilla war. Said one experienced U. S. military official: "We're just going to have to go into the Delta and winkle them out of the villages ourselves."

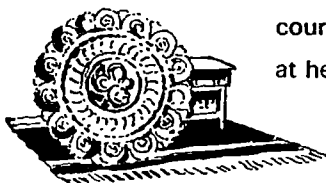


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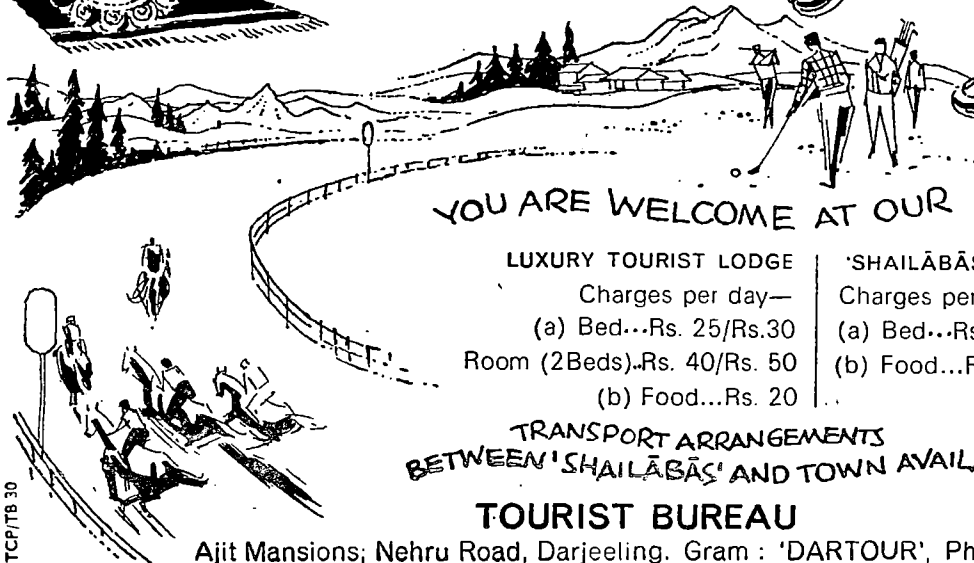
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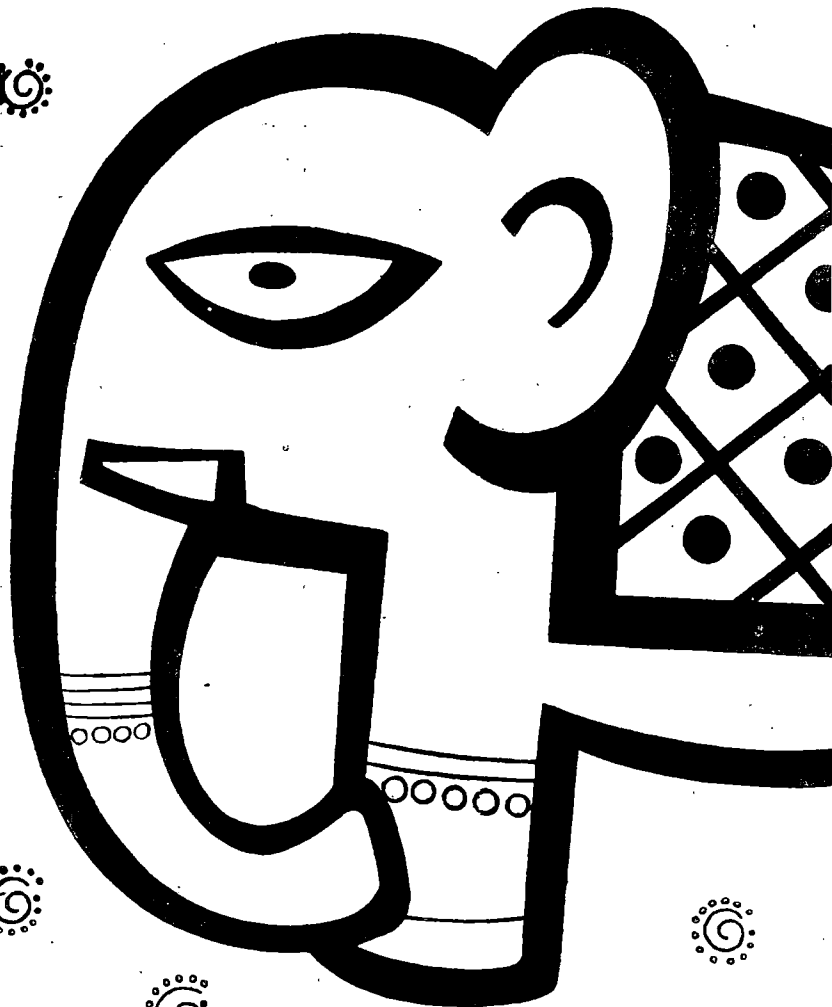
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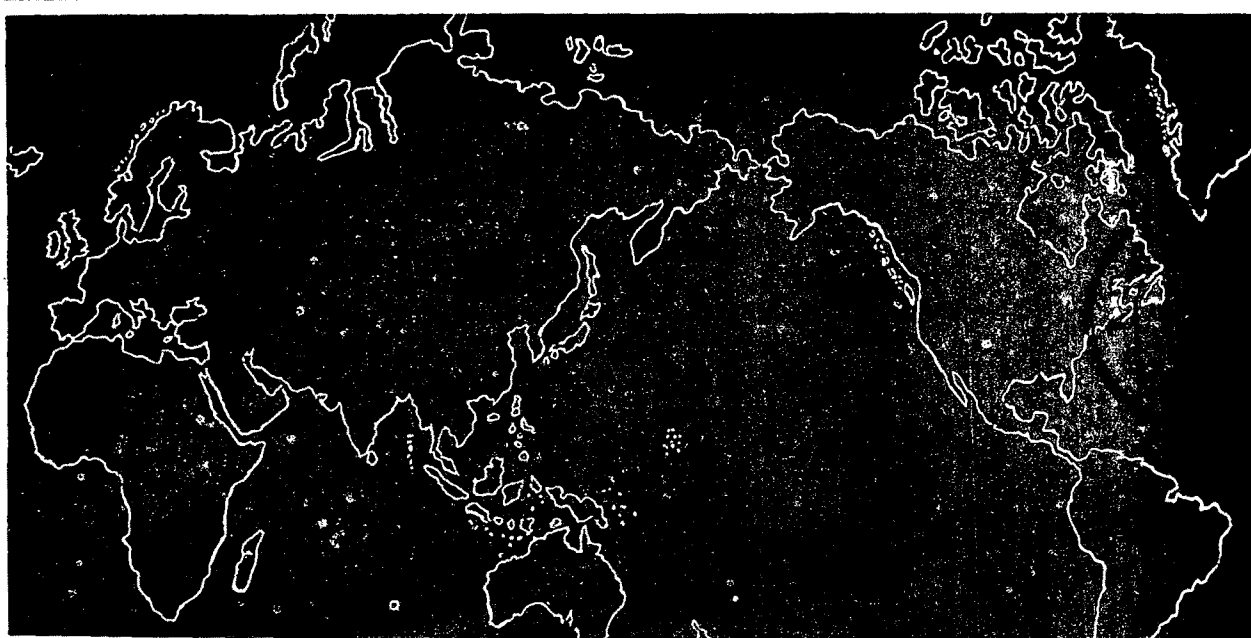
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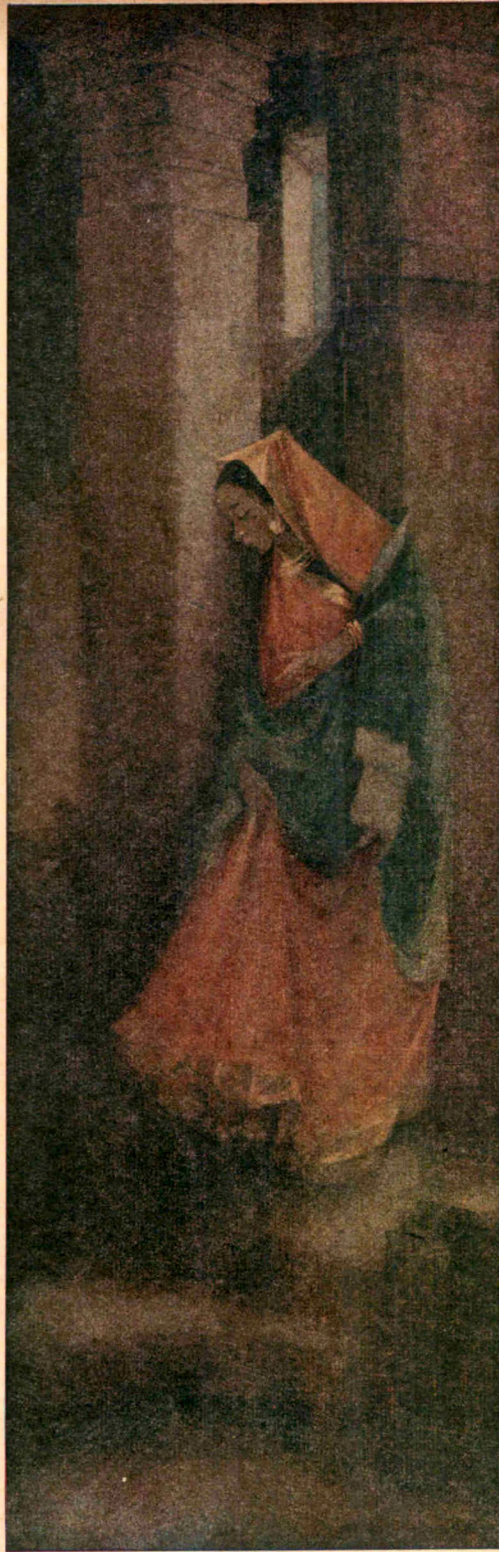
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NOTES

Purpose Of Forming States

In the beginning human beings lived isolated lives in caves, trees or anywhere and considered all other humans as enemies barring probably their own immediate family members. They worked together at times, perhaps to resist and destroy the ferocious creatures that roamed the earth in those days. When movements of population took place, larger masses of human beings came together and occasionally fought hostile groups of a similar kind when found necessary. But mutual fights and squabbles did not stop, nor did any ideas of rights and obligations emerge until much later. What sort of great leaders brought lesser men together to achieve their common objectives, and how, slowly, larger group formations came into existence, are matters about which no definite knowledge can be obtained. It all happened over millennia until fairly large tribes and clans with their separate ways of living and thinking developed. These had their Chiefs, may be priests, and particular areas of the earth were their special

domain. Some tribes lived a nomadic life and moved about with their live stock and others cultivated the soil, but also moved from place to place in search of new fields of greater fertility.

Rules and regulations, rights and obligations, rituals and moral considerations slowly developed and all members of particular groups became subjects of a social order. Tribes and clans formed alliances or were brought together under orders of a conquering chief who subjected many tribes to his will by force of arms. Thus were formed the greater societies of human beings and these had their greater leaders whom the lesser leaders obeyed. Courts came into existence where complaints were heard and judgments were delivered by the leaders personally. Thus numerous groups were functioning as organised bodies of human beings all over the world in that period of human history which we call mythical times. Arts and crafts of a fairly recognisable kind had developed in those prehistoric days, Tanning, metal work,

moulding, cooking, building houses, constructing boats, chariots and other equipment needed for civilised living were becoming quite common among these great tribes. Philosophy, ethics and laws were coming into existence and the great civilisations of Egypt, Assyria, China, Greece, Persia and India were round the corner. Fifteen to twenty thousand years ago man had become a social animal and had learnt to form organised states with laws, judges, priests, rights and obligations. Men had come to know that to live happily and to make progress culturally and economically they had to obey rules, pay taxes and also fight collectively for their own common defence.

States were, therefore, the product of human urges towards achieving greater happiness, better living, proper protection and a wider cultural development. Where states came to be the products and expressions of the whims and desires of a few persons and where the states did not benefit the general public in various ways, they did not last. Even in modern times very strong and powerful states have collapsed because of their inability to benefit the people. So, whatever fanatical followers of ideologies may say, humanity cannot stabilise in groups and continue to exist without breaking up violently, unless the basis of such group formations rested on public weal and the satisfaction of the needs of the masses. High level policies cannot compensate for the losses that people may suffer in their every day life. Political Philosophy is no substitute for food. The good of the people has always been the supreme law.

The Romans, than whom no greater empire builders have ever been, ruled their world by good laws. They had slaves but the slaves along with the freemen lived well, even if at the masters' will. The well being of the people was the highest law according to the Romans and they created this well being by their great

deeds as opposed to mere words. The laws too were fully practised. Good laws must be supported by good morals in the administrators of the laws. Immoral administrators can make the world totally lawless by misusing their powers. We have found this in later ages too among people who had great laws but corrupt men to interpret and administer the laws. Misuse makes good laws instruments of oppression. That is why the moral basis of society must be protected and maintained at all times. There can be no good government nor well being of the people, in spite of good laws and good intentions, in a land controlled by persons who have no moral scruples. Moral superiority is the basis of public well being. No theoretical rules and regulations can grant peace, happiness, the necessities of life and justice to the people. For, evil shall for ever stalk their lives while evil men tower over their destiny.

Mrs. Gandhi Lectures Students

Students listen to highly elevating words of wisdom at all times. The greatest philosophers, moralists, humanists and scientists communicate with students through their writings. But students get out of hand, nevertheless, when they feel they had not been treated fairly. So, Mrs. Gandhi's admonition to the students will not work. She should admonish those who habitually take advantage of the students' innocent faith in their elders; and all those others who intentionally misguide and make use of young people for their own base purposes. There are many state employees and Congressmen among these people.

Bhutan, Tibet and China

The Chinese conquest of Tibet was tolerated by India and the rest of the world and the Chinese became more aggressive as a result of their successful act of political banditry. India still uses that false description of a conquered land viz "the Tibet region of China"

to refer to the land of Lamas. Tibet never was a "region of China" nor should just people ever agree to allow it to be made into a Chinese province. But the British, American (and perhaps Russian) overlords of the world have agreed to let the Chinese dominate Tibet, and that has settled the fate of that country at least for the present. Pandit Nehru accepted British directives even in the matter of fixing the boundaries of India, so that his acceptance of the rape of Tibet as a fait accompli was fully in keeping with his other acts in the field of politics. But, now that he is no longer there to determine and decide the dimensions and pattern of our political morality, we may reorientate our outlook upon China's right to stay in Tibet. We must do so immediately, as China, having ravaged Tibet and made it a region of China, is now attempting to make Bhutan, Sikkim and the whole of NEFA into regions of China too. Just as Tibetan civilisation and the racial characteristics of the people of that country were distinctly non-Chinese, the Bhutanese too have never been Chinese in race, culture or by reason of political and economic connections. Bhutan, like Sikkim, Nepal, Tibet and the tribal regions bordering Afghanistan, has always been very closely related to India, and no one can ever think of the Chinese as in any way related to the Bhutanese. The Government of India should make up their mind as to their duties for the protection of the freedom of the people of these border states, and further they should develop proper military strength to beat back Chinese aggression if it comes beyond Tibet into the regions of which the people are more akin to the peoples of India than to the Chinese. The Tibetans too are nearer to the Indians than to the Chinese; but India will have to progress enormously in military strength before she can undertake to drive the Chinese out of Tibet. She may, however, develop enough conventional and

nuclear might to resist Chinese inroads into trans-Tibetan territories. As things are now it is doubtful whether India can successfully achieve that in all regions adjoining Tibet, China, Azad Kashmir and Burma. This is a difficult task in view of the length of the frontier which has to be guarded. From the extreme southern end of this frontier adjoining Burma to the end of the frontier facing West Pakistan at Kutch, together with the frontiers of East Pakistan, the lines would be about 3000 miles long. India would require nearly 100 divisions of soldiers to guard these long lines in any strength. Another 100 divisions should be there to join forces with the first hundred in case of intensive war. The mechanised forces, the air force and the Navy should be proportionate and properly equipped. Nuclear weapons, submarines and air craft carriers are essential. To achieve all this the entire idea of national development and administration must be revised. Defence expenses would naturally increase heavily and industrial development will have to be synchronised with the necessities of weapons, munitions and equipment for the forces. But all that can be done and must be done if India is to maintain her independent status honourably and fully. The Congress Party members, who now govern India, have no active and realistic outlook on the problems that the Indian nation is now facing. They believe in repeating the words of dead men and consider that the problems of 1966 can be solved by what the leaders of the past thought in 1946. There are other men in India who go even farther back and try to solve current problems by reference to the wisdom of persons who lived in the sixth century A.D. or twelfth century B. C.

Nigerian Communalism

It appears that there are quite bad types of Communalists in lands outside India too. The Nigerians have shown an intensive emotional response to fanatical ideas of "believer and non-

believer", and there have been mass killings on a communal basis in that African state. Whether the European ex-rulers of Nigeria have been provoking such internecine fights or not, cannot be ascertained very easily. But generally speaking one may take it for granted that if the Europeans are still there, they must have lent a hand in the work of creating internal dissensions. For Europeans, particularly the ex-imperialists, cannot live without interfering with the internal affairs of other nations. In India, after 19 years of independence, Euro-Americans are still busy creating dissensions among the peoples of India. Such agents provocateurs can be professionals or pure amateurs. Managers of factories, teachers, priests of religion, travelling salesmen, contractors, members of diplomatic or cultural organisations, persons doing research work or attached to delegations and missions, can all indulge in such anti-Indian activities and many do so regularly. The Nigerian affair, therefore, may have been inspired by foreigners staying in or visiting Nigeria. In Africa and Asia Europeans and Americans should be closely watched by the members of a counter organisation to make it impossible for them to carry on anti-Indian activities without let or hindrance as they do now. The counter organisation must have a personnel which will include fairly highly placed persons as well as workers, students and persons engaged in social service. There are hundreds of foreigners in India who carry on anti-Indian activities and nothing is done to put a stop to it.

Students and Demonstrations

There have been quite a bit of high level discussion about student unrest in India. Economics, politics, psychology, secret incitement by foreigners or their agents and a general retaliatory upsurge provoked by governmental high handedness, have all been cited as causes of this very widespread student unrest. Whether the students have disliked

the Fourth Five Year Plan or the devaluation of the Rupee to an extent which has induced them to start mass activities, can be easily ascertained. The assumption will be surely found to be wrong. Politically the students cannot be dreaming of sending the Congress out of office by direct action four or five months before the impending general elections. Psychologically the students could not have been suddenly affected by a strange mass malady akin to persecution mania; So that is out too as a probable cause. If foreigners or their agents have been inciting students to beat up policemen, why cannot the police either prosecute such agents provocateurs or resign *en masse* if they cannot locate these secret agents? Retaliatory action too cannot be the cause, for the reason that in many cases the initiative had not been with the governmental people. The cause and effect theory then has to be rejected. The students all over India, therefore, could not have started a general upheaval in a planned manner or under a well defined provocation of a particular kind. Things had begun everywhere in a fairly mild and ordinary fashion. After that all persons concerned have behaved and acted unintelligently and with great inefficiency, until things started to boil over, everywhere, as if according to a pre-set pattern. But street fights, however accidentally started, always follow a pattern in which local lawless elements fit in smoothly and without much delay. The present decision of Vice Chancellors that they would handle student unrest unilaterally may not succeed for the reason that students and the public get mixed up quickly.

Keep Students Properly Engaged

In foreign countries where Student unrest is not common, students make use of their spare time in various ways which benefit them financially and in other ways. Military training, games and sports, take up much of their spare

time. They also go out hitch-hiking, cycling and on sight seeing tours. Students on tour can stay in rest houses at a very low cost and they can also travel cheaply by charabancs to fairly distant places. In India military training for students is rudimentary and mainly restricted to the Army. The Air Force and the Navy can also take students for training and make military training more interesting. Arrangements for games and sports and gymnasia where students can learn wrestling, boxing, judo, fencing etc. etc., do not exist in large enough numbers and in a well equipped manner. All attempts by lovers of games and sports to get proper assistance from the states have so far failed, generally speaking. The various sports councils have become departments of the ministries of education with a much used power of veto vested in the ministries of finance. Misuse of power for political purposes is also not unknown. If the government desire to make life more interesting for students they should go about it in a right manner and not try all the time to create monopolies for government people and political leaders. One play ground and a gymnasium for every 10000 persons is a necessity. Student rest houses and special tours by bus for students must be arranged too. Students can also be helped to buy cycles, scooters, radios, musical instruments cheaply and by paying by instalments. Instruction in music both vocal and instrumental should be arranged all over the country.

In foreign countries students can get spare time work and earn money. This includes clerical work, statistical survey work, work in connection with mass education schemes and manual work in shops, restaurants and factories. In India there are no such facilities. As a result, with increasing costs of education and living, poor boys have to give up studies or choose educational centres of inferior standing. With the growth of the

public sector students might be engaged for temporary work in large numbers in the various factories managed by government. Seasonal work can be found in post offices, and other governmental departments for students. Places of pilgrimage during festivals, melas and other important places of interest can accommodate student guides, first aid workers and general volunteers for enforcing orderly movement of pilgrims and sight seers. This kind of extra time work will give students an opportunity to earn their own living to some extent and also keep them busy during their hours of leisure and holidays. One thing is very sure. It is that students will not appreciate extra-mural lecture from politicians about their behaviour and duties. So that our politicians should stop lecturing students and engage in constructive work for student welfare straight away. And that in a non-political manner.

Left-Right Legislators

We have never been able to understand clearly what the Left or the Right schools of political thought in India really want to do with the Indian nation and the resources of the country. The Right, that is mainly the Congress, always talk about socialism, creating a classless society, removing wide differences in wealth and income, preventing concentration of wealth, social ownership of the means of production and so on and so forth. The Left wallahs do the same. The Rights believe in non-alignment, peace and rejection of nuclear weapons; the Left politicians of certain groups believe in alliances with radical countries. Other Left parties do not believe in that either. So that fundamentally the Lefts and the Rights, more or less, abide by the same socio-economic principles and believe in similar political ideologies. Yet they pretend to fight in a manner which would suggest greater wider, and more fundamental

differences of faith and belief, than they actually harbour within them.

The ensuing elections have roused all parties, Left and Right, to a consciousness of the failures of the present representatives of the parties in the field of administration. The Congress have not managed the affairs of the country properly and well. The Opposition too have failed to rouse in the Government a clearer and more realistic sense of their duties. So that the people of India, who have suffered from the actions and lack of actions of the Government during the last nineteen years can lay the blame on all political parties. Vast amounts have been obtained by taxation and by borrowing and spent in a not too profitable manner. The position of India in the world of nations has deteriorated. Foreign countries do not show either friendship or respect to India. The people suffer from a variety of wants of which some are dangerous. All things managed by Government are running inefficiently; corruption and abuse of power are rampant, and, generally speaking, nineteen years of independence have done little material good to the country and its people. The Opposition politicians had been as useless as the supporters of the Government. Yet now that the elections are coming, the people who are being nominated by the various parties are more or less the same old people who have proved their uselessness over long years. Little new blood is flowing into the body of the legislatures, barring what unknown flow may come through unknown channels. Such poverty of talent is unbelievable, but there it is! The Congress leaders are reluctant to recruit new men and women in places of the old faithfuls (many of whom have deserted though). So that our hopes of seeing new persons in the ranks of the (Left and the Right) parties will remain mainly unfulfilled.

Wanted Independent Candidates

Indian Political Parties have been formed for the propagation of ideas which have little direct bearing upon the basic well being of the people of this great subcontinent. Thus, a very important party may waste its energies to preach non-violence, non-alignment, abolition of nuclear weapons and go about seeking the friendship of unfriendly nations, without paying much attention to the nation's solvency, defence potential and supplies of essential commodities. Another important party may suffer very intensely from extra territorial loyalties verging on high treason; while yet other parties may seek to politically glorify an incarnation of Vishnu or to achieve some other impossible objective. In fact no party is striving to give all Indians two square meals a day, full employment, fuller education, adequate medical aid, better dwellings, purer and sufficient water supply, proper sanitation and facilities for making their lives more worth living in every way. Every political party has the desire to offer something extraordinary to its clientele and no party is satisfied with a programme which mainly deals with the removal of everyday wants. In other words the political parties are at much too high a level to approach human existence in a matter of fact manner. So that, one can no more expect the political parties to be of help to ordinary mortals than expect diamond merchants to supply cheap fineries for poor village folk. We are therefore always in a fix when the elections come. If we vote for this party we pay more and get less. If we vote for that party we pay everything and get nothing. Parties talk airily and we do not understand what it is all about. Nor perhaps do the party leaders. It is therefore quite a problem for the ordinary mortal to use his democratic right of voting to any advantage. Whichever party one selects to vote for, one gets nothing out of it. Rather one runs the risk of loss of income,

capital erosion, less employment, food shortage and all sorts of incidental involvements. One has therefore to find out suitable men to vote for who will not belong to any parties of any kind ; Men and women who will try to run the government of the people, by the people and for the people of India ; persons who will advocate no shilly shallying and dilly dallying with foreign relations ; no borrowings for plans which yield no income. Indians must be self reliant and self-sufficient in a practical manner. The Indian economy must be built up with Indian resources and technical knowledge. The rupee must be given back its full and proportionate exchange value. All bureaucratic interference with production, distribution and consumption must be stopped. Inefficient men must be stopped from meddling with matters they do not understand. Freedom and liberty do not mean subservience to bureaucratic whims at every step. Independence can not mean dependence upon government departments for one's food, clothing, housing, medicine and everything else. During the last nineteen years the lives of people in India have suffered an unparalleled loss of dignity. This must be remedied. And the only way to do this is to put more independent men and women in our legislatures. Autocrats and their servants, the bureaucrats, must be controlled.

Old and New

Old institutions, social systems, manners, customs and laws are considered not quite so effective, purposeful and good, because living men can easily shout down the dead who have no voice nor any press. They have some living supporters who can use their voice and the press to advocate the cause of the departed persons, but their advocacy can only be as strong as they themselves are. If they are not strong in money, numbers or importance, the cause of the older generations may not flourish and lesser persons in point of

character, intelligence and constructive ideas may establish their inferior ideas, suppressing older thoughts and socio-economic systems entirely by reason of their superior vitality and physical strength. Thus there come ups and downs for all systems of thought and action pertaining to the management of human affairs at all periods of social and economic history. During all changes over to newer systems or beliefs older methods or philosophies come in for much destructive criticism, and great expectations reach the sky without anything much being really and truly lifted off the soil. Ignorance, hunger, privation and suffering afflicted mankind equally and without reference to the faiths, beliefs and propaganda that prevailed from time to time. Men were born and they lived and died following a basic material pattern which never changed through Paganism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism or Marxism. The fanatical guards of new faiths donned white, yellow, green or red garbs ; but in body and mind they remained vulnerable to disease and afflictions exactly as their forefathers had been. The cross, the crescent, the hammer and sickle, the swastika or the many handled axe effected no changes in fundamental human reactions. Men and women remained subject to instincts and emotions and bodily needs which did not change with the changing times. Revolutions, wars, victories, defeats, conversions, reversions to old faiths, failed to change human nature. Self-assertive arrogance of men in power could force the acceptance of meaningless jargons as the essence of wisdom, but human folly would not change its nature.

Those who play with social forces and pretend to change the basic nature of mankind by their many words and few deeds never achieve anything deeper than raising dust. These storms make the earth invisible while they last ; but the earth remains substantially

unchanged after many storms. Social upheavals too dissolve the superficial shapes of things for sometime. When things settle down, however, the shapes reform and regain *status quo*. The French Revolution, the Russian and the Chinese revolutions, stirred up unsuspected stores of dormant feelings and emotions and made men appear totally unlike men for short stretches of time. But the foundations of human civilisation cannot be shaken by words or by rowdy action. Even more impossible would be any successful efforts to remove those deep-laid foundations by new construction of greater stability and strength. For constructive work cannot suddenly take three dimensional form by the shouting of slogans or the recital of ideological *sutras*. Work and time are inter-related, Acceleration is possible; but within limits. So, those who trade in new hopes, should always remember that new generations of men always take twenty-five years to reach maturity. And four generations can give stability to new thoughts and plans of work. No amount of push and hustle can make a century in a couple of years. The Red guards of China or the green-guards of Pakistan cannot really achieve anything of permanent value. They can make trouble, certainly; but trouble also cannot be everlasting, nor be fundamentally useful to anybody.

Nivedita

Romain Rolland, in his *Life of Vivekananda*, refers to those English men and women who gave the Swami "the most beautiful friendships of his life: J. J. Goodwin, Margaret Noble, Mr. & Mrs. Sevier." "Margaret Noble" wrote M. Rolland, "made a no less complete gift of herself" (As compared to Goodwin). "The future will always unite her name, of initiation, Sister Nivedita, to that of her beloved master...as St. Clara to that of St. Francis...(although of a truth the imperious Swami was far from possessing the meekness of the Poverello, and

submitted those who gave themselves to him to heart-searching tests before he accepted them). She was the young headmistress of a school in London. Vivekananda spoke at her school, and she was immediately captivated by his charm. But for a long time she struggled against it. She was one of those who came to Vivekananda after each lecture with the words:

"Yes, Swami.....But..."

"She always argued and resisted, being one of those English souls who are hard to overcome, but once conquered, faithful for ever. Vivekananda said himself: "There are no more trustworthy souls!" "She was twenty eight when she made up her mind to place her fate in the Swami's hands. He made her come to India to devote herself to the education of Hindu women, and he forced her make herself a Hindu, 'to Hinduise her thought, her conceptions, her habits, and to forget even the memory of her own past.' She took the vow of Brahmacharya and was the first Western woman to be received into an Indian monastic order. We shall find her again at Vivekananda's side, and she has preserved his Interviews, and has done more than anyone else to popularise his figure in the West."

Sister Nivedita thus became a part of India's cultural history of the Vivekananda period. She was an important person of Indian intellectual circles even after Swami Vivekananda's death. Her association with Jagadish Chandra Bose and other eminent Indians of the Swadeshi Period is a matter of history. Aurovindo Ghosh, the revolutionary (later Sri Aurovindo), who was the first of the Bengal Terrorists, was greatly influenced by Sister Nivedita. The centenary of Sister Nivedita's birth occurred towards the end of October. There are many Indians still actively in India's public life, who met Sister Nivedita in their youth. She was the possessor of a fiery spirit along with deep mystic feelings. This was very similar to what Swami Vivekananda had in himself intensely and profoundly.

Continued on Page 379

EMERSON'S READING IN INDIAN LITERATURE

Prof. S. P. DAS

The American Renaissance in the nineteenth century could not have been possible, or at least could not have been the same, if the Orient had not penetrated the thinking of the most representative writers of the age. Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman spoke for their age the message it needed. But among these, it was Ralph Waldo Emerson who left the most profound impact on his age through his lectures and writings and thus moulded the literary tradition of his country and gave her a new vision which she needed then and needs it with the same urgency now. His Harvard lecture was called the "intellectual declaration of Independence". Mathew Arnold calls Emerson's *Essays* the greatest prose work written in English in the nineteenth century. His influence spread all over the world and is seen in such diverse men as Gandhi and Nietzsche, Whitman and Tagore, Carlyle and Kagawa.

Emerson's sensitive mind in the frail body was ever open to the great thoughts of the world. He could not remain complacent with his Puritan heritage. Very early in life he began to think of the larger world than that of New England, and he was fortunate in having an aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, who helped this young enquiring mind to seek the wisdom of the ancients. While at college he eagerly ransacked the wisdom of the Greek philosophers and was keen to know about Egyptian learning. His own relative, William Farnham, had returned from Calcutta and reported to the Emersons. In his seventeenth year he wrote *Indian Superstition*, a poem for Harvard College Exhibition of April 24, 1821. The next year he wrote to his Aunt Mary :

I am curious to read your Hindoo mythologies. One is apt to lament over

indolence and ignorance, when he reads some of these sanguine students of the Eastern antiquities, who seem to think that all the books of knowledge and all the wisdom of Europe twice-told lie hid in the treasures of the Brahmins and the volumes of Zoroaster. When I lie dreaming on the possible contents of pages as dark to me as the characters on the seal of Solomon, I console myself with calling it learning's El Dorado. Every man has a fairy-land just beyond the compass of his horizon....and it is very natural that literature at large should look for some fanciful stores of mind which surpassed example and possibility.¹

This early interest in Hindu mythologies was a definite step to fire his sensitive mind and later helped him to turn to the Indian philosophical literature with growing interest.

The use Emerson made of the mythological material for his prize-winning poem *Indian Superstition* shows his critical view on many superstitions of India on the one hand and his admiration for her ancient wisdom on the other. Prior to the composition of this poem, Emerson in 1818 had read William Robertson's *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India*. During the same year he also read Thomas Broughton's *Selections from the Popular Poetry of the Hindoos*. From this selection he got his views of a paradise which he describes in this poem. In March 1820 he examined Vol. I of the *Asiatik Miscellany*, which contained the Indian hymns translated by Sir William Jones; notable among them was 'Hymn to Narayana'. He must have also read early Indian histories and description of India and of the voyages to

cellent translations of Indian books as well as learned books on India at Harvard which a boy of Emerson's temperament could not but lay his hands on. Besides, at this time there was also an increasing interest in the Orient throughout New England. Boston, through its rich merchants had already begun contacts with India, importing various goods from there. Among the Churches and clergymen there was missionary interest to probe into Indian life and thought. The establishment of the Printing Press in Calcutta was responsible for the publication of some of the important books of the Hindus which were translated by some eminent scholars. Some of these books found their way to New England. The most significant books such as the works of Sir William Jones and the **Transactions** of the Asiatic Society of Bengal began coming to Boston by 1790. Emerson's father, Rev. William Emerson, like other interested clergymen, approached Indian literature with a special keenness. He founded the Anthology Club in Boston in 1804 in which the Orient was discussed frequently. In 1805 Sir William Jones's translation of the first act of **Sakuntala** of Kalidasa, "the Oriental Shakespeare", was published in the United States. Rev. William Emerson on his death left in his library a number of Oriental books of importance. One of them was Teignmouth's **Memoirs of Jones and Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah** [Zoarmilla]. This work was read quite often at the hearth of the Emerson family. At the time of Emerson's entrance at Harvard a good deal of material on India had begun appearing in periodicals such as **The Christian Disciple** and the **Theological Review**, the **North American Review**, the **Edinburgh Review** and the **Quarterly Review**. The works and articles on India of Sir William Jones, William Tudors and Theophilus Parson appeared in these periodicals. In Dugald Stewart's **Elements of Philosophy**

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What living creature slays, or is slain? What living creature preserves or is preserved? Each is his own destroyer or preserver, as he follows evil or good.⁹ Of this he makes use in his exquisite poem "Brahma". From this book he also took material for his other poem "Hamatreva".

Emerson's access to the **Upanishads** was through Henry Thomas Colebrook's essays containing translations of them. He quotes Colebrook in his Journals. The following is the excerpt :

"Vedanta. The Internal Check. 'He who eternally restrains this and the other world, and all beings therein ; who, standing in the earth is, who interiously restrains the earth, the same is the soul, and the Internal Check immortal.'"¹⁰

There are also some quotations from the **Upanishads** in the other Journals. The following quotations express succinctly the Hindu religious view :

"Until man is able to compress the ether like leather, there will be no end of misery, except through the knowledge of God."

"What is here, the same is there, and what is there, the same is here. He proceeds from death to death who beholds here difference."¹¹

Besides the Indian books already mentioned, the Cholmondeley collection which Thoreau bequeathed to Emerson had also twenty volumes of Indian books. One of them was Eugene Burnouf's **Le Bhagwat Purana**, which deals with the cult of Bhakti and speaks so often of Maya. These passages are interesting to read in connection with Emerson's idea of Illusion.

Emerson copied passages from **Gita**, **Vedas** and **Budha** and later incorporated them in his **Representative Men** volume. This work of Emerson contains a wealth of Oriental material especially on Hindu thought. Horace Hayman Wilson's translation of **Rig Veda Samhita** came to Emerson's possession in 1855. He makes entry of this in his Journals and quotes from it.

The idea of Atman, or what he called Over-soul, appealed to him the most. This Vedantic mysticism he mingled with that of the Neo-Platonists'. Arthur Christy comments on the way Emerson looked on things as follows :

He did not bother about differences in

names. He insisted that underneath them all was the Over-Soul.¹²

Emerson's short poem "Brahma" in the words of Frederic Carpenter, "is not only one of the finest expression of the Hindu idea of the absolute unity, it is one of Emerson's own best poems, and represents on Emerson's part a deep and subtle reworking of the Hindu idea."¹³ This poem was composed in 1856 and by this time the idea of oneness which he borrowed from the **Vishnu Purana** almost a decade earlier fermented and ripened in his mind to which he gave a fine expression in this poem. In this he expresses the idea of oneness and unity of things in the midst of appearances. Almost the same idea is expressed in his essay on "Plato" and on "Over-Soul". The Vedantic philosophy of identity Emerson fully accepted and made his own. He sees divinity in bricks and the barbar's shop, in the slayer and the slain. "God", says Emerson, "is the substratum of all souls."¹⁴ The reality of all things is Atman or Soul which transcends and yet pervades men. Brahma or Over-Soul is an impersonal creative force working over this world by the law called Compensation or Karma. There is the unifying principle by which all appearances and contradictions are resolved into reality and oneness.

The other fundamental concepts which are related to the idea of God in Hindu philosophy are the idea of Maya and Moksha (Illusion and Salvation). Emerson's doctrine of Illusion was the Hindu Maya. He was able to understand it clearly. This idea of illusion also finds beautiful expression in his poem "Hamatreya". (Emerson changed 'Matreya' into 'Hamatreya'). This is the way the Earth mocks at those who were under the illusion that the things belonged to them :

"The called me theirs,
Who so controlled me ;
Yet every one
Wished to stay, and is gone

How am I theirs,
If they cannot hold me,
But I hold them"?¹⁵

Instead of unity, as in "Brahma", this poem expresses illusory variety. According to the Vedantic philosophy this world and all our desires are illusions which keep us imprisoned here and only when we are able to perceive the real and the unreal that we find the Supreme Good and consequently are set free from the cycle of births and rebirths in this world. Commenting on this idea of the Hindus Emerson says:

The highest object of their religion was to restore that bond by which their own self (atman) was linked to the Eternal Self (Paratman) [i.e. Over-Soul]; to recover that unity which had been clouded and obscured by the magical illusions of reality, by the so called Maia of Creation.¹⁶

Also this idea of Maya is expressed in his essay "Experience", his short poem "Maya", and "Three Dimensions".

Emerson's doctrine of Compensation is bound up with the Hindu belief of Karma and Fate. The doctrine of Emerson's Self-Reliance was not dislodged by this belief, rather it fitted well with it. The following passage shows how Emerson looked at this Hindu concept:

It was a poetic attempt to lift this mountain of Fate, to reconcile this despotism of race with liberty, which led the Hindoos to say, 'Fate is nothing but the deeds committed in prior state of existence' To say it less sublimely,—the history of the individual is always an account of his condition, and he knows himself to be a party to his present state.¹⁷

The question of Good and Evil for Emerson was to a large extent tempered by the Hindu thought. Hindu philosophy considers good and evil not only as relative but illusory. According to it God is Nirguna, that is, devoid of all qualities, good or evil. Emerson could not be completely one with

this idea and yet he did look on this question from the point of view other than the Western. "Good is positive," he wrote, "Evil is merely privative, not absolute: it is like cold, which is privation of heat. All evil is so much death or non-entity."¹⁸ He reached a degree of indifference towards evil and suffering, but still he was not like an Indian ascetic who would deny the very reality of evil, pain and suffering. His belief in the positive quality of good was strong and from it sprang his optimism. He emphatically states his optimism in the following passage:

A philosophy which sees only the worst; believes neither in virtue nor in genius; which says 'tis all of no use, life is eating us up, 'tis only question who shall be last devoured,—dispirits us; they sky shuts down before us. A Schopenhauer, with logic and learning and wit, teaching pessimism,—teaching that this is the worst of all possible worlds, and infering that sleep is better than waking, and death than sleep,—all the talent in the world cannot save him from being odious. But if instead of these negatives you give me affirmatives; if you tell me that there is always life for living; that what man has done man can do; that this world belongs to the energetic; that there is always a way to everything desirable; that every man is provided, in the new bias of his faculty, with key to Nature, and that man only rightly knows himself as far as he has experimented on things,—I am invigorated, put into genial and working temper; the horizon opens, and we are full of good will and gratitude to the Cause of Causes.¹⁹

Such is also the teaching of Gita. It is not passivity but action which is the key-note of this scripture. It is rather paradoxically in keeping with Emerson's Yankee temper which made his idealism practical.

Emerson was deeply influenced by the Vedantic mysticism which lent weight and beauty to his eclectic thought. Arthur Christy rightly remarks:

But Emerson seems saturated with Orientalism. It tinged his philosophy, lent beauty to his prose, afforded undulled images to many of his verses, and models for entire poems.²⁰

We Indians will always find in Emerson something of a common bond which naturally draws us towards him. This great American thinker is the spiritual bridge between these two countries, between East and West. We cannot for sure say how much this bridge has been used by the peoples of both the countries, but any one can see that this is the basic link.

One Indian scholar, shortly after Emerson's death, paid the following tribute which more or less sums up the feeling of the Indians even to-day :

Emerson had all the wisdom and spirituality of Brahmins....Amidst this ceaseless, sleepless din and clash of Western materialism, the heat of restless energy, the character of Emerson shines upon India serene as the evening star.²¹

1. J. E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, (Boston, 1887), Vol. I, 80—81.

2. Kenneth Walter Cameron, *Emerson's Indian Superstition*, (Edited with a Dissertation on Emerson's Orientalism at Harvard by Kenneth

Walter Cameron, Hanover, New Hampshire, (1954), p. 126.

3. Emerson, *Indian Superstition*, Lines 88, 90—93.

4. Emerson, *Journals*, ed. E. W. Emerson and W. E. Forbes (Boston, 1909—14), Vol. I : 57.

5. *Ibid.*, IV, 173.

6. Frederic Ives Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*, (Cambridge, 1930), p. 12.

7. *Letters of Emerson to a Friend*, ed. C. E. Norton (Boston, 1899), p. 122.

8. Emerson, *Journals*, Vol. VII, 511.

9. *Ibid.*, VII, 127.

10. *Ibid.*, VII, 110.

11. *Ibid.*, IX, 56.

12. Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism*, (1932), p. 73.

13. Frederic Ives Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia*, p. 111.

14. Emerson, *Journals*, II, 323.

15. "Hamtreya", Lines 53—59.

16. Emerson, *Works*, Centenary Edition, (Boston, 1903—1904), VI, 426.

17. *Ibid.*, VI, 12.

18. *Ibid.*, I, 124.

19. *Ibid.*, VIII, 138.

20. Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism*, (1932) p. 179.

21. Mozoomdar, *The Genius and Character of Emerson*, p. 371.

IDEAS AND EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION

(Margaret Elizabeth Noble 1867—1911)

SHYAMASREE LALL

“It begins to be thought that there is a religious idea that may be called Indian, but it is of no single sect ; that there is a social idea, which is the property of no caste or group ; that there is a historic evolution, in which all are united ; that it is the thing within *all* these which alone is to be called ‘India.’”

In the December *news letter*, the editorial on Aims of Education rightly pointed out that ‘Education is not an artificial by-product of any society ; on the contrary, it is a very essential and vital part of it’. Our system of education, therefore, needs must change and conform to the demands and aspirations of a rapidly changing society. Not only does it have to be available to all the citizens of this vast and variegated nation, but it also has to explore and then utilise our particular capacities. How else can we make profitable use of our tremendous man-power, with its yet untapped sources of wealth ?

The beginning of the twentieth century in India brought along with it some bold and exciting experiments in the education of our people. Rabindranath Tagore, with his unusual breadth of vision, established his Shantiniketan, where the child is at once secure and free in his constant communion with Nature. The unnatural and ineffectual system of education transplanted from Britain to the cities of India, upset the poet’s sensitive nature. From this rigid and inhuman machinery of learning he took us back to the serene atmosphere of the ancient ‘ashramas’ where the relationship between the teacher and the taught was so much more meaningful and complete. Here again he freed us from restrictive, parochial societies and allowed us to inhale the fresh air of University. ‘Yatra Vishwan Bhabati eka nidam’—with this supreme ideal, culled from our gurus, he dreamed of a centre of Education where the whole world seems like a single nest.

Miss Margaret Noble, better known to us as Sister Nivedita, was the other outstanding educational theorist of early twentieth century India. Her life story is well-told in *Pravrajika Atma-*

prana’s Sister Nivedita (Sister Nivedita, 1961), from which I have gathered much useful information for this article. She was a young idealist from far-away Ireland, who came to India in 1898, as an ardent devotee of Swami Vivekananda. That she lived, worked for and died in India and became Indian in the truest sense of the term, is one of those ‘miracles’ that have helped to rekindle sparks of fire from the dying embers of this area of darkness.

Travelling through Europe in 1896-97, Vivekananda remembered, with a sense of shock, the misery that was India. In one of his earliest letters written to Miss Noble, in June 1896, he wrote, “One idea that I see clear as daylight is that misery is caused by *ignorance* and nothing else.” In a letter to another European friend he wrote, “Education, education, education alone ! travelling through Europe and observing . . . the comforts and education of even the poor, there was brought to my mind the state of our own people and I used to shed tears. What made the difference ? Education was the answer—” Vivekananda also felt that no regeneration of the nation was possible without improving the condition of women in India. And for the uplift and education of these women and their unfortunate children, he needed the dedicated services of enlightened women. His fervent appeal inspired a teacher from a distant land, Margaret Noble, who later became Sister Nivedita. But before the Swami accepted her services, he made it clear that he did not wish to have her as a *patron* from the West, or as some one who would work casually, in a spirit of adventure. Vivekananda wanted Nivedita to

first of all know and understand the women for whom she was to work. It was essential that the European teacher in India should learn to look at the world, through the eyes of the taught rather than impose her own ideas on them. Margaret Noble came from a deeply religious and rationalistic family, who worked for the poor in Ireland. As a student and later as a teacher too, she showed keen interest in education and its newest experiments. The Swiss educationist Pestalozzi and the German Froebel had aroused her interest in their emphasis on the importance of the pre-school age of the child. Their natural method taught the child by gratifying and cultivating its normal aptitude for play, exercise, observation, imitation and construction. Miss Noble did not believe in formal, restrictive methods. Children were taught everything through games, music and painting. Her keen interest in music, art and the natural sciences found expression in her educational experiments. Vivekananda, approving of her intentions, wrote to a friend, "Miss Noble is really an acquisition."

Sister Nivedita's school began in a small way, in November 1898, at 16, Bosepara Lane. She wished to make herself familiar with the aims and aspirations of the people amongst whom she was to live. She had learnt that to teach against the interests of the taught brought no good results. Therefore, she decided to evolve a method after studying the society around her, with its particular observances and rituals. Eventually, new ideals were cautiously approached through the old and the unfamiliar was reached through the familiar.

In her school Nivedita introduced painting, sewing and other cottage industries, together with reading and writing. At the Belur Math she even gave lessons in Botany, Physiology and Drawing to the Brahmacharis. Nivedita wrote, "the reconciliation of the old and the new was not an easy matter. How to nationalize the modern and modernise the old, so as to make the two one, was a puzzle. . . . Only when it had been pieced together could national education . . . begin."

Nivedita began her school tentatively "to teach the practical useful arts of the West as a help toward better everyday living in the East." Her chief aim was the eradication of misery and ignorance through education. But she came to realize that regeneration for India was not possible without political freedom. She wrote, "We want the

slow-growing formative forces put well to work. Do not think I can be forgetful of the planting of trees, the training of children, the farming of land. But we want also the ringing cry, the passion of the multitude". Changes brought about in India must be original, self-determined and self-wrought. From the Swami's ideal of 'Man-making' through Hinduism, she moved to the major problem of 'nation-making'. One of the most significant ideals she taught the Indian mind was that of a consciousness of national unity and synthesis. Through the activities in her school and her ceaseless lectures and writings, Sister Nivedita taught not only Hindu women, but all Indians, to be proud of their ancient heritage and to be confident of their future. In her school, together with the usual subjects, she introduced mass chanting of Sanskrit hymns, exhibition of handicrafts, and study tours. For the glory of future India she helped and encouraged scientists like Sir J. C. Bose and to bring about a renaissance in Indian art she inspired painters and art-critics such as Havell, Abanindranath, Coomaraswamy and Nandalal Bose.

In *'The Web of Indian Life'* published in 1904, Nivedita surveyed the inner life of India through a revealing documentation of women as they live all over the country. Her intense admiration for the rich tapestry of Indian life animates each sentence of this book.

But we must not forget that her primary interest was the problems of Indian women and their education. Whatever she did for national synthesis started with and returned to her first love—Indian womanhood. Observing Indian women at close quarters, Nivedita was struck by their natural dignity and gentle intelligence. Was she to teach them or was she to learn from them? She realized that, "There never can be any sound education which does not begin and end in exaltation of the national ideals of womanhood, as embodied in her history and heroic literature." However, she also felt that, "The problem of the age is to supersede the family, as a motive, and a form of consciousness, by the *civitas*, the civic and national unity. This cannot be done by men alone."

Her two books of essays, "*Civic and National deals*" and "*Hints on National Education in India*" published in 1919, contain stimulating

ideals on the practical educational needs of Indian women and children. To Nivedita, the power to use education was more important than mere learning.

Finally, here is a quotation from "*The web of Indian life*" which expresses her opinion on the system of education in British India, described by her as "morphine-laden soothing syrup"!

"The process by which the peoples of a vast continent may become mere hewers of wood and drawers of water has already begun. Their indigenous institutions are all in decay. Their prosperity is gone. Some portion or other of the

immense agricultural area is perpetually under famine. Their arts and industries are dead or dying. They have lapsed into *mere customers for other men's cheap wares. Even their thought would seem to be imitative.* The orthodox is apt to tread the round of his own past eternally. The unorthodox is as apt to harness himself to the foreign present, with an equal blindness."

More than sixty years have passed since she wrote these lines but how contemporary the issues still are! Has our modern education yet solved most of these problems?

Ship-building in Chittagong

In former days Chittagong on the Bay of Bengal was a centre of the Ship-building industry. According to Sir W. W. Hunter this industry was in somewhat vigorous condition upto the year 1875. A few years before that date a vessel called the *Buckland* built by the Bengalee mechanics at Chittagong and owned by a Hindu merchant and manned by Bengalee sailors had visited the mouth of the Tweed in Scotland. It was the usual thing for boats of description to make long voyages to distant countries. The vessels constructed at Chittagong by local mechanics compared favourably in every respect with sailing vessels made in Great Britain.

A famous ship-builder was Ishan Mistri. Another was Imam Ali Mistri.

Recently a merchant of Chittagong named Abdur Rahman Dobashi has got a brig made by local mechanics. He has named it the *Amina Khatun* after his daughter. Forty men under the direction of a local head mechanic named Kali-Kumar De have constructed it in one year. They used only their indigenous tools. The vessel was built not in a dock, but on a piece of high land on the banks of the *Karnaphuli*. A mat 80 feet long and 40 feet broad made of split bamboo was used to draw the plan upon. The *Amina Khatun* can take cargo weighing upto only 6,000 maunds.

There are in the harbour locally made vessels twice or thrice as big. Their only significance is that they are the only remaining evidence of a once glorious but now moribund industry.

Ramananda Chatterjee
in *The Modern Review*, October, 1914.

TOWARDS THE DIVINE FLASH

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

Any discussion on Swami Abhedananda's thoughts should necessarily include the term 'divine flash'. For, according to Abhedananda, it is for this divine flash that we act, move and have our being. Consciously or unconsciously we are always doing it, we are always trying to realise and receive this flash. Indeed, our very life is a journey towards this. In this context, Abhedananda says, "The tendency of the individual self of each man is not to remain confined to one narrow circle, but to go beyond the boundary of the circle of animal nature, beyond human nature, and ultimately to become universal" ¹ 'To become universal' means to be one with universal consciousness which is always divine consciousness or divine flash. To reach this flash or this state of divine consciousness we are to undertake a long journey and cross many hurdles. The first of these is of narrow outlook. We are to break the barriers of it by breadth of vision. We are to expand ourselves to a greater and wider self. The second one is of animal nature. We cannot overcome it simply by denying it. Or, we cannot break it in the sense of breaking a hard wall. We can only redirect and sublimate it from its primitives, biological goal to one that is socially and spiritually uplifting. The third one is of human nature. Practically speaking, it is not a barrier; it is the semi-final stage, a stage bordering on the final or ultimate one. For, to become a real man is to become divine. A real man is, he who has realised the reality of his self, who has felt that the self is everything. A man with this comprehension ceases to be an apparent man, becomes a real man, and so a divine. But without the divine flash a man cannot come to this state of consciousness, cannot comprehend the reality of his self. So, for our spiritual unfoldment and self-illumination the importance of the divine flash is paramount.

Now come the question—how we can have this flash? There is no hard and fast rule as to this. 'It is like falling in love. In the matter of love one cannot definitely say that one must fall in love at such and such time. We cannot

underline a date on the calendar and say—on this very date I must fall in love. It is uncertain. So, Abhedananda says, "The awakening may come at any time and under any circumstances. One may be suddenly awakened in the midst of all the comforts, luxuries and pleasures of the earthly life. No one can tell when or how such an awakening will come to the individual soul."² The awakening or receiving of the divine flash is very sudden, free from the influence of outward surroundings, its vital concern being inward development. Abhedananda compares it to the learning of cycling or swimming, the mastery over which can never be foreseen. This sudden coming of light and instantaneous awakening of the self remind us of Tagore's sudden and mystic feeling at the touch of a ray of light from the sun and a note from a bird at day-break. Tagore tells us of his feeling in this way—

“At this day-break the sanguine sun-rays
How beautifully enter into my soul !
Into the heart’s care of darkness
How beautifully enters the bird’s song !”
(Translation, author’s)

Then,

“What happens to me I know not, life is
awakened !
I listen only to the song of the far-off Ocean
My heart longs to go forth to that ocean
My life longs to break itself down at its
Feet” !
(Translation, author’s)

And then,

“My heart is open today,
The world has come here to embrace it,
Hundreds of people of this world
Have come in my life laughingly!”
(Translation, author’s)

A ray of light, a piece of song, and the long-stored darkness is dispelled for ever! The self is illumined and bathed in cosmic consciousness! The call from the great ocean of the Infinite has come and all the fetters of the little self are broken! The ego is shattered to pieces and the heart is expanded to such an extent as to embrace the Universal Man in its bosom! In this context, one is also reminded

of Dr. I. A. Richards' famous illustration of a man, in his discussion on aesthetics, who used to look at a coconut tree almost every day from his windows. At first, the tree seemed to him to be a very ordinary one like any other tree. But after some days a time came, he did not know how it came to him, when he felt that the tree was not an ordinary one, it had a meaning and a purpose, and even a voice for his soul. This celestial light is so potent that it can instantly split up all the knots of our heart and remove all the darkness however enveloping it may be. Abhedananda says—"A room that has held darkness for thousands of years, a cave where darkness has been for thousands of years, is instantly illumined by the stroke of a match-stick—the darkness of thousands of years is dispelled."³

Now, does this light come actually from without? To this question the answer is an emphatic 'no' and with this negative answer we come to a cardinal point of Indian philosophy. According to this philosophy, knowledge comes from within, and not from without. All knowledge is there already in us and cognition means manifestation and becoming conscious of it. The sustaining spirit in creation is Light. It is incessant and never ceases to be. It is in eternal flux. It has no beginning, no end. From the highest to the lowest it is there in everything. The minutest particle of the universe is permeated with this. This light is already in us. Essentially and potentially we are light. But we do not know this. We are always trying to realise this consciously or unconsciously, but a veil of ignorance always conceals it from our knowledge just as cloud covers the sun. The moment this veil of ignorance or darkness is torn to pieces by our incessant efforts or by any other means, we discover that we are light which is our real nature. Then we are thrilled to the marrow of our bones and our self is illumined with consciousness. So, in an ultimate sense of the term, receiving the divine flash means discovery of the real nature of our self which is all light. It is the awakening of our soul from its slumber—a kind of spiritual awakening. Abhedananda views it from the stand-point of Advaita or monism. According to him, it is the ultimate stage in the evolution of the human mind.

But how does one feel when one reaches this stage of consciousness? What exactly is the outcome of this sort of realisation? How does it concern the affairs of our everyday life? Abhedananda answers these questions in this way, "On that highest spiritual plane there is no distinction, no idea of separation, no idea of creation. All ideas of separateness, all differentiations of phenomenal names and forms, merge into the absolute ocean of reality which is unchangeable, eternal and one. . . . The essence is like the all-pervading background of the phenomenal appearances. Phenomena are like the waves in the ocean of Infinite Reality. Individual souls are like so many bubbles in that ocean of Absolute Existence."⁴ This means that when our self is illumined, we realise a fundamental unity in diversity. This unity or the conception of oneness is the Absolute Reality. Phenomena and individual souls are the manifestation of the Absolute which causes them to exist. It is from the Absolute that everything originates; it is in the Absolute that everything rests; it is to the Absolute that everything goes. This Absolute is consciousness, and as the Absolute has become everything, so everything is consciousness. Man, within and without, is consciousness. This point can be explained better by a saying of Sri Ramakrishna, Abhedananda's master,—"The Divine Mother revealed to me in the Kali temple that it was she who had become everything. She showed me that everything was full of consciousness. The Image was consciousness, the altar was consciousness, the water-vessels were consciousness, the door-sill was consciousness—all was consciousness. . . . I saw a wicked man in front of the Kali temple; but in him I saw the Power of the Divine Mother vibrating. That was why I fed a cat with the food that was to be offered to the Divine Mother."⁵

1. Abhedananda: *Divine Heritage of Man*, Page—198.

2. Abhedananda: *Divine Heritage of Man*, Pages—199-200.

3. Abhedananda: *Our Relation to the Absolute*, Page—192.

4. Abhedananda: *Divine Heritage of Man*, Pages—128, 193.

5. Nikhilananda: *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*.

THE AKALI MOVEMENT AND GANDHI

P. C. ROY CHOUDHURI

To the older generations in the Punjab the Akali movement in the 'twenties of this century is a nostalgia. To the younger generations it is a vague story of Sikh heroism at the altar of British bureaucracy. The greatness of the movement is almost being forgotten and very few people of the present generation know what role Gandhi had played in this movement. Fewer know that K. M. Panikkar was Gandhi's emissary to study the movement.

The Background

The movement originated in an ardent and legitimate desire to take possession of the *gurudwaras* which play so very important a part in every Sikh's religious and social life. We need not go into the history as to how and why the *gurudwaras* had gone into the hands of *Mohants* and had become almost a den of vice and corruption. Some of the *Mohants* readily agreed to hand over the *gurudwaras* while some resisted and, somehow or other, the British Government sided with the *Mohants*.

At this time the Non-cooperation movement was sponsored by Gandhi. The Sikhs rallied to Gandhi's call and one of the motives was clearly to fight the British Government which had been supporting the corrupt *Mohants*. Then came the terrible Jallianwala Bagh massacre. This completely alienated the Sikhs and the Sikh League was born.

The Akali movement received a great impetus and from October 1920 the Sikhs were marching in *Jathas* to occupy the *gurudwaras* all over India. The Central Committee was known as Shromoni Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (S.G.P.C.).

Government's attitude softened slightly and government sanction was given to the change of management in some of the *gurudwaras*. But the gruesome incidents of Turun Tarun and Nankana alienated the sympathy of the government although prosecutions were launched. The dissatisfaction against the government snow-balled

by incidents like The Key Affair at the Golden Temple at Amritsar and Guru Ka Bagh and then came the deposition of Maharaja of Nabha. Every Sikh thought that this was so as the Maharaja was an Akali at heart. Meetings were held at *gurudwaras* all over the country for restoration of the Maharaja. The meeting at Jaito just within the Nabha territory was forcibly dispersed even when the Akalis were engaged in prayers.

March to Jaito

This was the spark that converted the Akali movement into a mass movement. A deputation of Sikhs led by Sardar Nangal Singh had already seen Gandhi. A batch of 500 Akali volunteers marched in a *marcha* and reached Jaito on the 21st February, 1924. The *Jatha* was fired upon on the refusal to disperse and 40 were killed and about 100 were left wounded. The leaders were prosecuted.

The ruthless firing on the peaceful *jatha* was severely commented upon by the Indian Press all over India. Men like Dr. Kitchelw and Professor Gidwani were arrested. The *Granthi* actually reciting the holy book along with the attendants were dragged away and arrested. Dr. Kehar Singh, in-charge of the Ambulance, was imprisoned.

Gandhi Approached

The Akalis were not daunted and they went on organising several *jathas* and at the behest of Gandhi peacefully surrendered when they were ordered to be arrested. This non-violent attitude on the part of the sturdy Sikhs, who were acting to retaliate was entirely a result of Gandhi's influence. The Akali movement was continued for some time but at the intervention of Gandhi the *morchas* were suspended as Gandhi wanted that there should be a thorough heart-searching and the movement should be kept entirely non-violent. The movement came to an end with the passing

of the Sikh Gurudwaras Act (November, 1925) and the release of the Akali leaders. Before we go into details as to what Gandhi did, it is necessary here to mention that during the five years the movement was on, about 30000 men and women had courted jail, 400 were killed and 2000 wounded. Over Rs. 15 lakhs were realised in fines and forfeitures.

The Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya (Museum) at Rajghat, New Delhi, has got a number of photostats of letters to and from Gandhi in connection with this movement. The originals are kept in the National Archives of India in New Delhi. This article is based on some of these original letters.

Immediately after the first *jatha* at Jaito was fired upon, the Secretary of the Sikh League informed Gandhi by a wire. Satyapal, who was the General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, wrote a letter on the 23rd February, 1924, informing him of the details and that the Congress Committee had organised an Ambulance Corps and placed it at the disposal of the S.G.P.C. This Ambulance Corps was, however, not permitted to work.

On 16th March, 1924, Gandhi was informed by wire that the second *jatha* on receiving order of arrest had surrendered itself in a peaceful manner. Gandhi congratulated the dignified and peaceful surrender.

Gandhi, however, could not proceed himself to the Punjab as he had just been released and his wound had not yet healed. Jawaharlal Nehru had recommended K. M. Panikkar to Gandhi and mentioned that he will be "an excellent man for publicity work" on 12.3.1924. Gandhi deputed Panikkar for closely studying the movement and to give him and the SGPC his unequivocal findings. Information had already reached Gandhi that the peaceful surrender of the *jathas* was not liked by the masses and there was danger of the movement becoming violent. This was what Gandhi wanted to avoid.

Gandhi's Directive to Panikkar

Gandhi's directives to Panikkar were very stringent. He wanted Panikkar to closely study the movement and to report if the movement had any political end. Gandhi wanted that the movement should be kept purely on the religious platform and there should be no idea of the restoration

of the Nabha Maharaja. He wanted that the Sikhs might start a separate movement for the restoration.

At this time there was a paper "Onward" from Amritsar edited by Swami Omkaranand who was believed to be a Bengal revolutionary by Panikkar. "Onward" in its issue dated 7th March, 1924, came out with a report that evoked a strong rejoinder from Gandhi, who found it reeking with "gross exaggeration and falsehood". Gandhi also wrote to Panikkar about this article in the "Onward".

Sardar Mangal Singh's letter dated 22.4.1924 was a pathetic confession that he and the nationalists Akalis had ceased to have anything to do with the movement which had gone into the hands of others. Sardar Mangal Singh mentioned that he had so far failed to bring the other groups to the nationalist view and that he and Sardar Amar Singh of Jhawal had resigned.

K. M. Panikkar did his work extremely well. He had found that there were wheels within wheels and inner cabinets. He was very critical of the papers "Onward" and "Akali". He further found that the relationship between the Hindus and the Sikhs were also not very good. He thought that the Government were deliberately encouraging an idea that the Sikhs want to establish a Sikh Raj. He suggested that Gandhi should issue a statement that the religious demands of the Sikhs were just and will be supported but their political agitation with regard to the Maharaja of Nabha should be frankly repudiated. This report of Panikkar is dated 1.4.1924.

The second report of Panikkar a few days after was more definitive. By that time he had toured in the villages and found that many of the villagers had discarded foreign clothes and were wearing Khaddar. He reported that the Akalis had abolished untouchability and enforced prohibition. In this letter he wrote: "The Sikhs are a wonderful race. They are so honest, practical, hard-working and courageous. Their organisation is splendid. Their sagacity is undeniable". But Panikkar thought that the Sikhs in general and the Akalis in particular were rather vague as to what they actually wanted. He reiterated that Gandhi should tell the Sikhs to have a clear objective and to differentiate between the political and religious objectives and to define them.

Panikkar was not sanguine that the movement

could be continued. He found that the movement was losing its interest and owing to internal quarrels there were several pro-government committees functioning at Amritsar. He was definite that if the S.G.P.C. broke down the repercussion would be terrible. In that case he thought "the whole national movement would receive a setback". He felt that the strength of the Sikhs for the national struggle was immense and that strength should be conserved and that he had no hesitation to say "the S.G.P.C. would be powerful enough to control the whole community to a man".

Panikkar warned that there was a danger for the movement going violent. He wrote: "Dr. Kitchelw is very busy here with his *sangathan* movement. He is organising the Muslims on the lines of Sikh *jathas*. I had once written to you at length my objections to this system of armed peace, of each community organising itself into semi-military bodies. I am much afraid that if Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims are to have *jathas* in the Punjab the peace of the province would not be worth a day's purchase. I hope you will look into this matter also.

I have also reason to suspect that there is some violent movement underground . . . there is certainly an accumulating mass of evidence that the violent movement is spreading to the Punjab—the Babbar Akalis were the first swallows. Unless you come down here and give a new orientation to the Sikhs and pull down this system of *jathas* both Muslim and Sikh I am afraid the Punjab will be lost to us like Bengal."

Panikkar suggested that "The Shiromoni Committee must declare that the religious rights in India cannot be safely maintained as long as we do not get Swaraj and so it is the primary duty of the S.G.P.C. to work through non-violent non-cooperation for the establishment of Swaraj".

Candhi's Message—Non-violence Explained

Gandhi could no longer contain himself. He addressed a long message to the "Akali Sikhs" in which he wrote: "I need hardly assure the Akali Sikhs of sympathy in the loss of so many brave men and many more being wounded. Without full facts before me, I am unable to say whether the march of a large number of men in order to pay devotion to the shrine of Gangar at Jaito was

or was not justified. But I would ask the Akali Sikhs not to send any more *jathas* without further deliberation and consultation with those leaders outside the Sikh community who have hitherto been giving them advice. It would be well to stop and watch developments arising out of the tragedy. One of the telegrams received by me tells me that the *jatha* was and remained throughout strictly nonviolent. You have from the very commencement claimed that your movement is perfectly non-violent and religious. I would like everyone of us to understand all the implications of non-violence. I am not unaware of the fact that nonviolence is not your final creed. It is therefore doubly incumbent upon you to guard against any violence in thought or word creeping into the movement. Over twenty-five years of practice of nonviolence in the political field has shown me as clearly as daylight that in every act of ours we have to watch our thoughts and words in connection with the movement in which we may be engaged. Nonviolence is impossible without deep humility and strictest regard for truth. And if such nonviolence has been possible in connection with movements not termed religious how much easier it should be with those like you who are conducting a strictly religious movement. I have deemed it necessary to reiterate what I used to say about nonviolence before my imprisonment, because I have observed during my brief study of the events of the past years that we who claim to be engaged in a nonviolent movement have not fully and in thought and speech conformed to our creed during the past two years as we certainly did not during the previous years. I am sorry to have to say that what I wrote about ourselves in the pages of *Young India* during the last three months prior to my arrest holds truer today than it did then. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that had we practised nonviolence in the sense I mean during all these five years we would not only have achieved our common goal, but there would be today no differences and quarrels between Hindu and Mussalman. In drawing your attention, therefore, to the necessity of non-violence in your special struggle about your *Gurudwaras*. I do not wish to be understood to mean that there has been greater disregard of the essentials of nonviolence amongst you than amongst the other communities. But a word of

caution is more necessary in your case, because you have never fagged, you have been incessantly active in the pursuit of your special goal. I would, therefore have you to search yourselves and if you find that you have not been true to the standard you set before yourselves to cease further demonstration for the time being and perform the necessary cleansing process before beginning anew. And I doubt not that your efforts will be crowned with success." Gandhi

signed himself as the friend and servant of the Sikhs.

Gandhi's words did not fall on deaf ears. The more fiery sections that had thrown over the previous group running the Akali movement did restrain themselves. By the sober attitude they stooped to conquer and the Sikh Gurudwaras Act, (November, 1925) and the release of the Akali prisoners were wrested from the hands of the government. Nonviolence had its triumph.

PAINTINGS THAT PULSATE WITH LIFE

KIRAN KHARE

The oldest cave at Ajanta dates back to the 2nd century B.C. The Shad-Danta Jataka composition of Cave 10 is similar in technique to that at Bharhant. Paintings of a similar period is found in Jogimala Cave in the Sarguja State. The frescoes of Sigiriya in Ceylon are comparable to the later caves at Ajanta (Caves No. 1, 2, 16 & 17). The Ceylon paintings are found in two recesses of a rock on the hill, which was the retreat of the perricide King Kashyapa at the end of the 5th century.

Paintings of Vakataka and Gupta periods comprise the second phase of the story of Indian Paintings. Paintings at the Bagh Caves in Gwalior, the Sitanavasal Caves at Pudukkettai (5th to 7th century AD.) also belong to this phase. The themes are: Buddha in various attitudes, the various scenes from his life, the Jataka stories of his previous lives, the Buddhisattas and a rich variety of animal, floral, geometrical and other fantastic and fabulous motifs drawn from the artists' imagination.

The Bodhisatva Padmapani in cave No. 1 of Ajanta Caves shows the highest

attainment of Indian pictorial art as to figure painting. Griffiths writes "the immortal picture of the dying princess" in cave No. 16 "for pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story, cannot be surpassed in the history of art."

Ajanta is an epic. Out of myriads of colours the glorious world of painting has been created by the artists. As we move around the caves we see processions of kings and queens, princes and princesses, soliders and generals, brahmins and Bhikkus and shop-keepers and customers; men and women from every walk of life greet us in palaces, homes, gardens, jungles hills and seas. The spiritual and the celestial bless us. Foreigners such as Chinese, Turks, Parthians and Scythians beam on us. The jewellery, dresses and hair style of the beautiful women are the model of today's eves. The dresses include tassels, Socks, scarves, striped cloth, silk cloth, tight bodices, skirts, chollies, short sarees, and all kinds of diaphanous costumes for women. Men are shown in embroidered coats and breeches, dhotis, pantaloons and half pants. Orchestras con-

ducted by women is frequently seen and female musicians are seen playing on dholakas, cymbals, brass bells, mridangas, drums and flutes.

Animals such as horses, elephants, bulls, lions, wolves, dragons and monkeys crowded the walls. Parrots, ducks, geese, crows, and doves keep them company. The Asoka, fig, sal, banana, pomegranate and mango trees can be seen in their natural surroundings and in palace gardens.

The architecture of the Ajanta paintings gives us an idea of how the palaces and homes of the time were built. The buildings, balconies and pillars are wooden constructions and account for the architectural forms. Two-storeyed, and three-storeyed buildings are seen at Ajanta. Rooms in palaces, bedrooms, court rooms, give an idea of the royal life of the time. Domestic scenes, household utensils and cooking scenes, market scenes with shopkeepers selling their wares are beautifully painted. Furniture in the palace is rich and varied.

Couches of various designs, stools with lion's paws, palanquins, octagonal foot-rests, trays, carts, carved chairs, gorgeous carriages, tempt us as we move from painting to painting.

In the words of Rothenstein, "On the hundred walls and pillars of the rock-carved temples, vast drama moves before our eyes, a drama played by princes and sages and heroes, by men and women of every condition, against a marvellously varied scene, among forests and gardens, in courts and cities, on plains and in deep jungles: while the messengers of heaven move swiftly across the skies. From all these emanates a great joy in the surpassing radiance of the face of the world, in the physical ability of men and women, in the strength and grace of animals and the loveliness of men and flowers and woven into this fabric of material beauty we see the ordered pattern of the spiritual realities of the universe. It is this perfect combination of material and spiritual energy which marks the periods of 'ART.'"



PROTEIN FOOD REQUIREMENTS OF ASIA AND AFRICA

BUDDHADASA P. KIRTHISINGHE

The basic form of life, from the simplest virus to the large whale, Red Wood tree or Man, is based on proteins and nucleic acid. All forms of life make use of vitamins and undergo the same chemical changes and employ the same methods of liberating and utilizing energy. All life follows a single pathway, however much species may vary in detail. Enzymes and hormones are essential to the proper functioning of all life. These are basically a modified form of proteins, and proteins are critically in short supply in Asia and Africa.

A major portion of the peoples of all underdeveloped world (Asia, Africa and South America), that is a greater portion of mankind, suffer from malnutrition, and it is generally attributed to eating foods deficient in proteins. By 1975 there will be 4,000,000,000 people in our small world, and the increase is the greatest in those areas which are most densely populated and least well fed—e.g., Asia.

At this very minute, most of the world's population is experiencing a great protein famine, a famine that will get worse before it gets better. The population explosion is making a bigger boom than anyone ever expected, and it's now thought that by the year 2000 there will be twice as many people in the world as there are today. Protein is important because it is the material from which most of our vital tissues and organs are made. Unhappily, many of the fastest growing underdeveloped areas are also undernourished as far as protein is concerned. They don't have enough meat, fish, eggs, or other protein staples to go round. As a result, the entire world could eventually suffer the consequences. Recently, a symposium of the

American Chemical Society met in Atlantic City to evaluate the world's current and future protein resources. The scientists discussed what might seem to be far out methods of beating the protein problem, and the staggering realities of the expected famine make any legitimate approach of vital importance.

It is well known that chemists cannot synthesize proteins. The only thing that can synthesize protein is living organism. Dr. W. O. Gray, Professor of Botany at the Southern Illinois University, suggests the use of fungi and supply with carbohydrates (starchy food), which is in abundant supply and produced far in excess of the world's food needs, and take advantage of their capability of synthesizing protein. Basically it is being able to produce more vegetable protein per acre by taking carbohydrates and allowing the fungus to make protein out of it.

Now if this excess of carbohydrates could be converted to proteins, which have much more nutritional value, the future of mankind might not look as bleak as it does today. In this case the protein products would be the fungi itself. In countries like India, Ceylon, Indonesia, China and African and South American States, where about seventy per cent of the people have protein deficiency, it could be fed direct to the people.

In the U.S.A., where there is no protein deficiency, this is not necessary. Here crude vegetable matter (fodder) and carbohydrates are fed to cattle with mineral supplements, and the bacterial flora of the rumen of cattle produce amino acids in abundance, which in turn—in different combinations—form complex protein molecules. Therefore in the West and particularly in America,

it would seem better to think of producing more of the type of protein they like—that is, to produce more milk, meat and eggs.

Carbohydrate rich foods are like cane sugar, rice, corn, sweet potatoes, potatoes and manioc (manioc *utissima* scientific name). Manioc grows profusely and produces a rich harvest of fleshy roots. They are rich in carbohydrates but poor in proteins, but protein can be developed out of them in protein factories with fungi. The commonly used fungi are yeasts and fungi imperfecti.

In these protein factories the carbohydrates such as manioc can be increased by protein by a factor six. By this method nearly six times as much again is added, which is a fairly sizable increase. The way we have done it is to take these large roots and dice them very fine, then suspend them in water, add a few mineral salts and sterilize them. Then we inoculate them with fungi in a big tank and bubble air through them. After three or four days we recover what is left. There is probably very little manioc left. Mostly we have a material which is largely fungus tissue. It's growing there in little pellets; they look very much like freshly cooked tapioca. They're light, white in colour, moist and glistening, with very little odour or taste. In fact, if they are dried they have none at all.

Dr. Gray estimates that unprocessed manioc would produce only enough protein for about twenty million people; based on current world production of the vegetable. On the other hand, protein produced by the fungal conversion method could theoretically feed 152 million people. By converting other crops into fungal protein, he estimates that it would be theoretically possible to supply the protein needs of additional billions of people. Still, the question remains: Will large numbers of people ever really get around to seriously considering fungus as a nutritious food source?

Dr. Gray thinks they have no choice,

because man is the great exploiter. He has exploited every food source available to him except micro-organisms. He keeps increasing his numbers at a tremendous rate, and I don't think the traditional agriculture can keep up with the production of enough additional protein to meet the needs of the population as it increases. So man is either going to have to resign himself to have to seeing a large percentage of his species suffer protein deficiency, or he's going to have to look at some other sources of protein. And there's nothing left for him really, except micro-organisms. He's exploited the green plants, he's exploited animals, fish and birds, so what's left except micro-organisms?

In addition to feeding the world's billions on moulds and fungi, nutritionists are also considering certain bacteria as rich protein resources. Dr. Alfred Champagnat, another speaker at the American Chemical Society meeting, pointed out that the petroleum industry should take a strong interest in this problem. He believes that crude oil stocks would make excellent feed materials for bacterial protein that would in turn be used to supplement low-protein foods. In this case, the bacteria make protein out of the carbon and hydrogen in the petroleum, air from the atmosphere, and ammonia. Large quantities of ammonia are produced as a by-product by the petroleum industry. Dr. Champagnat is with Petroles B.P., a French petroleum concern. His company is already in the pilot plant stage of converting crude oil into protein. The resulting product can be converted into white flakes or powder. A fish or meat taste can be added to the resulting protein product to please the taste buds of a particular area. Dr. Champagnat calculates that a pound of petroleum can yield about a half pound of protein, and that the oil industry could easily produce an estimated 20 million tons of protein a year by this method. That figure represents expected protein needs for the year 1980. Another

scientist at the American Chemical Society symposium reported on a small scale system for growth of the bacterial micro-organism called *Bacillus megaterium*. This too would make a good protein supplement, said Dr. Steven Tannenbaum of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

One would hope that we would be able to produce a protein in sufficient quantity of a superior nutritional quality which would stand on its own feet. At the same time, in talking about the problems of the protein requirements of the world some twenty years from now, one has to consider that a multiple attack on this kind of protein would probably be used to supplement other proteins which are deficient in certain amino acids, such as the cereal proteins, which are available in large quantity. At the same time, since one can readily isolate soluble proteins from these micro-organisms, it would be hoped that one could produce proteins with texture equivalent to meat proteins. These would be chewy-gels or spum fibres which would command a greater demand of the consumer market.

At this point no one is considering feeding bacterial protein to meet present food needs, but Dr. Tannenbaum and his colleague, Dr. Richard Manteles, are busily developing prototype methods that some day might be useful. As a model system, they're studying growing micro-organisms—called *Bacillus megaterium*—on a relatively small scale. The bacteria are fed a mixture of different chemicals, including sugar, ammonia and small quantities of phosphate, magnesium and other metals.

Dr. Mateles stated: "We've grown most of our materials so far in 150 litre batches. That's about forty gallons or so. There's no problem in growing them in much larger quantities: it's just that the large fermenter that we have available is 150 litre working capacity. I might point out that our interest comes in from two different directions. One is the interest

of many petroleum companies in growing micro-organisms on petroleum feedstocks; that is, producing protein from petroleum. A second interest comes from an entirely different source—that is, American National Aerospace Agency's interest in developing closed systems for feeding men on prolonged space missions. While there has been relatively little published in the formal scientific literature concerning maintenance of animals on protein derived exclusively from micro-organisms, many petroleum companies have conducted feeding studies which indicated that animals can be maintained on microbial protein and nothing else."

Until now, one of the major obstacles to the more extensive use of bacteria as a protein source has been the bacterial cell walls. Because these cell walls are so difficult to digest, much of the useful protein that the cells contain is not available to the individual who eats them. In their small scale studies, Drs. Tannenbaum and Mateles were able to break down the tough cell walls, and release large amounts of previously unavailable protein.

Dr. Tannenbaum states: "Our investigations thus far have indicated that the bacteria *Bacillus megaterium* can be broken up in such a way that protein fractions from within the cell can be isolated, and that these protein isolates have an amino acid composition similar to that of whole cow's milk protein, which is considered to be an excellent source of protein. The final evaluation of any protein should be in an animal and eventually we hope to be able to do tests on man. What we propose to do is to test the nutritional quality of the whole cells and cells from which we have isolated various protein fractions. In this way we can get a very clear-cut estimate of what type of processing has to be done in order to bring the quality of the bacterial protein to its highest level."

Dr. D. V. Josephson of the Pennsylvania State University suggested that the protein

situation is much worse than it might be because large sections of the world are not taking full advantage of one of the most valuable protein sources—milk. For instance, in India, where there are about half as many cows as there are people, much of that available milk protein goes to waste.

Dr. Josephson states: "In India, which is of course a predominantly agricultural nation of about 440 million people, they have a cattle population of about 220 million. Now admittedly a substantial number of these animals are used for draft purposes and many others are non-productive because they are kept for religious reasons and customs which prevent their slaughter. Nonetheless they do produce about 48.5 billion pounds of milk in India, which is roughly 5 ounces per human being. Unfortunately they convert about 60 per cent of this milk into products similar to butter, called ghee, which eliminates all the protein from this product. The most important ingredient in milk—from a nutritional standpoint—is the protein portion."

Ghee is a rancid-tasting material considered a great delicacy in India, but as is often the case with delicacies, its nutritional value is marginal. The vital protein is gone. And in Kenya, East Africa, Dr. Josephson thinks that Kenya has made some very substantial progress through co-operation with FAO and UNICEF, but here is a country of 8,600,000 inhabitants where they have a cattle population of approximately 7,000,000. In addition to this, they've got about a million camels and about 13,000,000 sheep and goats. Unfortunately, in spite of their high cattle population, they have a very serious protein shortage. Most of the cattle in the country are kept for reasons of prestige in the community and with a complete disregard for the quality or economic considerations. To aggravate the problem, as veterinary services have improved and disease-control

practices been adopted, the number of these unproductive animals has increased substantially. Of course, this brings in its wake a further depletion of the pastures and the soil of that country. It has been reliably reported by people in Kenya that at least 20 milking cows are required to supply the milk needs of one nomadic family. But bear in mind that the calf or the progeny of the cow takes precedence over the needs of man. So if they can recover half a pint of milk from that animal per day, that's very good.

The United States would not have the high nutritional standard that it does if each individual had to get along on a half pint of milk a day. In fact, the average North American consumes about one quart of milk or its protein equivalent per day. In this country, milk production per cow is nothing short of fantastic, as Dr. Josephson explains. "In the United States we produce about 127 billion pounds of milk a year today. In 1945, just 20 years ago, we were producing about 120 billion pounds of milk. In 1945, however, we had 27.7 million cows producing that milk. Today we have 10 million fewer cows producing 7 billion pounds more of milk than they were producing in 1945."

Elaborating on Dr. Josephson's milk production figures, the average American cow now produces about about 2000 more pounds of milk than it did in 1945. In some herds, each cow produces from 15 to 17 thousand pounds of milk a year, with productivity increasing by 2 per cent a year. In spite of this great production leap forward, it will be impossible for the United States to meet the milk protein needs of the 6 to 9 billion people who may be living in the world in the year 2000. As you've heard, the cattle resources are there. They just aren't being used correctly.

The dairy branch of FAO, which is the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, has been studying this problem and working with it for many

years. And they have looked at this problem for the future, and they have set their sights on the year 2000 which is only 35 years away. They point out that it is futile to ask native farmers to produce milk unless you have means of collecting and processing this product. So they, in co-operation with UNICEF and other organizations, have attempted to build small diesel powered plants right out in the rural areas, and they have farmers produce and deliver milk to these plants where it can be processed and distributed.

As Dr. Josephson pointed out, a large part of the solution to the milk protein shortage in underdeveloped nations could have a relatively straightforward answer; process and distribute milk that would ordinarily never get to the people. Although the FAO program is still in its infancy, it is working, through co-operative farms and co-operative milk processing plants and organized marketing.

In Kenya they have several of these plants. When one of these was opened it received 12 gallons of milk the first day. One year later it was getting over one thousand gallons of milk a day for processing. So once the farmers have the incentive to produce and the market is developed, the products can be produced.

There is the possibility that some day mankind will have to give up the raising of dairy cattle. The reason is that the land used to grow food for the people of a future era in which every square foot of workable land will be precious. According to Dr. Josephson this drastic approach may not be necessary. It may be possible to feed the cow different types of food that will place no real strain on the protein resources that should go to human beings. Fortunately, the first of the cow's four stomach cavities is a very versatile chemical conversion chamber. Because of bacterial action in this first stomach, or rumen, the cow can convert relatively useless materials into very satisfactory food.

Dr. A. I. Virtanen, Nobel Laureate from Finland, has done some very classic work in this field. He's been working with highly purified diets that contain no protein whatsoever. He has used such things as starch, sucrose, cellulose, urea, a trace of vegetable fat and a number of minerals, plus vitamins A and D. He has been able to make cattle, feed them rations containing no protein whatsoever. I believe he got cows to produce over 4500 pounds per year on protein-free diets. Now we have many raw materials that are not suitable for man. We can think of cellulose products such as wood, cotton, sugar cane. We already use corn stalks in silage, but many cellulose products can be utilized.

In the laboratories at the Pennsylvania State University, Dr. Josephson and his colleagues have been experimenting with synthetic diets for cattle in which one of the chief ingredients is whey. Whey is a byproduct in the manufacture of cheese, produced at a rate of about fifteen billion pounds a year. Most of this is just thrown away. The Penn State researchers have found that if they ferment the whey with a certain bacteria and treat it with ammonia, they can produce a very nutritious cattle feed. So far, palatability of the synthetic food is a problem, but not an insurmountable one as far as Dr. Josephson is concerned. Even though scientists can develop synthetic diets that may help alleviate the mounting shortage of protein for human beings, it isn't the real answer. The answer is a lot simpler—and at the same time, a lot more complex.

Dr. Josephson pointed out that an oft-quoted ancient Chinese proverb may be the key to the problem for providing more adequate supplies of milk products around the world. The proverb goes, and I quote:

"Give a man a fish, and he will eat
for a day.
Teach him to fish and he will eat
for the rest of his life."

Now we can give milk powder or we can give other high protein foods; people will accept it, but the next day they must be fed again. The philosophy of most of the international agencies is that people should be taught to produce these products themselves, so they will have a continuous supply of this food for themselves and their families. This requires education. I'm talking about education that starts with the enlightening of the masses at the most elementary level, teaching them to do with their hands, teaching them to produce something so that they have an incentive for which to carry it on. This I feel is a very key point in this whole problem, the matter of teaching these people in the developing countries to develop their own industries, meagre as they may be, so that they can support themselves and supply their own needs for the important foods and particularly milk proteins which are so essential to infants and growing children.

Scientists and technologists regard these factors as a challenge to the science and technology of food production. They claim that if they had free and limited power, our planet could support itself on the products of yeast factories, fungi and algae farms—as many as 50,000,000,000 a figure which at present rates will not reach this level until the early 2100 A.D. or five generations hence.

Mr. Orville L. Freeman, U.S. Agricultural Secretary, speaking at the 13th Plenary Conference of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, stated that the war against hunger can be won in 10 to 20 years. He said this hope was based on a study—"Changes in Agriculture in 26 Developing Nations, 1948 to 1963"—which he was releasing.

It showed "the startling fact that some newly developing countries are already increasing their agricultural production at rates far higher than those ever achieved in

the highly developed nations—including my own," he declared.

He said the countries with rapidly growing production had vast differences in levels of living, climate, soils, cultures, population in proportion to area and proximity to markets.

"The common factor that seems essential to success is a national will—or national determination to strengthen agriculture—strong enough to adopt policies and programs that make the most of conditions," Mr. Freeman said.

Although success would not be easy, there was no inherent reason why most developing countries could not increase production to meet their needs within the next decade or so, he continued.

A real breakthrough had been made in creating awareness of the importance of the problem, he added.

"The danger is clear and imminent," he said. "But the first essential step toward avoiding danger is a recognition that it exists."

On the same 13th Plenary Conference, on Nov. 22, Professor Gunnar Myrdal of Sweden states:

"If we do not use foresight and take measures" against the consequences of the nuclear arms and race hunger, "we will all perish and there will be no posterity."

Professor Myrdal called for effective intergovernment on the arms peril and for greater willingness on the part of rich countries to help their poor neighbours.

This theme was underlined in the keynote address by B. R. Sen, director general of the F.A.O., who said the capacity of the United States and other surplus-producing countries should be fully used to avoid famines in the future.

The basic problem, he said, is feeding people now and in the next two decades. The advanced countries, particularly the United States, he indicated, must take to increase their food production.

INCIDENCE OF TAXATION IN THE PUNJAB

Prof. S. P. MEHRA

In economics, the incidence of a tax is said to fall on a person who ultimately pays the money, in whose pocket the money would have remained had there been no tax. He may be an entirely different man from the one who has the responsibility of depositing the money in the treasury in the first instance, on whom really the impact of the tax lies. The problem of incidence, the final resting of the money burden, is important in a number of ways. It may lead to redistribution of personal income, reallocation of regional distribution of resources and to changes in human welfare. For want of data it has been assumed that the incidence lies where it was intended to fall by the authorities *i.e.*, in the case of direct tax, the burden is on the man who pays it in the first instance and in the case of indirect tax, it lies on the consumer of the taxed commodity. The latter, however, may not be true because the burden shifts due to interaction of buyers and sellers.

significant especially in studying rural-urban incidence of indirect taxes which is definitely higher in urban areas as compared to rural areas. Two factors account for this. Firstly, per capita expenditure is definitely higher in urban areas than in rural areas, the increase being higher in the city and, secondly, which is more important, consumption of home produced goods increases as one moves from urban to rural centres. The effect of the latter can best be imagined in the case of sales tax. The ruralite gains because he has a lower cash expenditure; much of his consumption being of home produced goods or of goods bartered in exchange for it. In the case of cash expenditure, a part of his purchases may be virtually or legally exempt from sales tax. He also gains because he gets his supplies from a number of scattered local sources. The significance of this can be realised easily if we remember that sales tax yielded Rs. 746 lakhs in 1960-61 (Accounts) and the yield is expected to be of

Table I
Per Capita Incidence of Direct and Indirect Taxes.

Year.	Per Capita Direct Taxes (Rupees)	Per Capita Indirect Taxes (Rupees)	Per Capita Tax Revenue (Rupees)
1960-61 (Accounts)	4.49	12.03	16.52
1961-62 (,,)	4.62	13.91	18.53
1962-63 (,,)	5.16	16.76	21.92
1963-64 (,,)	5.91	21.26	27.17
1964-65 (,,)	5.22	24.25	29.47
1965-66 (R.E.)	4.53	24.79	29.32
1966-67 (B.E.)	4.86	27.41	32.27

SOURCE :—*Punjab Budget at A Glance*, 1966-67.

Over the Third Plan period, direct taxes have not shown a much significant change, but during the 1st half of the Plan period incidence was much higher, by nearly 30 per cent by 1963-64. In the case of indirect taxes, however, the increase was nearly 100 per cent and 75 per cent respectively during the Plan and upto 1963-64. Over all per capita incidence went up by 75 per cent and 68 per cent.

the order of 2,100 lakhs in 1966-67 (B.E.). Its percentage share in tax revenue increased from 21 per cent to 28 per cent during the same period.

This domination of indirect taxes is very

Amongst the direct taxes, the State's share of income tax is the most important; its contribution recording a change from Rs. 369 lakhs (in 1960-61 (Accounts) to Rs. 569 lakhs in 1966-67 (B.E.). The incidence can be attributed to upper urban classes.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission (1953-54) had made a study of incidence of taxation in India; the first of its type because of its being comprehensive in nature. One of the conclusions was that relative under-taxation of rural areas would be less if land revenue was taken into consideration. This would, however, hold good only in the case of households with a monthly expenditure of upto Rs. 300. In the case of upper expenditure brackets, the tax system could be termed progressive only in the urban areas. This could be true of similar rural groups only if agricultural income tax was levied at steep rates.

In the light of these observations, let us come back to the Punjab. The yield from land revenue was Rs. 425 lakhs in 1960-61 (Accounts) against Rs. 368 lakhs in 1966-67 (B.E.), having slumped to a figure of Rs. 313 lakhs (R.E.) a year earlier. Besides, there is no agricultural income tax in the Punjab. Thus there is relative under-taxation of rural areas at all expenditure levels. If we assume that the expenditure pattern in towns with a population of up to 15,000 approximates to the rural pattern, then the heaviest tax burdened income is being redistributed in favour of industrial and commercial classes at the cost of middle classes and people with fixed incomes. The higher incidence of tax in urban areas has thus caused maximum suffering to the latter classes.

Inter-Regional Comparisons

The National Council of Applied Economic Research estimated per capita income in various States for the year 1960-61. The per capita income for India as a whole came to Rs. 334.54. Delhi, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Punjab, Guja-

rat had a per capita income higher than the All India level, while all other States and Union Territories registered a lower per capita income. Madras, Assam, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh, Kerala, occupied the rungs in order of descending below the All-India level. Table two shows taxation levels in selected States for selected years :

Table II

States	1960-61 (A/cs)		1961-62 (A/cs)		1962-63 (A/cs)		1963-64 (R.E.)		1964-65 (B.E.)	
	Total	Indirect	Total	Indirect	Total	Indirect	Total	Indirect	Total	Indirect
	Tax		Tax		Tax		Tax		Tax	
Maharashtra	20.33	16.43	20.22	16.45	25.11	19.69	29.68	23.92	29.68	24.45
West Bengal	19.20	14.16	19.31	14.61	22.12	16.50	25.31	18.93	24.94	
Punjab	17.08	12.59	18.44	13.84	21.66	16.56	25.54	19.93	25.54	19.02
Gujarat	18.65	12.01	21.56	14.84	32.32	16.99	24.30	18.88	24.44	19.74
Madras	16.20	7.30	17.17	7.76	19.97	9.49	22.59	11.54	23.30	19.35
Assam	14.63	7.95	16.40	6.60	18.17	10.75	20.93	12.50	22.86	12.82
Kerala	15.65	11.42	17.08	12.66	19.54	15.51	22.91	18.81	23.69	13.83

SOURCE :— *Statistical Abstract, Punjab, 1965.*

Over the years 1961-65, Punjab has emerged as the 2nd most heavily taxed state in India in the matter of per capita and indirect tax burdens and has left behind both West Bengal and Gujarat. Percentage increase in both total and indirect taxes was as high as in the case of Maharashtra and its position does not stand out adversely as compared to Madras and Gujarat. Now, if we remember that the Punjab is the only well developed state with an important agricultural sector, the conclusion that the rural sector is under taxed is very strongly brought about. It should be further remembered that there is total prohibition in Gujarat, Madras and Maharashtra and that Maharashtra and West Bengal are the most advanced industrial sectors in India. Partly this reflects efforts of the State to raise its own resources. The revenue from both share of income tax and Union excise and total tax revenues have recorded an upward trend, but the former has gone down from 26 per cent in 1962-63 to 20 per cent 1965-66. The dependence on the Centre is, however, considerable. Estate duty is very negligible. Land revenue is not of much significance. Taxes on commodities and services have recorded a significant increase. Attention has, therefore, to be paid to a greater balance in taxation. The new yet-to-be organised States will inherit this problem.

THE MOVEMENT FOR A COMMON SCRIPT IN INDIA DURING THE PRE-GANDHIAN TIMES

Prof. Ch. MUTHYALAYYA NAIDU

Introduction

A common script is one of the essential factors of nationalism. It develops a feeling of oneness and a love for the motherland. During the pre-Gandhian period the necessity to have a common script was immensely felt. At first, the necessity arose due to administrative and educational inconvenience. Later it arose due to political purpose. When the Government's administration became more and more arbitrary and finally, when it partitioned Bengal in 1905 despite the opposition of almost all Indians, then the Congress declared **Swaraj** as the objective to be attained. But to attain the objective and to make the national movement progress, the national leaders thought that a common script was highly necessary. They decided in favour of Devanagari and Hindustani as the common script and made efforts for their spread. Thus a movement was launched for the first time in pursuit of a common script. As Saroda Charan Mitra, a judge of the Calcutta High court, said, 'The national sentiment is spreading wider and wider, and its roots are going down deeper in India. We have all come under the influence of the West, and we cheerfully acknowledge our great debt to our own past. Why should not there be an interchange of local and contemporary influence, so that the literature of the Deccan may influence the literature of Bengal? We cannot know our countrymen intimately until we know their literature, and no sympathy is more binding, more unselfish than literary sympathy'.¹

German Influence

What impelled Indians to have a common script was the influence of the events in Germany which occurred in the 19th century. In the first decade of the 19th century the Grimm brothers attempted to reform the Runic script in Germany. Ulfilas's attempt² to reform the Runic script in the 4th century resulted in shutting out the greater world from communicating with the German world of thought. But they did not succeed. Afterwards, in 1881 R. Sounecken attempted to reform the Runic script and published a book at Bonn for that purpose. He acquired greater popularity than the Grimm brothers but he, too, was not successful. 'It is a pity that the excellent book is not to be had in India, and has not been translated into English, for it would afford us some very strong arguments for the adoption of a common script in India'³ said a contemporary writer.

The Experiment of the Roman Script by the Punjab Government

In India in 1880 Messrs. Brown and Grierson founded the Society for the Use of the Roman Script to promote an extensive use of the Roman script. They urged the Punjab Government to adopt the Roman Script but failed. But later, in 1904 the Punjab Government accepted their earlier advice and adopted the Roman script for official use. **Pioneer**, a newspaper supported the Punjab Government's decision.

1. Saroda Charan Mitra, *The Hindustan Review*, Vol. XI, 1905, p. 13.

2. Refer : Arthur Roger Sarat Roy. *Hindustan Review*, Vol. XIII, 1906, p. 401.

3. *Ibid.*

sion on the ground that there was no other popular local script in the Punjab and that if there was any script at all, only a little more than 6 per cent of the total Punjabis knew it.⁴ *The Pioneer*, further, added that only in the Roman Script sounds could be adequately and clearly expressed—a fact which could not be seriously contested. Besides the *Pioneer*, two European scholars also supported the use of the Roman script. Mr. Wilson, who published a grammar of the language of the Western Punjabis, and Rev. Grahame Bailey, who published a grammar of the dialects of Wazirabad, said that, in declaring the use of a script to be common, utility rather than sentiment should be given priority. Viewed in this light, they added, there was no necessity for an unpopular local script to be common and, hence, the Roman script should be the common script of the Punjab. But the Punjab Government did not succeed for four reasons. Firstly, the alphabets of the Roman script a, b, c, d and e which were tempting and familiar to the Europeans and Americans, were found to be 'redundant and defective' to the Punjabis.⁵ Secondly, those who favoured the use of the Roman script forgot that in Roman script certain letters had to be omitted because in Indian dialects there are no such hissing letters as z and f which exist only in cold Western countries. Thirdly, they forgot that in the Roman script a balance of convenience had to be maintained with Indian accent. To write a consonant like *ṛ* one letter is enough in Devanagari whereas in the Roman script it required three letters (kha). Fourthly, the Punjabis objected to the Roman script due to national feeling. It might be sentimental but 'sentiment has a great deal to do with the

affairs of men and is by no means to be lightly put on one side'.⁶

Devanagari to be the Common script of India

While in the Punjab its Government failed in experimenting with the use of the Roman script, educational institutions and nationals in the rest of the country preferred Devanagari to be the common script. In 1877 when an enquiry was made by the Government of India of how many scripts were existing in India, it was found that there were 62 like Devanagari, Bengali, Kaithi, Oriya, Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, Marathi, Gujarati, Gurumukhi, Mundi etc.⁷ Of all these, Devanagari was preferred.

Devanagari was supposed to be originally the local script of *Devanagar* which is now called Banaras.⁸ The learned scholars of Banaras, gradually, made it popular in India and abroad. European scholars valued it as the most important medium for the translation of ancient Indian Sanskrit books. As Prof. Monier Williams said, though it lacked 'the two important symbols (represented by the Roman letters z and f), it is on the whole the most perfect and symmetrical of all known alphabets..... Truly its wonderful adoption to the symmetry of the sacred Sanskrit seems almost to raise it above the level of human invention'.⁹ The reason for the dialects

6. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

7. Saroda Charan Mitra pointed out that all those scripts developed their own features so independently that a person who used one script, could not understand the other. On the other hand, an English man in Paris even without much knowledge of French could read the names of streets, places, etc.

Ref: *The Hindustan Review*, vol. XI,

4. *Pioneer*, Saturday, 17th September, 1905, p. 2.

5. Saroda Charan Mitra, *The Hindustan Review*, Vol. XI, 1905, p. 3.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

9. Quoted in *The Indian Review*, March, 1910, p. 161.

had not these Western sounds and that their necessity was never felt. Sir Erskine Perry, too, praised Devanagari in his **Preface to the Notes of Oriental cases** thus: 'The perfection of a written character seems to be that it should convey through the eye an accurate idea of the pronunciation of each word, and this attribute is fully possessed by the Devanagari, in which Sanskrit is written, and by all the Indian alphabets. The value of this characteristic is tested by the fact that Hindu children are able to read directly they have learnt the value of each letter, so that an accomplishment for which years are often needed in Europe is acquired in 'three months'.¹⁰

The initiative for the use of the Devanagari script was perhaps first taken by the Universities Commission in 1902. It suggested that Sanskrit question papers for University examinations should be set in Devanagari. Then the Universities of Allahabad, Lahore, Madras, and Bombay implemented the suggestion. Afterwards, the Devanagari script was sought by the popular personalities like S. C. Mitra, R. C. Dutt, Tilak and others. S. C. Mitra in the beginning of his career favoured the use of the Roman script, but later changed his mind and favoured Devanagari. He held a conference on behalf of the Nagaripracharni Sabha under the presidency of R. C. Dutt in December 1905. The Sabha declared that Devanagari should be the common script of India. Tilak, who participated in that conference, said that Devanagari was best suited to represent the different sounds that were in use.¹¹ Later at Baroda on 24th December 1910, another conference was held which concluded again in favour of the same script. Later, at Calcutta the

Eklipi-vistar-parishad held a similar conference which favoured the use of the same script. The members of all these conferences held the same opinion that a common script was necessary and that it should be Devanagari. It would save the great waste of energy by Indians in learning a new script almost every time they attempted to learn a new vernacular in the country they lived in.¹² But the difficulty came with the South Indians who were not in favour of Devanagari. To this, the members of the conference said that when the Western and Northern Indians were using Devanagari, why should not the South Indians follow the same? The Telugu, the Tamil, the Malayalam, and the Canarese languages of the South might, from the philological point of view, have non-Sanskritic dialects; yet the greater part of their vocabulary was essentially Sanskritic. The reason perhaps was that all the Southern scripts were derived from one common origin, which Panini supposed in his grammar as God Mahadeva himself.¹³ So if the Southern scripts had got variations in course of time, they were merely formal and were not marked with substantial peculiarities.¹⁴

Thus the Devanagari script was favoured by the educational institutions and the national leaders to be the common script of India. As Saroda Charan Mitra said, 'if the progress of civilization demands at any of its higher stages a uniform script for the whole of the world, we may confidently assert that the Devanagari is the only known script that will be adopted and will satisfy the demand of the civilized world'.¹⁵

10. Quoted in *The Indian Review*, March, 1910, p. 162.

11. Speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1889-1913), (R. Thirumalai & Co.), p. 68.

12. A. Madrasee, *Comment and Criticism. The Modern Review*, July, 1918, p. 61.

13. Refer : *The Indian Review*, March, 1910, p. 161.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

RURAL INDUSTRIALIZATION

CHITTAPRIYA MUKHOPADHYAY

Ever since the days when hungry, desperate workers attacked the machinery of Arkwright, or Luddites started their machine-breaking riots, the conflict between technological progress on the one hand and economic set-up on the other has engaged the attention of economists, scientists and philosophers of all countries which have had the impact of industrial revolution.

Repeated failures of the unbridled form of laissez faire to find a lasting solution to the conflicting aims of productivity and employment and of wealth and happiness in general have caused the emergence of the concepts of 'Controlled Capitalism' or of 'mixed economy' and the creation of States which have decided to adhere to the policy of exercising complete control over the means of production.

With the opening up of new frontiers in its march towards fuller exploitation of the unutilized resources of the world, man has belied to some extent the apprehensions of earlier pessimists about the inevitability of technological unemployment; clear indications are however there to establish, especially after the two global wars of the present century, that a permanent solution to the problem of technological progress and human happiness is not possible so long as society and science do not act in harmony.

II

Having drawn upon the experiences of the history of growth of the 'developed' countries and of the upheavals this country had to pass through during the monopoly-trade period of the East India Company and the phase of unfettered competition by

British capitalists since 1833, independent India, committed as she is to a balanced growth, has before her the inescapable question of the choice of production technique and that of control over the means of production.

With this is tagged the inevitable problem of 'rural exodus' that marked the growth of British industrialization, with all the attendant evils of slums, labour exploitation and degeneration of a large section of the society.

Ideologically committed though we are to what Gandhiji or Rabindranath had said, or what Vinobaji preaches about revitalization of our villages, we are at the same time aware that while translating those ideas into action, we should have to take certain extraneous factors into consideration over which we cannot exercise any control. Agriculture has been commercialized; desire on the part of rural folk, denied for centuries the basic amenities of life to which urban people are habituated, to come in close contact with the wider stream of life has been evoked; the artificial line of demarcation between town and village has been broken or is in the process of being eliminated; industry and agriculture can no longer be considered as two autonomous and mutually exclusive wings of the economy. When the strange barrier between the urban centres and rural areas is in the process of disintegration under the impact of postwar development, we do not certainly propose to go back to the old days of 'village self sufficiency'. Even if it is assumed to be economically a feasible proposition, we cannot, in these days of automobile and radio, think of reverting to the days of mental isolation and conse-

quent stagnation of village life. A synthesis of the urban and rural interests has to be made, however difficult it may be. We cannot afford to repeat the errors committed by some of the 'developed' countries that thrived for a while in total disregard of factors that impart balance and prosperity to the entire economy. If a century's delay has made our journey more difficult, it has at the same time paved the way for a more rational approach to the human and institutional lapses that had distorted and held back the potentialities inherent in the power of science and 'machine' to emancipate society from poverty. Our commitments for expansion of international trade or for full utilization of the vast mineral resources, which presuppose both commercialization of agriculture and extension of large-scale industries, would have to be integrated with our programme for rural reconstruction; this in its turn would coll for not only a stronger base for agriculture but also the establishment of an economically sound industrial structure in the rural sector. To strike a balance between the two is no doubt difficult, but the fact that even now four out of five men are rural inhabitants, offers us an opportunity to put a halt to what might otherwise turn out to be a blind drift towards the so called 'western' growth model. What we should aim at, may perhaps be best explained by the words of Lewis Mumford: 'Rural regions will attract industry, foster a co-operative way of life, promote bio-technic urbanism; while industry must, for the sake of like efficiency, seek a wider rural base. **Each village nucleus will thus be the embryo of a modern city, not the discouraged-depauperate fragment of an indifferent metropolis.**'

III

With the rapid transformation in the technique of production that marked the onset of what was later defined as the

'Industrial Revolution', far-reaching changes took place in the relative position of agriculture vis-a-vis industry, in that of manual and animal power vis-a-vis 'inanimate' power, as well as in the location, function and size of towns in all those countries which initiated or were later influenced by the Revolution. The new era, the era of coal and iron and of other mineral resources that largely replaced forest and agriculture based materials used for centuries, unfolded new horizons in the hitherto obscure corners of the world and led to unprecedented shifts in the seats of population concentration. New towns of the modern age sprang up around the coal-fields, along the newly opened railway lines or in the midst of deserts or other inhospitable places where minerals of some kind or other, sufficient for large-scale exploitation, were available. Some of the towns were ephemeral in character and were blighted soon either due to exhaustion of minerals or due to further shifts in production techniques. Other towns, having more lasting locational advantages, or acquiring new advantages under the pressure of the momentum they gathered over years, continued to grow along side with changing economic forces. In course of time these towns gathered around them further conglomerative forces and eventually created human problems not always conducive to overall interests of the society or to the interests of the 'submerged proletariat'; this section of the population continued to huddle in slums and hovels, the inevitable counterparts of the magnificent palaces of the towns and cities.

Concentration of population in small areas is surely inevitable in countries with a high level of population; with shrinking man-land ratio, larger numbers of people must cluster together with reduced per capita living space not only to make room for more productive use of land but also to make more intensive efforts, mostly in the non-agricultural sector, to raise the

national income. But unless related to the divergent man-land ratio and variations in the availability of coal, iron, petroleum, overall economy and social structure, this concentration of population has its obvious limits. The initial advantage enjoyed by Britain in harnessing her internal as well as external resources, undoubtedly resulted not only in gradual and steep rise in her national income, but also in the elimination of the wide gap in the level of amenities between towns and villages, and so also in the complete reversal of the ratio of urban and rural population during the hundred years 1851-1951. Now, with about 40 per cent of her population concentrated in the seven conurbations and about four fifths in the urban area, Britain has had her belated second thoughts on the desirability of restoration of the place of honour to agriculture, on the need for dispersal of population away from the over-congested towns and cities that contain a large number of discontented unemployed labour force, and in bringing about a harmony, through her various 'town and country planning' legislations, between urban and rural life.

Axiomatic as under certain conditions it was in the past to relate urbanization with industrialization, there has now started, in other countries also, a rethinking about the ways to establish the most healthy relationship between the town and the village and between industry and agriculture. And this has inevitably been linked up with other problems also; Stability of agricultural income and removal of its disparity with non-agricultural income; breaking of the isolation and monotony of, and availability of the basic amenities of life to those who reside in remote villages; and finally, of course, that of unemployment and mechanization.

Different countries with their characteristic political, social, economic, demographic and geographical conditions, have had different sets of problems to solve. Developed countries in the European and North American continents, with widely

own policies and problems with regard to industrialization and human habitation. Reliance on either labour-saving inventions as in the USA, or on material-conserving inventions as in thickly populated Europe, emphasis on large scale industries concentrated in selected and small areas, or on small-scale industries scattered all over the country, dependence on extractive or consumers' goods industries, or preference for basic and metallurgical or chemical industries, all these have been conditioned by opportunities, inclinations, predominating group-interests, availability of resources, and the prevalent economic doctrines of the countries concerned. These have in their turn shaped the spread of population and the relative importance of the hinterlands of towns and cities.

IV

Partly due to the commercial and industrial policy followed by Britain in respect of all her colonial possessions, and of course partly due to our own social and other human characteristics, India had, in course of the last two hundred years or so, had a sort of transformation of her economic structure which was far from complete. A strange combination of the 'old' and the 'new' and existence of the so-called 'traditional' society parallel with the standard of living taught by the West, produced, so to say, an incompatible and hybrid form of economy working at cross purposes. The infra-structure continued to remain stagnant and divided within itself both horizontally and vertically,—between subsistence agriculture and export oriented large-scale industries, between educated urbanites and illiterate rural folk, between people with their interests firmly entrenched in the land and those without land but

with abject dependence on agricultural activity. The old 'balance' between the villages and the towns,—a balance that fostered a decentralized but morbid society moving within a small groove and as such not having any inherent strength for progress,—was upset and was only partially replaced by a structure that could just fractionally be compared with the new structure emerging in other countries. Old prosperous villages which thrived primarily on agriculture and on small industries with limited dependence on trade with far away places, gradually passed into oblivion and shrunk, in spite of a general rise in population, to the position of insignificant hamlets. These became economically tagged to the Mandi or market place on the railway lines, that collected the agricultural produce from, and catered non-agricultural commodities to the surrounding villages. With the gradual concentration in these towns of even the food-processing industries, the villages became inevitably devoid of any non-agricultural activity worth the name. In the course of time, belying the hopes of Lord Cornwallis that the landlords would, like their British counterparts of the late eighteenth century, stay in the villages and improve the agriculture, villages were deserted by the landlords, and also by able-bodied men who were squeezed out of stagnating agriculture and had to look elsewhere for their livelihood.

In this very process were created some large industrial towns and cities which now form the core of whatever industrial base that has been built up in the course of the last century. These industrial towns attracted large numbers of people from villages, largely due to their own positive forces for creation of new employment opportunities, and partly due to failure of the villages to sustain their economy consequent upon steady impoverishment of the land and disappearance of cottage industries. Like many other similar towns of the East and of Africa these towns dis-

play strange contrasts in living conditions and maintain a level of population density far in excess of even the most thickly populated towns of Europe or North America. Urbanisation, conveying, as it does, a meaning to our economy not exactly the same now prevailing in more developed countries, presents certain special characteristics. Along with other points of difference, such as insufficient and bad roads, and inadequacy of railway lines in the rural sector or wide divergence in per capita income in cities and villages, there exists a large floating population (especially in the industrial cities and mining towns of northern and north eastern India) with a disproportionately large number of males over females. When this is compared with corresponding data in other developed countries, economic and social factors that lie at the root of urbanization in many parts of our country can, to some extent, be explained.

Between the six hundred thousand and odd villages many of which have a very low aggregate population, and the handful of cities with populations exceeding a million, there are a large number of 'market places' or 'trade centres' many of which have sprang up in the course of the last century mainly along the railway lines, as feeders to larger towns or as an inevitable link between the innumerable villages and the large industrial cities. Not necessarily located on the spots where cottage industries had flourished in the earlier years, many of these towns, particularly the administrative district or subdivisional towns, or the Railway towns or the residential towns, are even now nothing more than what has been called 'enlarged villages'. Many of these small towns; mostly 'non-industrial' by census definition, have characteristics similar to those of villages so far as opportunities for non-agricultural activities are concerned. Due to the added locational advantage with the improvement of roads and introduction of faster means

of communication with the surrounding villages, these have acquired the potentiality of serving their 'hinterland', not as parasites but as healthy links for transfusion of new life blood to the rural sector. So far, the trend seems to be otherwise; urban and rural interests do not coincide because urban interests representing the more dominant and powerful non-agricultural sector, have invariably the better side of the deal. The rural agricultural sector, in absence of anything else to produce than only crops, which have to be marketed and processed in the towns, and price for which is dictated largely by the urban interests, remains weak in its competitive strength. Restoration of a mutually beneficial term of trade presupposes not only a fair and stable price for agricultural products but also putting in the rural sector such means of production of non-agricultural commodities, which on the one hand absorbs the 'surplus' rural population and on the other hand generates an income in that sector, fairly approximating the income of the numerically few but financially stronger urban sector. In this process, the small towns or 'enlarged villages' should have to be assigned a role that should be different from what they now perform.

V

How to achieve this end, remains a crucial problem in an economy that is yet predominated by the organized 'private sector', which is synonymous with the large-scale industries controlled by a few and situated in urban areas.

Because of an outward resemblance in the organizational framework but a fundamental difference in the motive-force of the joint-stock companies and co-operative societies, productive units of the in-operative sector necessarily tend to remain weak. When 'profit' and 'service' are the two motives working in the same field, the

former has, under the existing set up, the tendency to get the upper hand. Improved means of communication have enabled the better-organized private sector to reach remote villages with their products for which there is (and should be) an insatiable demand there. Some of these products, radio, cycle, watch for example, are no doubt best produced and should continue to be produced in the organized 'large-scale' sector. Given the understandable demand for such products, in the absence of which our organized industries cannot thrive, the only point that may incidentally be relevant is the price of such products vis-a-vis the agricultural products; and this is a problem which is linked up with the large issue of income and price parity between agricultural and non-agricultural products.

There are other products (excluding trinkets of substandard quality, having strong 'effective' demand in village fairs, but having no social use-value) entering with equal ease into the rural market. One can hardly deny the villagers the freedom to buy these products so long as the questions of price, quality, taste and easy availability are essential points to be reckoned with. If puffed rice is replaced by biscuits (mudi remains a 'cottage' industry under the usual economic laws regulating the size of a productive unit; biscuit on the other hand remains in the other sector), or *bidi* by cigarettes, or if fine mill cloth is preferred to handloom, or for that matter mustard oil or rice crushed or husked in the mill is preferred to similar products processed in *ghani* or the *Dhenki*, we cannot possibly blame the villager for his choice. And, in respect of such products which are not really 'manufactured' but only 'processed' (and which, generally speaking, hardly result in a qualitative decline when prepared, not by power-driven machines but by simple tools with 'labour-intensive method') can the government think of resolutely evolving a pattern

of production technique that would impart not merely a 'sentimental' value to such products but would put a definite economic justification for the same? To cite some oft-repeated illustrations we may mention husking of paddy or the crushing of mustard oil; assuming that there is widespread rural unemployment and that the problem lies not so much in respect of the transformation of paddy to rice or mustard seed to oil, as in the production of the real wealth in the agricultural sector, it is hardly a sound economic proposition to suggest that 'saving of labour cost' (who saves the cost?) or saving of 'time' to a few millowners does really contribute to the aggregate national wealth or to the 'welfare' of the society. **Dhenkis** or **ghanis** have their limitations, but there is certainly enough scope, both in respect of organization and technical modification, for fuller utilization of these tools much to the advantage of the nation as a whole. Rice mills and **dhenkis**, or oil-mills and **ghanis**, process the same quantum of paddy or oilseed; the only difference is that the working of mills results in useless wastage of foreign exchange, and in ill-distribution of the income due to earning of larger profit by a few, and denial of employment to many who are not gainfully employed otherwise. The steep decline since 1901, in the number of women employed in these food-processing industries and absence of corresponding increase in employment in other industries is particularly noteworthy.

Viewing the problem of rural industrialization from this angle we have sufficient reasons to make a reappraisal of the entire question of productivity and employment vis-a-vis planned growth. Theoretical discussions on an extensive scale have taken place about this aspect of growth, but whatever the reasons may be, implementation has either been slow or misdirected. Single-huller machines for wheat crushing or paddy husking, introduced during the plan period, have further

concentrated the 'processing' function in fewer hands, but have not certainly added to the aggregate national wealth. These no doubt are 'small scale industries' but not new industries; some cottage industries have been **replaced only**.

VI

But, by trying to revive these industries in the rural sector which were on their way to extinction, are we not putting the clock back? Are we not, under the cover of making our plan 'employment oriented', putting a heavy cost to the national exchequer? By denying the facility of larger supply at a lower price to the consumer in general, are we not giving undeserved protection to the obsolete production techniques? If the fundamental economic considerations regarding the internal and external economies of scale for determining the size of a productive unit are to be given due consideration, do we then have any justification for deliberately **fragmenting** the size of a firm which should normally have been capable of attaining the most economical unit-cost of production with a larger size? Is not this move for fragmentation of the economic unit contrary to what we have been trying to achieve in the agricultural sector?

Of the innumerable points that arise in connection with this crucial question that has repeatedly and elaborately been discussed for a long period, we may sum up a few:

1. What categories of industries can be carried on by (a) labour intensive methods in general or by (b) using 'animate' power (with improved tools) instead of inanimate power?

2. While small-scale or cottage industries (whether using 'power' or not) individually require small amount of capital, do they yield better capital-output ratio on the aggregate?

3. By fragmenting the size of productive units what do we want to achieve?

Higher employment? More equitable distribution of income? Lower aggregate sum for capital? Better human relations between the owner and the worker? higher output? improved quality of products?

4. Should the 'infant industry' argument applied in favour of large scale industries of our country vis-a-vis foreign industries, be extended in favour of small-scale or cottage industries on the same logic? In what form should it be achieved? By subsidising the sale? By earmarking of markets, or by fixing of qualities or varieties of products for the two sectors? By subsidising the supply of electric power to the smaller units? By ensuring availability of raw materials at a low rate? By discrimination in respect of taxation? Should the 'protection' be extended when a large-scale unit enters into competition with products of cottage industries by innovating substitutes with raw materials not used by the latter? Manufactures of plastic or aluminium utensils use different materials but no doubt compete with the potters or the blacksmith, so does 'dalda' with ghani-crushed mustard oil.

5. If, instead of a few large units, innumerable small units produce the same product, how does the government propose to ensure standardization of the quality of the product?

6. What should be the criteria for fixing the prices of the products manufactured by the small units? What would be the machinery to ensure that all the innumerable small units, (having as a group, virtual monopoly of the product, after having eliminated the large producer from the field) are fixing a 'reasonable' or a competitive price, and paying adequate remuneration to the workers?

7. What should be the most desirable or effective form of organization of all these productive units? Completely decentralized cottage industry run by self-employed persons? Small factories (with wage earning

workers) owned either by co-operatives or by individuals, or by partnership firms or by joint stock companies?

8. If, in the course of time, several small operators decide to form into a co-operative society and intend to buy, with their own accumulated resources, machinery, which would yield higher output but would reduce the number of workers, what should be the policy with regard to such proposals?

9. Large-scale producers, whether in keen competition or in a quasi-monopolistic condition, have their own network of distribution and marketing arrangements; if this is replaced by small units who may have their own production arrangements but no effective means for distribution or marketing, who would assume this task? Will co-operative marketing societies be in a position to assume the responsibility for distribution of the different categories of products which are now catered separately by different organizations?

10. In order to find adequate initial capital for all the small-size units should the government have to bring under complete control the resources of all the commercial banks or should it find the resources of the newly created credit agencies adequate for the purpose? Assuming that the hypothecation clauses are further liberalized, what machinery does the government propose to set up for realization of the advances from the innumerable entrepreneurs?

11. Fragmentation of productive units would mean the splitting up of the aggregate income and consequent drop in the tax now realized from large companies. It is not suggested that the large-size units now engaged in the business proposed to be carried on by small units, would be closed down, but it is conceivable that with the earmarking of markets of products some of these firms would have reduced profit. What measures should the government adopt for restoring this drop in tax income?

12. Of the various crafts that flourished in the earlier days some still survive; those with the highest survival value, according to Spate, are '(i) services following population (smiths, carpenters, tailors, potters etc), (ii) some luxury trades, (iii) some crafts which have as it were a market sheltered by its poverty, or which deal in raw materials not worth processing by modern methods' (Spate, INDIA & PAKISTAN p. 273). There are, again, some small-scale or cottage industries which survive not by competing with large units but by supplying components and parts to them (such small firms however are, for all practical purposes, wings of the large firms, carrying on trade under a different roof, and earning wages in the form of 'profits'). Can an integrated scheme be adopted for closer co-ordination of the functions of these wings?

These are only a few questions that generally come up, and answers to some are available in the various reports published by the Government from time to time. Answers of a few others, again, are to be found in the measures adopted already either by a few States or by the Centre.

Without trying to deal with the points separately, we might as well ask: what is the alternative before us? Do we just drift and let things take their own course? Admitting that our implementation has been tardy or that the policy laid down has not always been carried out in its proper spirit (this has been admitted even by the Planning Commission in the Third Five Year Plan Report) we cannot, at the same time, possibly afford to lose sight of the fact that our pattern of growth must, because of our high population-density at the initial stage of industrialization, necessarily be different from that of the developed countries which entered into their 'take off' stage under completely different conditions. Britain had her empire to draw upon for sustaining her economy; vacant colonies were there to absorb her surplus population; abroad

she sold black slaves and at home she had the white 'slaves'; participation in wars denuded her of her 'excess' man power. USA, on the other hand, with her high man-land ratio, immense supply of coal, petroleum, iron and other minerals and her slaves, very easily outstripped the growth of England and even now she has a population density far below that of India.

Even if we 'socialize,' like USSR, the entire methods for certain types of industries, these need not be in foreign-exchange-earning industries like jute or tea (but here we had hesitated to 'modernise' or 'rationalize' on some untenable arguments)—but in such industries which by the very nature of their output are more suited for such a course. Adoption of scientific methods and introduction of machineries are surely not the same thing; by denying science either to agriculture or to industry we enter a blind alley and ultimately exhaust our strength for attaining the stage of self sustaining growth. But while we use machines, many of which have to be imported for a long time, and have to be operated with mineral oil, a large part of which has to be imported, we must be discriminating in its use. For a steel factory or an aircraft factory or for automobile or locomotive manufacturing, the technique of production must necessarily be capital intensive; there is no other choice left to us.

But when it comes to the question of husking paddy or of weaving cloth (if mills could be asked to provide only the yarn, handloom could be extended further) or of crushing oil, the inevitable question comes up; if, in the name of progress we take away these types of work from the people, relying on the oft-quoted assertion that new employment opportunities would be created in the long run or that larger supply of cheaper consumer goods would be beneficial for the society, what other work should we provide them with and at what stage should we be in a position to

do so? On the other hand, does our foreign exchange resource permit us to import machinery for such manufacturing industries which practically 'process' an existing wealth? Cheap electricity is undoubtedly a very efficient source of power, but its use should rather be directed for performing such items of work for which mechanical power is an absolute necessity, than for crushing atta, paddy or oilseed. A large part of the electricity consumed in West Bengal for 'industrial' purposes is utilised for these food industries; the other side of the shield, declining employment among womenfolk, is not revealed in the statistics that shows the steep rise in the use of electricity for 'industrial purpose'.

Having laid the foundation all these

years for our industrial growth, we now stand at the cross-roads and we have to decide now on our next course of action. 'Employment-oriented' plan should not mean gratuitous dole; nor should the cottage industries, either in the rural sector or in the urban sector, be patronized only on sentimental grounds. The economic justification for their proud existence can hardly be ignored; but these have to be given a breathing time to stand on their own feet. Charity cannot sustain an economy for long; the line of demarcation between industries in the two sectors has to be very precisely drawn, and the policy that is finally drawn up for revival of rural industries or cottage industries in general has to be implemented in good faith.



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

Student Unrest and Indiscipline

The recent violent upsurge of student unrest all over the country appears, at long last, to have awakened our so-called national leaders, to a sense of the dire realities of the situation. Shree Gulzarilal Nanda, Home Minister, Government of India, was reported to have counselled patience and forbearance at all levels in dealing with organized student movements and counselled that while the primary responsibility of maintaining law and order must be discharged by Government agencies, student grievances must also, at the same time, be looked into and dealt with both promptly and sympathetically. Shree K. Kamraj, Congress President, was recently reported to have stated that while it was urgent that the utmost patience and forbearance must inform all action relating to students and their movements at all levels of Government, it was necessary to ensure that political parties did not exploit student grievances and unrest for their particular political objectives.

These counsels of wisdom would, on the face of it, appear to be both sound and wholesome. At the same time, however, it would be evading realities if one were to ignore first causes which have now led to the wholesale exploitation of student situations by different political parties for their respective political ends. In any dispassionate analysis of first causes, it would be impossible to ignore the fact that the Congress must be held to have been the original sinner in the sinister game of exploiting the students and their supposed causes, a

process which appears now to have magnified and widened to absolutely threatening proportions. As early as 1921, when Mahatma Gandhi launched his first Non-Cooperation Movement, he called upon the student community in India to quit their educational institutions, their "ghulam khanas" as he described them, presumably to add grist and momentum to his mammoth political movement against the then British administration. Educational leaders and others appealed then to the Mahatma to keep the students out of it, without any heed being paid to their frantic appeal. Later, other Congress leaders have frequently used the student community for their political purposes from time to time in different parts of the country. Students are naturally idealistic, gullible and all too easily excitable; our leaders have never hesitated to exploit their sense of idealism, gullibility and excitability for their limited political objectives from time to time. That in the process they have also been breeding a dangerous sense of indiscipline among them by forcing them away from their studies—which should have been, at the student stage of their careers, their sole and most important pre-occupation—was an inevitability which did not seem to disturb the thinking and the conscience of our Congress leaders. There is indisputable evidence to prove that even after Independence, the Congress as well as the Opposition political parties have all along been using and exploiting the students in their political campaigns, including their election campaigns. Congress leaders must accept primary responsibility for sowing

the seeds which have now sprouted into violent and indisciplined student mobocracy all over the country. To issue counsels of perfection like that political parties should not use the students for their political purposes, would be something like expecting a superstructure to remain standing and firm after its foundations had been deliberately and mercilessly pulled down. What is really needed is a dispassionate assessment of the measures that would be likely to arrest the rot, the magnitude and the violence of which now threatens to pull the entire social fabric of the nation down to dust and ashes.

It is heartening to notice that the Union Education Ministry appears to have been recently addressing itself to this very necessary and onerous task. In a study of the student situation reported to have been undertaken by the Education Ministry, the present magnitude and quality of student unrest which have been more and more involving the whole nation, are said to have been ascribed to four principal causes,—(i) loss of leadership among the teaching community; (ii) growing economic difficulties which have been more and more affecting the life of the student and his studies; (iii) defects in the system of education, and (iv) loss of idealism among the students in general. But this assessment, by itself, is hardly enough to deal with the situation as it has been rapidly developing, especially during the last few years and months in the country. It is necessary also to assess the ultimate why's of these four principal causes to enable our leaders to arrive at any possible and realistic assessment of the measures that would be necessary to deal with these causes themselves.

Loss of Leadership Among Teachers

Traditionally, the teaching community in this country, despite all our economic and social lacks and the consequences suffered

by the teachers themselves of these lacks, have always been regarded as the one most reliable and balancing factor in protecting the social fabric against its disruptive environments. The teacher has always been financially among the poorest sections of the community; a small community of dedicated intellectuals who, despite the condition of almost near-indigence, in the midst of which they were obliged to carry on their mission, were nevertheless wholly and conscientiously devoted to the adequate and wholesome discharge of the stupendous responsibilities of their chosen vocation. Society recognized the vital responsibilities borne by the teaching community,—their unshakable rectitude, their invincible integrity in the face of the direst difficulties, the effulgence of their character, which would never under any circumstances compromise with evil and untruth—and accord to them, with a due sense of gratefulness and admiration, the position of supreme leaders of society which no one would question or doubt. In short, society had a sense of values which accorded the highest regard to character and those who had set themselves the task of maintaining its level among the future generations. That was accepted by the teachers as all the reward they could desire for the privations and deprivations in the midst of which they had to carry on their responsibilities.

The impact of the forces of materialism gradually started to break down this old order in society, which accorded only a second place to the ruling community below that of the teachers, with the inevitable breakdown that changes in society's sense of values were involved. Material wealth, and the power that it invests the wealthy with, began to gradually but inevitably usurp the position which was traditionally that of the teacher in society and force the latter down to a position of comparative dependence and subservience from that of his former position of indisputable leadership. The change was, necessarily,

only very gradual at the beginning but began to gather increasing momentum as time passed and acquired a terribly accelerated pace during the nearly two decades that have gone by after Independence. With the change in values the teacher began to lose also his influence upon his pupils and, in the materially changed context of society after Independence, he has almost wholly lost it. The bona fide teacher, who had a real vocation for his job, was faced with either of two—both dire—alternatives. He had either to drift with the current of the times and accept his changed position of dependence upon and subservience to those who had usurped his former position—a process which was possible by reason of the changed context in society's **sense of values**—or wholly get out of it, if he can, and seek a living, however unsatisfying, elsewhere, rather than accept the degradations and the frustrations of this social demotion. This was a process which has been going on visibly, **almost overtly**, under society's open and naked eyes, but unfortunately no one, neither our national leaders nor the intellectual community as whole, appeared to have been ever seized of the situation or, if they were, to have been concerned by it. The teacher could never be a **demagogue**, nor could he bring himself to compromise with a situation in which he would be bound to lose his influence and leadership upon and of his pupils; he could only deal with the evil that had been rearing its head if he were able to maintain his effective leadership over his pupils by patiently and painstakingly restoring the old sense of values over a long period of time covering the lives of a few generations in the future, but that would be possible only if society as a whole was prepared to enable the necessary conditions to be regenerated under which the teacher could effectively function again. Let alone society, that amorphous and indeterminate mass, not even our national leaders nor the leaders of Government, appeared to have had any awareness of the dangerous implications of the process of breakdown in values that society was passing through and the dire and urgent need to deal with it in a determined and effective manner, to stop the rot before it had spread too far into the very vitals of the social fabric. The teaching community as we know them, who, by their character and attainments were truly equipped to exercise effective leadership over their pupils have, inevitably, in the process, become a casualty and have become all but wholly extinct. Those who have taken their places to-day are, by and large, except for a very occasional and honourable exception here and there, mostly a motley crowd of career-seekers only who have hardly any vocation for the responsibilities they have undertaken and which they are generally seldom equipped to bear, either by precept or by example. Who could ever imagine a flagwagging, slogan-shouting community of teachers leaving their class rooms to roam the streets and highways of our cities? Are their slogans their precepts to their pupils and their processions the examples that they may wish the latter to emulate? If this does not give the jitters to those who have the welfare and the future of their nation at heart, nothing ever will. Apparently the Government, and the leaders of the political party from which the Government is drawn, have now become jittery enough, but merely blaming it all on some one else will neither remedy the situation nor provide any kind of satisfaction even otherwise. What has really got to be done is to think out **effective ways and means** of restoring their traditional position of respect of and leadership over society to the teaching community. The Government, apparently, are not capable of thinking this out, if at all they are capable of any kind of thinking; they could draft those who could do this for them and act according to their recommendations. Merely raising the money value of their jobs for the teachers will not, however, be any kind of a remedy,

although it is desirable that the teacher should have more wholesome emoluments; what must be done is to restore to the teacher his traditional position in society which alone, in turn, could restore his lost leadership over his students. This, the Government and the national leaders must clearly understand. Only in such circumstances could society expect those who have a real vocation for this apparently poverty-stricken but otherwise highly rewarding career, to be drawn back to the job. The man with the long purse must no longer be allowed to dominate the educational field as, apparently, they dominate the counsels of the Government.

Economic Difficulties

The economic difficulties of the nation, which have been increasingly and rapidly assuming proportions of near-breakdown of the basic dynamics of the national economy except, of course, for the favoured few who have been gathering grist for themselves from the process, naturally affect the lives and the outlook of the community of students. In the old order of society, it was the intelligentsia who provided the lead and the ruling classes ruled the country according to the precepts provided by the intelligentsia. That order has been wholly reversed. The intelligentsia are a much neglected, much derided community of no importance to-day who are to be occasionally used at the convenience of the ruling classes for providing a facade of pseudo-independence and pseudo-intellectualism to the decisions and programmes that the ruling classes may choose to pursue, but are neither respected nor listened to when they do not suit the latter's convenience. There is hardly any doubt to-day that it is the man with the long purse,—the really favoured and microscopically small sector in the community—who dominate the ruling classes. And all the so-called programmes of deve-

lopment and progress that are initiated and put into effect by the ruling community are really for the benefit of the dominant community. It is they who finance the Government into power and it is only the expression of a natural and inevitable law that the one who pays to establish and maintain the Government into power should also have the right to call the tune to which the Government must dance.

At the juncture of Independence, the economy of the nation, especially after the weighted division of assets with Pakistan, was in poor enough condition. The Government conceived the idea of planned development under over-all Government aegis. The idea apparently was to inject additional propulsive forces into the dynamics of the economy than the normal and naturally very slow process and quantum of capital formation would be able to do, with a view to accelerate the process of economic development. The Plan, it was felt, was especially necessary not merely to accelerate development, but also to ensure a coordinated balance in the process so that a stage of self-generating momentum may be acquired as rapidly as circumstances and the actual volume of development in each five-year period would permit. Initially intentions might have been honest enough. But by result, the process of development appeared, increasingly, to be accompanied by inflationary pressures which the Government did not know how to withstand or eliminate, and which had the inevitable effect of channeling most of the benefits of such development into certain predetermined and, in advance, well-equipped pools at the cost and to the deprivation of the nation as a whole. These inflationary pressures have been assessed by persons competent enough to work out the exercise, to have been mainly due to imbalances in plan-priorities and employment of capital for purposes of investment, as well as the inadequacies in actual implementation of plan projects. The process has been

additionally boosted by speculative pressures upon essential supplies with the employment of resources which are beyond the normal fiscal and monetary disciplines of society. These have been forces which were not merely apparent but which have been visibly gathering accelerating, command over the economy and which the Government were either powerless or unwilling to effectively deal with or even circumscribe.

All this has also been admitted by Government. Uninvolved experts, both within the country and outside, have counselled considerable deceleration in the planning process; some, including the late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, have even advised a pause in planning until a measure of stability could be restored in the economy even at its admittedly low level of development. Logic demanded that this were done without the least hesitation. But apparently the interests of a favoured sector demands that the process must go on even if it were unavoidable to accept a measure of attenuation in its size in real terms. Logic inevitably loses to the interests that must be upheld **at any cost to the nation that it may involve.**

Mentioning merely that economic difficulties of the nation were one of the principal causes of the current volume of student unrest in the country while at the same time carrying on the process that would be bound to accentuate these difficulties, would appear to be very much like wanting to preserve the cake intact which one had already eaten out of existence. The Government and the Education Ministry in particular must be able to do better than to merely trot out excuses without any intention of dealing with first causes at their roots. There is not the least doubt that the enveloping economic gloom has been affecting the lives and outlooks of our students. If the Government have any care for the future, they should take heed and act effectively even at this rather late

hour of chances are that chaos would inevitably ensue which they would, with all the threat of arms, be wholly powerless to cope with.

System of Education

After independence the Government have, from time to time, appointed several Commissions and innumerable committees here and there to assess the problems of education at all levels in the country and to make recommendations as to how the structure of education could not merely be made more broad-based than it has been, but also more effective in its operational dynamics. Unfortunately, but for a few exceptional instances, most of these commissions and committees have been primarily politically motivated. Leaders of the ruling party have been drafted into the counsels of many committees etc. who, by even stretching the meaning of words to the uttermost, could never be described as being themselves even remotely educated. By and large our educational institutions, including universities, are very largely dominated by political interests and influences. Most universities in the country are either headed by political figure-heads or eminent jurists but rarely any of whom has ever had anything to do with education as such at its basic levels. Drafting retired jurists into the administrative leadership of our universities has been an old tradition left behind by the British Government. Admittedly there have been jurist Vice-chancellors of many of our universities in the past whose contributions to the cause of university education and fundamental research would always remain unforgettable. But society does not seem to breed that kind of men to-day, and creative jurists of the type whose contributions as Vice-chancellors of universities would always remain memorable are seldom to be found. In addition our Government appear to have got into a new habit of drafting retired civil

service officials also into the services of universities. The demand for these offices to be given only to bona fide educationists of experience and creative contributions in the area of their own discipline has remained, by and large, ignored.

It is only inevitable that there would be glaring defects in our present system of education. It also remains woefully inadequate in its absorption capacity in proportion to our minimal basic requirements. Frustrations among the students and violent reactions as a consequence were bound to be inevitable. In all these 19 years after Independence the Government have done nothing to remedy this. Merely accepting the problem does not eliminate it! It is obvious that the whole problem of education in the country from the basic preparatory levels through the levels of primary education to graduate and post-graduate education calls for urgent thinking *de novo*. The Ministry of education or its bureaucratic administration are neither competent nor educated enough for the job. The University Grants Commission also appears to be hardly fit to undertake the responsibilities of such an investigation. Experienced and independent-minded educationists, creative thinkers, in all levels of the professions, should be gathered together to take the problem in hand and provide the lead necessary to deal effectively with it. What do the Government propose to do in that respect?

Loss of Idealism

The last of the Education Ministry's findings among the causes leading to student unrest and indiscipline, relate to the alleged loss of idealism among the student community. **Forthright speaking, without either fear or favour would seem to be the very last requirement of the situation.** The Education Ministry speaks glibly of the loss of idealism among the students. Where, at what level of society, may we ask, is

any vestige of idealism left surviving to-day? Or is it expected that while expediency may have replaced idealism at all other levels of society, it must nevertheless be preserved by some unexplained fluke of causuistry, among our community of students? Expediency rules society to-day at all levels. This urgent sense of expediency—and subservience to expediency inescapably means compromising with evil at every step—rules his home, it vitiates the atmosphere which he has to breathe; expediency informs the decisions and actions of the nation's political leaders, whether of the ruling party or of the opposition; it even conditions the behaviour of his so-called teachers, and yet our Education Ministry expect that the students must continue to remain idealistic. Could absurdity be carried any further? No man, young or old, callow or hardened, can be bred in complete isolation from his environments and no more can our students. His restlessness, his destructive and violent potentialities which it would be impossible for even the strongest arsenals of power of the most powerful Government in the world to effectively cope with, appear now to have begun to breed a fear-trauma in the counsels of Government; hence, apparently, all these pious admissions of fact and counsels of wisdom. But these by themselves, would not avert the disaster that seems to loom ahead. This is an inescapable truth which the Government and our so-called national leaders must realise.

Crop Estimates of the India Government

The Government of India have, on more than one occasion, been criticized by others for the slipshod manner in which they are usually prone to publish statistical estimates of the prospects of the country's food harvest. The manner of doing so has, often, been suspected, not without reason, that the Government's crop estimates are made to follow certain well-worn patterns

which invariably seek to suggest that the country is perpetually on the brink of famine conditions so far as production of food grains within the country is concerned. In other words, for the last several years, especially following the mid-term reappraisal of Third Plan achievements—which were proved to have fallen woefully short of estimated targets in every field of endeavour including agricultural production—the Food Ministry of the Government of India has been prone to deliberately play down estimates of food grains production. Naturally enough, therefore, Government's published datas in this behalf have never been considered, by detached and dispassionate observers, to be even approximately reliable. The glibness with which the statistical wing of the Food Ministry are usually apt to amend their estimates of production from time to time relating to the harvest of the same year, only serves to harden this suspicion of unreliability and the apprehension gains ground that these estimates are coloured in accordance with the political needs of the ruling party at the moment of their publication.

Equally unreal and unreliable would appear to be their estimates of consumption demand. For instance, the Union Ministry of Food have estimated that production of cereals during the 1965-66 harvest had been considerably less than that of the preceding year, which was originally assessed at 88 million tons and later played down to some 86 million tons. The 1965-66 harvest was originally assessed at some 79 million tonnes for all cereals put together, then played down to 77 million tons and finally put down at some 75 million tons. Current year's crop prospects have been estimated to be fairly bright and it has been anticipated that the harvest would again be likely to touch the all-time peak level of 86 million tons obtained during 1964-65. The import requirements of the country of food cereals are reported to have been assessed at 18 million tons for

1966-67. If our production for the year even falls short of the anticipated 86 million tons for the year then, according to the Government's assessment of import requirements for the year, our current demand would still be found to have been assessed at well over a 100 million tons. The Government appear to have completely forgotten about their past determination to lay by a substantial buffer stock of foodgrains under public control to enable bad harvest years to be comfortably tided over without its adverse effects being translated into material shortages in supply and corresponding price pressures. As the Chairman of the Food Corporation of India asserted some time ago, we have been living on a ship-to-kitchen basis for a considerable time now preventing any opportunity for laying by stocks for possible rainy days ahead.

All sorts of controls and restrictions circumscribe the processes of movement and market supplies of foodgrains. In addition regional procurement programmes of certain State Governments as well as the procurement machinery of the centrally administered Foodgrains Corporation of India import further complications into the process and affect the quantum of market supplies of foodgrains. The presumption obviously is that under conditions of foodgrains production within the country falling substantially short of basic consumption requirements, these instruments of policy are a necessity to enable the Government to contain otherwise inevitable speculative and consequent price pressures on an essential consumption commodity like foodgrains in marginal supply. Unfortunately, however, there does not seem to have been any realistic estimates of our basic consumption requirements of foodgrains by any of the various statistical agencies of the Government. In a publication released by the Planning Commission some years ago, it was estimated that although a per capita supply of 18 oz. per adult per day of cereals

should be considered adequate in relation to the traditional nutritional patterns in the country, the minimum supply should not fall short of 16 oz. per adult per day under any circumstances. In the regions of the country where statutory and modified rationing systems have been introduced and enforced,—as for instance in certain areas of the West Bengal State, the quantum of cereal supply per adult per day in statutorily rationed areas—where no one can, without violating the law, procure even a single grain of additional foodgrain—aggregates less than 10 oz. This is a quantum of cereal ration which was previously declared by one of the most important agencies of the Government of India, viz., the Planning Commission, to be well below the basic subsistence level.

What, then is the actual position? The population of the country, according to an interim estimate released by the office of the Census Commissioner of India, is now estimated to aggregate just short of 500 milns. Assuming that the proportional distribution of population by age groups has remained substantially unaltered from those of the two immediately preceding census enumerations (in 1951 and 1961), a little over 36 per cent of the total population would belong to the age groups below 8 years and a little less than 64 per cent to the groups above 8 years of age. Allocating a daily 16 oz. supply to those in the age group 8 years and above, therefore, the actual total consumption supply needed would be just marginally above 52 million tons in a whole year; and for half that quantity for those in the various age groups from 0 years to 8 years, the supply required would be just marginally short of 15 million tons. The actual basic consumption requirements of the total population of the country of food cereals at this level of allocation would aggregate some 67, or to round off the figure, no more than 70 million tons in a whole year. If our gross production is really in the region of some 80 million tons

a year, even after allocating the traditional 10 per cent of basic consumption demands for unavoidable wastage and seed grains, there should still be a surplus of some 6 million tons a year at present levels of production available for covering more concentrated urban demands. It should be obvious, therefore, that there is actually no physical shortage of food cereals in the country; all the shortages obviously arise out of various kinds of speculative pressures upon prices and supplies. Government's food policies, it would not be considered unreasonable to contend, have been mainly responsible for stimulating and fostering these speculative pressures. For one thing, cordoning off so-called surplus and deficit production areas from one another—the so-called zonal system devised by our highly imaginative Union Food Ministry—prevents free movements of grains across the country and consequently affects both supplies and prices. This encourages the development of regional pressures. A very apt case in point is that large area in West Bengal which lies on the peripheries of the statutorily rationed areas in and around Calcutta metropolitan district. While the open market price of rice in most areas of the State has sagged with the oncoming harvest season to somewhere around Re. 1.50 per kg. retail from somewhere around Rs. 2.25 per kg. less than three weeks ago, the price in the area aforementioned has only marginally sagged now to around Rs. 2.12 per kg. from around Rs. 2.40 per kg. until only a week ago as we write. And it would be safe to forecast that so long as the cordons are maintained, prices even after the new harvest has been gathered would not be likely to fall very much below Rs. 2.00 per kg. while further away in the districts they are very likely to fall further substantially. Market-riggers anticipate that in the districts the open market price of rice immediately following the new harvest would fall to somewhere around Re. 1.00 per kg. although it is almost certain that

this level of the new harvest price in the retail market would be maintained only for a very short few weeks.

But to revert to the matter of the Government's crop estimates and the relative estimates of deficit in food grains supply. By some unknown twist of figures the Government have constantly been trying to demonstrate that our production of food cereals fall woefully short of basic consumption requirements. Hence they go abegging abroad for assisted food imports—as for instance under the terms of the U.S. PL 480—to cover these alleged shortages as far as possible. During the current year, for instance, the Union Food Minister started his usual annual rampage in this behalf by initially and allegedly tentatively estimating the current year's deficit at 2 million tons. But as the days passed the figure of this alleged deficit went on rapidly mounting upwards until it has now reached the staggering 18 million mark. Washington was naturally feeling that the Government of India have been trying its credibility a little too high in view of the pressing requests from New Delhi for such magnitude of PL 480 food assistance. The Director General of the Food and Agricultural Organization, who has often interceded on India's behalf for increased imports of food grains under special terms in the past, was not unnaturally quite openly suspicious and has been pressing upon the Government of India for a more realistic assessment by a new and more reliable special committee. One can easily understand Dr. B. R. Sen's embarrassments in this connection and sympathize. The further estimate of the following year's estimated deficit of only 8 million tons trotted out by the Union Food Ministry in the meanwhile, is hardly a face-saver and poor consolation for such eminent Indians serving as the head of a world mission like the FAO, as Dr. Benoy Ranjan Sen.

What is at the root of these apparent juggleries with figures in the Union Ministry?

The Government's indulgent supporters are apt to plead—on those occasions when the former are caught off on their wrong foot—that there may be something wrong with the methods in arriving at these estimates by the concerned agencies of the Government on whom the Food Ministry has, willy nilly, to depend. Others are apt to plead that most of the responsibility for basing estimates on wrong assessment of figures is clearly that of the State Governments, who handle the matter at the floor levels, and not that of the Union Food Ministry. But this exercise in absurdity has been going on long enough now to find condonation anywhere and on any ground. If the State Governments have been primarily responsible, it was the business of the Union Food Ministry to compel them to revise their methods and conclusions. In any case, the real and ultimate responsibility is that of the Union Government and it is they who must be held accountable. One cannot, however, get rid of the suspicion that this exercise in absurdities which has been consistently and steadfastly and continuously indulged by the Government over the years, was not merely a simple matter of arithmetical error. We, in these columns and others elsewhere, have from time to time published assessments of our realistic estimates of the national consumption demand for food grains. But little heed, if any, has ever been paid by the Government to these discussions and assessments. In fact they have ignored all the numerous estimates of their assessment of the national food deficit consistently and without deviation. This only hardens the suspicion, that their arithmetical errors in this behalf have been deliberate and intentional. The obvious purpose would seem to confuse a generally not too well-informed but usually all too gullible public about the realities of the food supply situation in the country.

We have already seen in the foregoing discussion that there is no actual physical deficit in our food production which is just

comfortable enough to cover our gross consumption requirements. The shortages in market supplies, however, have become quite endemic over the years and price pressures have continually and correspondingly increased. Government's estimates of production and so-called consumption requirements published from time to time only encourage these pressures because the burden of their tale has invariably been that we are in woefully short supply from which there is no prospect of any visible early relief. The figures of estimated deficit and corresponding import requirements would appear to have been colossally inflated this year especially and if this deliberate inflation of the estimates of deficits were to be ascribed to this being the pre-election year, no one could be legitimately blamed for harbouring such unworthy suspicions. For, it is notorious that the bulk of the party's election funds are derived from donations from the trade. It is equally reasonable to apprehend that the trade would not be so generously willing to finance the re-election of our present rulers back to power, unless it were made worth their while to do so. The so-called national food problem, which has come to be recognised as a chronic national malady defeating all endeavours towards a reasonable solution would seem, on the face of the hard facts analyzed and discussed above, to be part of a conspiracy in which the Government on the one side and the trade on the other are involved. If we are wrong in our supposition in this behalf—and we most devoutly hope that we may be wrong—then the only other conclusion would seem to be that our present Government are comprised of such arrant imbeciles that let alone effectively administer the country, they are even unable to do the simplest sums in elementary arithmetic.

The Industrial Finance Corporation of India

The eighteenth annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India,

recently released at its annual general meeting for the year ending 30 June 1966, reveals that during the year under report financial assistance aggregating Rs.43.52 crores was granted by the Corporation to 96 industrial units, of which Rs. 23.11 crores went to new industrial enterprises and the balance were given to old borrowers from the Corporation for purposes of either renovation, expansion or modernization of existing units, as the case may be. Assistance within the year under report totalled Rs. 30.37 crores, which included guarantees without any corresponding cash outgoes. Actual cash assistance rendered aggregated 28.20 crores. Rupee loans aggregated 26.10 crores, foreign currency loans Rs. 9.34 crores and underwritings Rs. 4.90 crores. Both in respect of loans sanctioned and actual disbursement of cash loans, this year's figures indicate the highest level ever reached by the Corporation since its inception eighteen years ago.

The effective rate of interest charged by the Corporation from its borrowers in respect of foreign currency loans is $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the corresponding rate for rupee loans being 8 per cent. It is claimed that these rates compare favourably with,—are, indeed, lower than the rates charged by ordinary commercial banks on their short and medium term advances. There are, however, outstandings of previously granted loans aggregating Rs. 29 crores on which interest was being charged at only $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and a further block of Rs. 34 crores which was lent out at 7 per cent. The Corporation might have chosen, in accordance with the terms of their agreements with the borrowers concerned, to step up these rates to correspond more nearly with current market rates, but this option has not been exercised so far, although in that event it might have been possible to correspondingly augment the funds of the Corporation to a more desirable level.

The gross aggregate financial assistance provided by the Corporation during the 18

years since its first inception and until 30th June, 1966, has been of the order of Rs. 358.38 crores; of this net assistance amounting to Rs. 196.30 crores was given to new enterprises and the balance went to already existing industrial concerns for purposes of modernization, expansion etc.

Of the 210 concerns from whom repayment instalments of loans are due, 187 were already in production and the rest in various stages of construction and equipment. 60 of these 187 concerns were reported to have still been incurring losses during the year under report; 94 declared equity dividends—56 maintained the previous year's rate of dividend, 26 declared dividends at a higher rate, and 12 were obliged to reduce their rates of dividends—and the rest were unable to offer any dividends to their stockholders.

The report is forthright enough to concede that economic prospects immediately ahead of the country appear to bristle with difficulties and forebodings; agricultural production has remained poor and uninvigorating, price levels have continued to rise unpleasantly, industrial growth has been faltering, the capital market has remained sluggish and unresponsive to the blandishments offered to new enterprises by the last Union Budget by way of tax concessions to corporations and individual shareholders and, it is frankly admitted, the measure and manner of offering artificial respiration to industry by the IFC has been unable, so far, to produce any enduring or encouraging result.

In this context the sudden devaluation of the rupee, whatever may be its long-term effects, have accentuated immediate cash needs of industrial enterprises and, for many of them, also their future liabilities. The number of pending projects for which the Corporation sanctioned assistance on the basis of pre-devaluation assumptions and which had not yet gone into production until the end of June 1966, is about 150, and in such cases the promoters concerned will

have to assume a far heavier burden of capital liabilities than originally estimated for or arranged and it is very possible that in these cases additional outside assistance of a much larger order than earlier envisaged will have to be provided for.

The Corporation, it is reported, had already apprehended that the short-term outlook for new industrial units may not be very buoyant in the immediate future; it had been working out a system of priorities, according high priorities to defence oriented industries which, however, have not so far made any claims upon the Corporation's resources; then food processing industries and so on. In the murky financial and economic situation which has been prevailing in the country, urgent re-thinking on certain basic problems would seem to be immediately called for. After all, initiation or establishment of new industries cannot be deemed to be an end in itself without a cohesive and sustainable purpose to fit into a well ordered pattern of balanced development. To ensure this it has become urgently necessary to draw a sharp line between what is merely desirable and what is really and urgently necessary in the field of industry to enable a system of clear priorities to be determined and conformed to from which there should be no deviation without good and adequate reason which is able to stand the test of public judgment and scrutiny; Government's participation in industrial enterprises outside the public sector should be preceded by careful consideration and followed by continuous vigilance of the concern's affairs especially because such participation by Government in a private sector concern would be backed by the taxpayers' money correspondingly enhancing the Government's responsibilities in the matter and, finally,—a matter of admittedly very wide controversial potentialities,—careful consideration should be accorded to the question as to whether our present interest rates structure, which contrary to its tradi-

tical contra-inflationary role in the economy appears to have been serving quite an opposite purpose by results, could not possibly be better ordered than it is at present.

Sudden Fall in Rice Prices

With the principal new paddy harvest of the year still nearly 6 to 8 weeks away, a rather inexplicable phenomenon appears to have been supervening upon the open market supplies and prices of rice in West Bengal. In the areas on the immediate peripheries of the statutorily ration-bound metropolitan city of Greater Calcutta, the open market retail price of rice suddenly started to sag over the past two weeks as we write. Reports from the districts—rice-surplus areas like Rampurhat, Sewri, the Galsi area of Burdwan etc.,—seem to indicate even steeper incidences of fall in this respect. A survey personally conducted by the writer on 16.10.66 appeared to demonstrate the following trends:

Name of market	Retail price per Kg. on 2.10.66	Retail price of rice per kg. on 16.10.66
Bansdroni Garia Anchal New Barrackpore—	Rs. 2.40 p.	Rs. 1.80 p.
Madhyamgram Anchal	Rs. 2.00 „	Rs. 1.05 „
Kanchrapara-Kalyani area	Rs. 2.25 „	Rs. 1.20 „
Thakurpukur Anchal	Rs. 2.25 „	Rs. 1.10 „

This new symptom cannot be explained by any of the normal incidences of fluctuation in market supplies and demands. This, on the contrary, is the season when supplies suffer considerable attenuation, while being the principal festival season of the year in this part of the country, demand is at its highest; with consequential hardening of prices at all levels. Extraordinarily enough, instead of any attenuation in supplies, the market appears to be suddenly flooded and, despite normally increased demand, prices to have steeply and significantly fallen.

What, then, is it that can explain the real significance of this abnormal situation? Has this sudden flooding of the market with rice supplies—an essential commodity which, according to Government statements from time to time, has been in critically short supply throughout the year—any relation with the on-coming general elections within the next four months?

There can be no doubt that the food trade has, so far, been traditionally supplying the bulk of the finance that has enabled the Congress party to win overwhelming majorities at the last three general elections. The Government, it is only reasonable to suspect, have been compensating the trade for its generosity to the party during election times by so formulating and executing their so-called food policy, that the trade has been, throughout, the greatest beneficiaries of this policy. But, in the ultimate analysis, it is the people, who have been kept half-fed and half-naked

for the benefit of the trade, who wield the real power of choice, even if they may not, so far, have been quite consciously aware of it. But the pinch of hunger and deprivation in respect of every item of their primary wants, have been making them increasingly conscious of this power in the desperation of their want and helplessness. The Congress party's reputation generally all over the country and especially so in West Bengal has been becoming increasingly murky; in fact, according to some prophets its prospects at the on-coming elections are more than a little hazy.

Is the present inexplicable and extraordinary lift in the volume of market supply of rice and the sudden corresponding fall in prices a collusive and desparate endeavour jointly by the Congress Party Government and the food trade to create a more favourable atmosphere in the former's favour at the coming elections? Clearly, the trade stands to loose as much as the party itself if the verdict of the electorates go significantly against the ruling party at the next polls. Clearly, again, this present price-rigging could benefit the trade in the traditional way, by enabling them to lay by larger hoards at much cheaper costs at the time of the new harvest and then by exploiting the situation, perhaps even more ruthlessly and callously than ever before, immediately after the elections have been over and the Congress has again been established overwhelmingly in power.

Life Insurance Premium Rates

Nearly a hundred years after the business of life insurance was first organized in this country, it is still being claimed by the industry that it remained what is generally known by the phrase, "an infant industry." We ran the industry, albeit fairly successfully generally, on wholly borrowed techniques and procedures. Nearly half a century after the largest life insurance selling unit in the country—the old Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co. Ltd—had first commenced business, it pioneered the first of our indigenous mortality tables, although for nearly the three following decades it still continued to formulate its premium rates structure on the basis of the old British OM⁵ mortality tables with an arbitrary and rule of thumb rating up of the assumed age at entry varying, usually, between 5 and 10 years. Interest rates for purposes of formulating the premium table was, likewise in imitation of British standard

practices in this behalf, generally assumed at 2½ per cent, although actual net interest rates earned as revealed in valuation reports from time to time, proved consistently to be considerably higher than the assumed rates even when the bulk of the life insurance companies' investments were mainly in Government Securities or like and firm gilt-edged securities. Expense loads also, generally, were assumed at anywhere between 20 and 30 per cent by the more progressive and successful companies. Altogether, the result was a very high premium rates structure far beyond the paying capacities of most potential clients whose interests were expected to be served the most beneficently by the life insurance companies. An elementary lesson of economics that prices must conform to the paying capacity of the potential buyer was generally always forgotten or ignored. As a result life insurance as a whole remained a comparatively backward enterprise in that the coverage offered by it was only infinitesimal compared to the needs of society.

One significant paradox of the whole situation was that with a much lower average standard and cost of living in the country compared to that in Britain, the actual load of expenses in administering the business and the corresponding expenses load assumed in constructing the premium table always remained incomparably higher with, of course, very honourable exceptions as represented by one or two individual instances. The explanation for this paradox was generally two-fold; the general inefficiency of administration, again, but for a few honourable cases of exception; and the lack of economic viability of most individual units engaging in this business. The principal victims of this state of affairs were, inevitably, the actual and the potential policyholders.

When the business was nationalized and integrated under one unified administration some years ago, it was generally hoped

that lacks in this behalf would be repaired with promptness and fairness. Immediately before nationalization one or two companies had actually reduced their premium rates to a certain extent in view of the improving interest-earning capacity on investments during the years following independence and our national schemes of planned development. Interest rates have considerably hardened during the years following nationalization and the per capita yield of business of the life insurance worker as well as the average size of a policy have both considerably gone up. Nevertheless and, again, paradoxically, expense ratios refuse to come down. This would seem to be the only possible deterrent against a possible reduction in premia rates; for there has been considerable increases in net interest earnings as well as significant improvement in mortality averages, both of which should have contributed correspondingly to a reduction in the premia rates.

Recently there was a measure of public anticipation that premia rates would now soon come down to a certain extent. A recent press report, however, seems to indicate that such an expectation is destined to be belied for, it is understood, that the authorities have indicated that there is no immediate prospect of any improvement in this behalf in the foreseeable future. This is both deplorable and disappointing. There is no reason why there should not be a considerable measure of improvement in all the three factors which enter into premium-rate making; interest earnings have improved considerably and market trends demonstrate that there is every prospect of further substantial improvement in this behalf; actual mortality loads have significantly lightened; and there is ample scope for reduction in the expense load. There should, clearly, be an expert and bold inquiry into the workings of the nationalized Life Insurance Corporation of India.



Continued from Page 328

War and Peace

With the coming of Presidents Tito and Nasser to Delhi for a conference with the Indian Prime Minister; the political atmosphere of India became fragrant with hopes of Peace in Asia, at least for the time being. Everyone thought how beastly war was and how wonderful the world would be without mass slaughter of human beings and wide spread destruction of all those good things which make life worth living. But one only thought of stopping the fight in Vietnam without going into its causes. For that matter nobody thought of the causes of undeclared wars that the world had been experiencing in modern times. In the days of monarchy and imperialism, Kings and Emperors fought one another with a view to expand their kingdoms and empires. But with the passing of monarchies and empires and the coming of the free nations, the world no longer tolerated any open declarations of intent for conquests. Those who wanted to expand their territorial boundaries, did not disclose their true intentions, but left these undeclared or camouflaged by false descriptions of their desires. In this manner the Chinese did not conquer Tibet, but merely liberated the people of Tibet by making that great independent country a "region of China". Pakistan tried to make Kashmir a part of their own Islamic republic by force and undeclared warfare. In Vietnam the Chinese (and the Russians too) have tried to forcibly occupy South Vietnam by organising the Vietcong and by North Vietnamese troops. The Americans have gone "to the assistance of the South Vietnamese" in order to frustrate the (none too) secret designs of the communists in Vietnam. An undeclared war has thus come to exist in Vietnam in which several states are participating in a more or less open fashion.

In these circumstances if Egypt, Yugoslavia and India exhort the Americans to stop bombing North Vietnam; the Americans will most probably demand that the Chinese, the Russians and the North Vietnamese should undertake to keep off the grass in South Vietnam. For the real (undeclared) reason of the undeclared war in Vietnam is putting a stop to Communist expansion in South East Asia. If the Americans pull out of South Vietnam unconditionally, South-east Asia will very soon become totally Communist. That

may not suit the Thai, the Burmese, the Malayasians, the Indonesians, the Ceylonese and many others. It will also not suit India; but the Indian Government is unconscious of the true facts of the case. We can understand why India went to Tashkent or abided by the dictates of the U. N. but India cannot expect the Americans to stop fighting because three fairly low grade military powers requested them to do so. LBJ has made it quite clear too and has stated the conditions on which a cease fire can be expected.

China Faces The World

The Chinese put themselves above all other nations in their foreign as well as home policy. In forming friendship or in developing antagonism the Chinese look to their own advantage first. In planning the country's economy, the Chinese go for military self-sufficiency first and then for other things. The result of this wholehearted "my country first" outlook has now enabled China to face the world with a population of 700 million determined workers and fighters who have acquired great skill and ability in all those branches of science and industry which give productive and fighting strength to a nation. China's foreign policy is cunningly aggressive in so far as China does not usually engage in direct aggression; but helps friendly powers to commit aggression. China and Pakistan, China and North Vietnam, China and Indonesia (might have been), give one a good idea of how China attacks other nations. The Chinese have developed nuclear weapons of sound accuracy and delivery mechanism. She can now blast Delhi or Calcutta off the face of the Earth in a matter of seconds. The Indians, of course, are still steeped in their self-importance and sanctimoniousness. They cannot do this, they must not do that, and they, after all are the inheritors of the highest wisdom and morality that humanity has so far produced. The Indian leaders never stop to do a bit of self analysis and find out why, in spite of being the store house of all wisdom and goodness, they are not above common greed and the rampant onslaught of the other five *ripus*. The Chinese are progressively becoming more and more arrogant. They will soon begin to press into Indian territory and India's spheres of influence on a larger than ever scale. Sanctimonious utterances will not drive them out.

A BEAUTIFUL PIECE OF PRINTED MUGHAL TEXTILE

SUDHA BOSE

Of all phases of Mughal Arts and Crafts, Mughal craftsmen transformed the very useful printed textiles also occupy a significant place in the study of Mughal culture. Most of the Mughal Emperors were great patrons of the pictorial arts, as well as architecture. During the rule of Emperor Akbar and his grandson Shahajahan many magnificent buildings, monuments and memorials were set up. The pomp and splendour of the Mughal Court became proverbial and were commented on by many foreign travellers and ambassadors. The showy grandeurs of the Mughal Court and the royal amusements and sports attracted the foreign visitors very much.

When the Emperors with their courtiers and retainers moved out of the Imperial cities, they carried with them rows and forests of camps, tents and cloth towers made of fine printed textiles, to accommodate all their administrative and executive officers, ministers, advisers, treasurers, accountants and their army officers. There were separate tents for Emperors, their queens, sons and daughters and sometimes for foreign visitors. Mughal rulers went out usually on three purposes—warfare, hunting expeditions and travels.

Side by side with the development of building art, a new school of pictorial art was founded under the patronage of Akbar and fully developed during the reign of Jehangir, who was a great connoisseur of this art. He was also a passionate lover of animals and flowers. His Diary is full of vivid description proving his intense love for nature and its reflection on pictorial art.

Jehangir's love of flowers and foliages provided many peculiar and charming motifs in Mughal painting. The artists of the Mughal Court of his time started decorating the borders of the miniatures, well-known as *Háshiyas* with various types of plant and flower motifs, which gradually overflowed to other forms of arts and crafts.

The decorative patterns and ornamentations of the *hashiyas* of paintings influenced the mode of beautification of architecture also. With the change of materials the forms of the decorations were transformed into various new types of stylisation suitable to stones.

All newly evolved decorative patterns and designs found a new place in printed textiles and in that fresh application many novel forms and motifs also were introduced.

Mughal rulers and their courtiers developed very fine taste in their dresses, costumes and textiles. It is well-known that under their patronage the Shawl industry in Kashmere reached a high water mark. Besides all these forms of artistic crafts the art of printing of textiles, became a specialised one and a very useful art under royal patronage. This class of textile art was not the object of mere aesthetic indulgence. In this art

All the pomp and splendour of the Mughal Court were retained and repeated also in the moving "palaces". According to some foreign travellers the tents of the Emperors were the miniature forms of the Imperial city of Delhi, which included Darbar, Amkhas, Rangmahal, Gosalkhana (Drawing room) etc., and even Bazars. The tents for the Badshah and his harem were made of very beautifully decorated silk stuff. The outer walls of those *Patamandapas* were brilliant in their colours, while the insides were decorated with very nicely printed designs. In many Mughal miniatures also there are fine representations of such camps and tents.

We are able to cite here an example from the collection of Prof. O. C. Gangoly, a very beautiful and rare specimen of printed cotton textile, which once formed the inside of a Mughal tent. Each panel of the design contains a six-foiled arch, separated by pillars with knobs. Each panel is decorated with different types of plants, trees, flowers derived from nature and depicted with the skills of the best painters. We can recognise many of the flowers—narcissus, roses, lilies, jasmines and various other blossoms. In one panel we recognise an aerecanut-plant. The whole piece is set inside a narrow border in compact geometrical and flowery patterns.

The design of such printed textiles differs mostly from architectural models of decorative art, but it manifests a close affinity with Mughal pictorial idioms.

As regards the date of this piece of textile, we may assign it to the time of Shah Alam I (1707—1712), if not of Aurangzeb (1658—1707).

U. THANT

Vigilante

Lobbying has, once again, begun in the United Nations during the current session of the General Assembly to choose a successor to Mr. U. Thant. The dapper Burmese, who has been occupying the post of the Secretary-General for the last 9 years after the sad death of Dag Hammarskjöld, should he choose not to alter his decision to retire, would undoubtedly create acute embarrassment in the U.N.

It is not easy to guess how much he has missed away from home these long years. His private life has been almost sacrosanct and faultless and he has never talked about his personal ambitions or desires. It was only recently that he said something about Vietnam. Unable to restrain himself any longer he always draws attention to the recent history of Burma as an object lesson in the folly of Western Intervention in South-East Asia. Since 1948, when Burma gained its Independence, the country has suffered and overcome a Communist insurrection, which in early years threatened Rangoon and Mandalay.

Peking's Ultimatum

In 1954, the Prime Minister U. Nu and his friend and adviser, U. Thant, were summoned to Peking. They were told by Chou En-lai that he recognised their anti-Communist stand and he was prepared to accept any outcome of the Civil War provided it was fought out between the people themselves. But if there was any intervention by the Western powers, China would be compelled to intervene and take over.

Although no Chinese soldier crossed the Burmese border and no foreign power was invited by the Burmese people to help them, the Communist menace has been reduced to only occasional and sporadic outbursts in the North.

To U. Thant this is one of the strongest points about Vietnam. In his opinion China would not intervene in the affairs of any country provided the latter did not depend upon foreign arms, notwithstanding all propaganda that might be carried on by them in support of the Chinese point of view. He is opposed to the 'domino' theory and his opposition is shared by Burma, Thailand, Indonesia and North Vietnam.

It is rarely mentioned in the administrative circles of U.S.A. that what these countries fear is the resultant partition like in Korea, leaving the other half permanently in the hands of the Communists. They don't want a puppet like Syngman Rhee, although it would be too much to identify him as one.

That is the main worry in Hanoi about U.S.A.'s aims in Vietnam.

Not that U. Thant is very sure about long range American aims. He is convinced in his pragmatic way that no permanent peace can come to Asia so long as the Western powers' armies continue to be in the mainland. At the same time he regards American withdrawal as unrealistic and that could be done once cease fire is enforced and neutralisation is guaranteed to Vietnam and the International Control Commission is

set up to maintain peace. He felt strongly when U.S.A. rejected the Hanoi offer to meet in 1964 and talk.

To U. Thant there have come various suggestions about Vietnam. He is aware of Feking's indifference and that Hanoi's initiative is beset with difficulties and realises the danger of any move to declare U.S.A. as an aggressor. This would not be agreed to by many delegations in the General Assembly. Although there are strong reasons on both sides any discussion in the General Assembly would worsen the world situation in either case, whether U.S.A. is blamed or China is praised.

U. Thant believes he has been a failure in Vietnam and is of opinion that where he has failed his successor might do better. His continuance can only be if Hanoi and Washington both agree to talk on Vietnam.

The holding of the Manila Conference by President Johnson and the lull in the Vietnam Front highlights the pressure U. Thant seems to be exercising in the United Nations and on South-East Asian nations to end the conflict in Vietnam. The time table set by the President and endorsed by the 8-Nations is a step forward towards a solution. It is evident that U.S.A. would not like U. Thant to go carrying an impression likely to prove disadvantageous to President Johnson and endanger his international influence. Furthermore, the violent upsurge in China has convinced U.S.A. to be wary of any approach to Hanoi through Moscow. The more China is associated in South-East Asia the nearer the solution of Vietnam problem proves brighter. And if U. Thant is convinced that his stay would promote peace in South-East Asia he would stay.



ARCHAEOLOGY—A NEW VISTA

REBA BHOWANI

In the popular shelves of knowledge archaeology is a quite new name. Its appearance is still very thin, but there is reason to believe that although slowly but steadily it is capturing the public mind. People now grow interest in this subject ; they have developed an intelligent curiosity for it. Not to speak of the common man the educational world even had a very scornful attitude to the subject a few decades before. There was a time when it was looked down upon as a "science of broken pot". The subject had no recognised status as an independent branch of knowledge, now it was regarded as an offshoot of anthropology, now a branch of geology and then a section of history. But at present as the result of incessant and untiring labour of the archaeologists in the field and library—laboratory it has attained an admirable position. It is no more condemned as a secondary subject, its importance as a primary subject is established beyond doubt. It is now admitted as the "science of life".

Now the question arises what is the meaning of archaeology and what is the purpose achieved by its study ? The term archaeology is a compound word *archaeos* (ancient) and *logos* (discourse). So literal meaning of archaeology is the discourse of antiquities. But like many other terms this too is simply conventional. It conveys neither the essence nor the aim of the science. Truly speaking it is something greater and more intensive in its implication. It studies the antiquities not with the object to ascertain their merits and demerits as man-made artifacts or to give a list of objects known in the past. It holds these objects in a quite different light ; these are the tale-tell cultural remains of a particular

society in a particular place in a particular period of history. In the language of an eminent western scholar they are the "fossilised...human behaviour"¹; they reveal the material as well as the extra-material set up of a society, i. e., in which geographical and socio-economic conditions they had been produced. In short they have embodied in themselves the thought and conception of things and lives of the ancient folks, who have left behind no written records or anything else besides these. History pushes its stretch as far as the written documents go and keep silent about the period further back. But the written records cover only a negligible portion of the long story of mankind on the earth. So the problems left untouched by history are dealt in detail by archaeology. The actual contribution of archaeology in the treasure of our knowledge is very correctly ascertained by Prof. V. Gordonchilde when he says "Archaeology has revolutionised history. It has enlarged the spatial horizon of history in much the same degree as the telescope enlarged astronomy's vision of space. It has extended history's view backward in time a hundred fold, just as the microscope revealed to biology beneath the surface of gross bodies the lives of infinitesimal cells. Finally it has altered the content of historical study in much the same sort of way as radio activity affected chemistry."²

It has already been said that the main object of archaeologist is to recover and reconstruct the complete history of mankind,

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1. Piecing together the past. P. I., V. Gordonchilde.
 2. Progress of Archaeology, P. 2.

as much as practicable, in the oblivious past and it is with this end in view that he works with the material objects picked up and dug out from the surface and bottom of the earth. Indeed these constitute the only source for archaeological studies. And as such a big magnificent monument as well as a little potsherds of humble character are equally important in archaeological research.

The archaeological source materials include, in short, the tools, the potsherds, different kinds of art and commercial objects, various kinds of monuments such as structures, settlements, graves, etc. and etc.

By far, of all the relics of past, the tools appear to be the most important things with the archaeologists. And it was in accordance with the materials from which the tools were made the archaeologists have divided the history of mankind into Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age etc. By passing from the stone tools to iron tools man made a tremendous leap along the road of development and these relics enable us to trace that road. "Instruments of labour not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labour has attained, but they are also indicators of the social conditions under which that labour is carried on."³ In fact the process of social development is strikingly reflected by the tools. Although the tools are of capital importance to the archaeologists, the potsherds are of no little value. They are called the "archaeological alphabet of every country. Studied intelligently they reveal an important aspect of the life of the people who made them. For example at first potsherds were made by hand, but with the rise of class

society, with the separation of handicrafts from agriculture, articles made on a potter's sheds much light on phenomena of social life. But that is only one of the many things that a simple pot-herd tells us.

Apart from these small artifacts the monuments give a good reliable picture of the different stages of social evolution. These show how from open-air-settlement man struggled to get into a fortified town and city. The burial objects give a very vivid picture of their ideas about life and death.

But fortunately or unfortunately a very few relics or structures have remained on the surface of the earth. Most lie deep in the soil and wait the touch of the archaeologist's spade. Indeed a well-calculated and skilled excavation serves as a fresh-air-drawing ventilator in the archaeological framework. It is through the excavation that the new and unknown objects are brought to light and these on their turn cast new spell of light on the culture of mankind as a whole. So in archaeology the highest importance is attached to excavation. Admittedly, excavation, which is always preceded by exploration, forms the perennial source of fresh informations for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the history of mankind in all its aspects. There is no concealing the fact that although excavation work is not a sport or a recreation; and sincerely speaking a serious, responsible labour and "sometimes back-breaking" even, much of the charm and thrill of archaeology resides herein. A true archaeologist never fails to respond to its call. Indeed archaeology involves in the hard process of excavation and the reconstruction of the excavated matters for the attainment of a noble goal, i. e., the integrated picture of human culture.

3. Capital, Vol. I., P. 180 ; K. Marx.

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

ARJUNRAO DARSHANKAR

Finance is the fuel of administration. Economy in the administration is a *sine qua non* for good government, based on democratic principles. The people in a democratic country must have a say on the expenditure of the government. Every country has adopted one or the other method to see that the executive must spend the tax-payers' money with utmost care. Estimates Committee is one of the financial committees of the Parliament which exercises effective control on Government expenditure.

Among all the countries which follow the Commonwealth, type of Parliamentary system, U. K., Canada and India are the only countries which have the institution of Estimates Committee in their Parliamentary system.¹ The origin of the Estimates Committee was in U. K. in 1912, when a Select Committee on Estimates was formed. In subsequent years the Committee was re-appointed, but the outbreak of the World War brought an end to this Committee. Meanwhile select committees on National Expenditure were appointed till 1945, and in 1946 a select committee on Estimates was appointed.

The Canadian Estimates committee is hardly a decade old. The Canadian House of Commons since 1955, has been experimenting with a special committee on Estimates which is a marked departure in form, from previous practice.²

In India the first attempt to create a committee on Estimates was made in 1938. The Finance Member, Sir James Grigg suggested that the House should set up a machinery for continuous scrutiny of expenditure on the line of U. K.'s "Estimates Committee". The suggestion however did not find favour with the members of the opposition party and with that the matter was dropped. Following a memorandum by Shri M. N. Kaul, the secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India, which was strongly commended for adoption by the then speaker Shri G. V. Mavlankar, the Estimates Committee was set up for the first time in 1950, after the present Constitution came into force.³

Composition Of The Committee

The Estimates Committee in India is composed of the members of the Lok Sabha only. No member of the Rajya Sabha is included in the Committee. Members are elected by the system of Proportional representation and single transferable vote. All the political parties are represented in the Committee. The total membership of the Indian Committee is thirty, while the Committee in U. K. consists of thirty-six members and Canadian committee consists of twenty-six members.

In U. K. the chairman is elected by the members of the committee. In Canada too Chairman is chosen by the members. But this right of selection of Chairman is not given to the members of the Indian Estimates Committee. In India Chairman of the Estimates Committee is appointed by the

1. S. L. Shakdhar—Two Estimates Committee—I.J.P.A., Oct.-Dec., 1959, P 388.
2. Narman Ward—A Canadian Committee on Estimates—Parliamentary Affairs, London, 1956-57, Vol. X, No. 1, P. 4.

3. S. L. Shakdhar—P. 389.

Speaker of the Lok Sabha, and he is preferably from the ruling party. It is also provided that if the Deputy Speaker happens to be a member of the Committee, he becomes the Ex-Officio Chairman of the Committee.

In India no Minister is included in the committee. If any member is appointed as a Minister, he ceases to be a member of the committee. No member of the Committee can be a member of a committee appointed by Government for examination of a matter which is concurrently under the examination of the Committee. In U. K. there is no such rule, but by convention ministers are not appointed as members of the Committee. In Canada, the minister, whose estimates are being scrutinized becomes a member of the Committee.⁴

The term of office of the member elected is one year. However, a convention was established since 1956-57 that as far as possible one-third of the members of the Committee may be retired annually so as to enable the succeeding committees to have the benefit of continuity. It may be added that suggestions were also made to fix the tenure for a period of two years successively, as most of them do not seek re-election to the Committee for the next year.⁵ The secretariat of the Committee is provided by Parliament Secretariat and due to this an independent atmosphere prevails in its secretariat.

Functions Of The Committee

In the U. K. the main terms of the Committee are stated in the motion and their amplitude and scope have been determined by conventions and practice from time to time. The motion, which is brought before every

session of the house for the appointment of the Committee, states the terms of the Committee in the following words, "that a Select Committee be appointed to examine such of the estimates presented to this House as may seem fit to the Committee and to report what, if any, economies consistent with the policy implied in these estimates may be effected therein and to suggest the form in which the estimates shall be presented for examination".⁶

The functions of the Canadian Estimates Committee are enumerated in a resolution of the House of Commons of 8th February 1955 which states "that a select committee to be designated be appointed to consider such of the estimates as may be referred to it and to report from time to time its finding and recommendations to the House".⁷

In India, the functions of the Committee are laid down in the Rules of Procedure and the directions by the Speaker issued from time to time. The main functions of the Committee are as follows :—

- (a) to report what economies, improvements in organisation, efficiency or administrative reform, are to be observed consistent with the policy.
- (b) to suggest alternative policies in order to bring about efficiency and economy in administration.
- (c) to examine whether the money is well laid out within the limits of the policy implied in the estimates, and
- (d) to suggest the form in which the estimate shall be presented to the Parliament.

The term policy is rather a vague one and as Lord Champion called it, "a very indefinite word", and normally does not lend

4. Narman Ward—P. 11.

5. Premchand—Control of Public expenditure in India, P. 444.

6. S. L. Shakhdar—P. 392.

7. Narman Ward—P. 8.

itself to a precise definition and quite often "question of economy leads to question of efficiency and question of efficiency merge into questions of policy and it is difficult to draw a hard and fast line." According to Prof. K. C. Wheare it is difficult to know where the policy begins? Shri M. A. Ayyangar inaugurating the Estimates Committee in May 1959 said : "your function is not to lay down any policy. Whatever policy is laid down by Parliament, your business is to see that, that policy is carried out independently or divorced from its financial implications. While going into expenditure you find that the policy has not worked properly, you are entitled and competent to go into it. Where the policy is leading to waste you are entitled to comment on it in a suitable way." ⁸

However the term policy occurring in the terms of reference of the Committee was amplified by a direction of the Speaker which pointed out that the term policy in clause (a) referred to above, "relates to policies laid down by Parliament either by means of statutes or by specific resolutions passed by it from time to time. It shall be open to the Committee to examine any matter which may have been settled as a matter of policy by the government in the discharge of its executive functions." With regard to clause (b) of the terms of reference referred to in the preceding paragraph, it has been stated that "the Committee shall not go against the policy approved by Parliament, but where it is established on evidence that a particular policy is not leading to the expected or desired results or is leading to waste, it is the duty of the Committee to bring it to the notice of the Parliament." ⁹

Procedure of Examination

In all the three countries—U.K., Canada and India—the work of the Committee begins as soon as the estimates of expenditure are presented to the Parliament. In U.K. the process of passing the estimates is larger than in India. In India, actually, the estimates are passed when the report of the Committee starts coming in the Parliament.

The Committee is not required to consider all the estimates of the different departments or ministries. At the beginning of each financial year it makes a selection of subjects concerning any part of the estimates of a ministry to be examined by them during the year under review. The departments are asked sufficiently in advance to collect all relevant information for submission to the Committee. ¹⁰

The information submitted by the departments is expected to cover the different aspects relating to the

- (a) Organisation of the ministry and its attached and subordinate offices,
- (b) The functions of these offices,
- (c) Broad details on which the estimates are based,
- (d) Volume of work in these offices during the period for which estimates are presented and in the preceding years,
- (e) Schemes undertaken by them,
- (f) Actual expenditure under each subhead of the estimate during the preceding three years,
- (g) Reasons for variations between the current estimates and the past actuals, and

8. P. K. Wattal—Parliamentary Financial Control in India, P. 213.

9. Premchand—P. 445.

10. A. R. Mukherjea—Parliamentary Procedure in India, Oxford University Press, 1958—Pp. 219-20.

- (h) Report of the working of the ministry.¹¹

After getting the above information questionnaires are prepared by the Committee and are sent to the respective ministries, which they have to answer in time with required details. If any information in the opinion of representatives of the ministry is confidential or secret then the provision is that it should be referred to the Speaker whose decision is final. However in recent years a convention has been established to show such secret documents to the Chairman of the Committee only; if he thinks that its presentation is necessary in the Committee, then, either the government should do so or refer the matter to the Speaker whose decision is final. In U. K., the Speaker has no such powers.

In India and U.K., Estimates Committees have sufficient powers to call for the papers, persons, and records of the government. In both the countries a band of officials come to the committee room when the cross-questioning is going on. It is very difficult some time to extract the actual information about the concerned subject. It is like a bee which sucks honey from a flower without destroying it. In U.K., and India non-officials are also invited to appear before the Committee to give evidence on any matter before the Committee. In Canada, technically, the Committee cannot summon witnesses, no civil servant can be questioned directly by the member of the Parliament, though some ministers have allowed free interrogation of their subordinates at some sittings.¹²

In U. K. Estimates Committees work through the help of sub-committees. There are six sub-committees having their own sphere of functions. The sub-committees are

authorised to take evidence etc. When the report is prepared by it, it is considered by the whole committee. In India the Committee does not work with the assistance of the sub-committees, but in recent years two sub-committees—one relating to the Ministry of Defence and other relating to Public Undertakings were appointed.¹³

Indian Estimates Committee works with the help of 'Study Groups,' which are different from sub-committees. These study groups make an intensive study of the project under review. They undertake tours and visit the spot to be examined. They issue the memoranda and circulate the notes of their impressions to the Committee members. The importance of the study group has increased due to the appointment of specialised persons in the study group.

In India the Estimates Committee meets throughout the year. When the draft report is prepared and discussed by the Committee it is sent to the ministry concerned for factual verification. If any error is pointed out by the ministry, the Committee re-considers it and if justified, makes necessary alterations in the final report. In U.K., the draft report is neither sent to the ministry concerned nor it is shown to anybody before it is presented to the House.

Since 1958 the recommendations of the Estimates Committee in India, are classified at the end of each report in an appendix under the following heads¹⁴ :—

- (1) Recommendations for improving the

11. Premchand—p. 449.

12. Narman Ward—p. 13.

13. Since May 1st 1964 the responsibilities of the committee in regard to all Public undertakings have been transferred to the newly set up Parliamentary Committee on Public undertakings.

14. S. L. Skakdhar—p. 400

organisation and working of the department.

- (2) Recommendation for effecting economy—an analysis of more important recommendations directed towards economy is also given. Wherever possible money value is also computed.
- (3) Miscellaneous or general recommendations.

While the Estimates Committee is scrutinizing a particular ministry the following points are considered¹⁵ :—

- (a) Whether most modern and economical methods have been employed.
- (b) Whether persons of requisite calibre on proper wages with necessary amenities and in right numbers have been put on the jobs.
- (c) Whether duplication, delays and defective contracts have been avoided.
- (d) Whether right consultations have preceded the execution of a job.
- (e) Whether the production is worth the money spent on it.

In India, when the report is presented to the Parliament, it is the duty of the concerned ministry to take action on the recommendations of the Estimates Committee. Further the Committee keeps a watch on the implementation of the reports and prepares a second report in the following manner and presents it to the Parliament for further action :

- (a) Statement (I) shows the recommendations and suggestions, etc., agreed to by the government and implemented.
- (b) Statement II shows the recommendations that have not been possible for

the ministry or department to implement for reasons stated by them and which the Committee on reconsideration thinks should not be pressed.

- (c) Statement III shows the recommendations which the Government are unable to accept for reasons given by them but which the Committee feels should be implemented.
- (d) Statement IV shows the recommendations to which final replies of government have not been received.¹⁶

In U.K., the Committee works mostly on party lines, as is evident from the divisions in the committee on more important matters under discussion by the Committee. In India on the other hand, the Committee works on non-party lines and there has been no division so far in the Committee on any matter before the Committee members of the opposition have frequently testified to the non-party character of the Committee. Both in the U. K. and India the Estimates Committee has been working without the aid of the experts, unlike the Congressional Committee of the United States of America.¹⁷

In India the Parliament does not discuss the report of the Committee. Addressing the Estimates Committee on 17th July, 1957 the then Speaker, M. A. Ayyangar observed "I have not allowed nor did Shri Mavlankar allow a regular debate on the report of the Estimates Committee. The report of the Committee does not reflect any party's view, on the contrary, it is non-partisan in its approach".

15. Ibid., Pp. 400-401.

16. Ibid., Jan., March, 1960, p. 17.

17. Ibid., p. 21.

Review Of The Work

Though the Estimates Committee was formed fifteen years back its record of work shows that the Committee has been working satisfactorily. The praiseworthy thing about the committee is that its members do not adopt partisan approach while examining the Government's estimates. The Committee, though having a majority of the ruling party members, has not hesitated to criticise the actions of the executive. Its twenty-first report (1957-58) on the Planning Commission was more critical about the association of the Prime Minister and other cabinet Ministers with the Planning Commission. Estimates Committee's reports on budgetary reforms, appointment of internal financial advisers, control over grants-in-aid etc., have a greater importance today.

The 82nd report of the committee said that the committee is critical of the heavy shortfalls in expenditure on development schemes of the university. Out of Rs. 103.54 lakhs provided in the Third Plan only Rs. 27.45 lakhs have been spent up to 1963-64. In the Second Plan out of Rs. 107.32 lakhs, nearly Rs. 60 lakhs had to be carried forward to the Third Plan.¹⁸

India today needs a 'well-informed and dedicated administration which is prepared to look in to and redress grievances of the common man with promptitude and sympathy'. This observation was made by the Estimates Committee in its 93rd report on the Ministry of Home Affairs. The report says: "what in short is required is quality, efficiency, initiative and a willingness to help resolve the common man's problems. The whole fabric of administration needs to be stiffened with the much needed dosage of discipline. The limbs should feel that they have to carry

out the instructions meticulously and efficiently without fear or favour." In the opinion of the Committee nothing can weaken the morale of the public services more than a general feeling that in a certain set of circumstances, they may be subjected to "harassing enquiries with no prospects of any protection from any quarter".¹⁹

To conclude, it can be said that the work of the Estimates Committee is an essential thing in controlling public expenditure. The control exercised by the Committee is aptly summarised by the late Speaker of Lok Sabha, Shri G. V. Mavalankar, when he addressed the Estimates Committee in 1961. According to him the control exercised by the Committee consists essentially in being :

- (a) Judicial in approach
- (b) in representing the people's approach
- (c) in creating a training ground for the legislators
- (d) in preventing the executive from being apprehensive
- (e) in influencing the policies of the Government and
- (f) in acting as a link between the people and the Government.²⁰

Mr. Hukum Singh, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, while inaugurating the third conference of the Chairmen of the Estimates Committees of the States and India, said, that the aim of the Estimates Committee should be to make objective assessment and let the facts lead to conclusions. He complimented the Estimates Committee of India for its good work. The acceptance of 97 per cent of recommendations by the Centre shows the importance of the Estimates Committee. According to Shri A. C. Gupta, Chairman of the Estimates Committee, the report of the Estimates Committee provides guidance and suggestions to the government and constructive criticism and ideas to members of Parliament. They also helped to build up strong public opinion both inside and outside the House, which was the sine qua non of Parliamentary democracy.²¹

18. Indian Express, 29th April, 1965.

19. Ibid., 22nd April, 1966.

20. Premchand, p. 457.

21. Indian Express, 25th April, 1965.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

A REVIEW: Person to Person Broadcast, June 12, July 7, August 7, 1966. Government of India Publication.

The new innovation which the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has introduced is a person to person broadcast. Due to the absence of electricity in the villages two-thirds of the 500 millions do not have any opportunity to listen in to the Prime Minister. It is very difficult to say what percentage listen to such broadcasts, particularly when they are prone to listen to cinema music mostly. So, quantitatively the person to person talk does not reach all, even with the means to do so.

We have before us copies of the talk, dated 12th June, 1966, July 7 and one broadcast on August 7, 1966.

The June 12, talk is in justification of devaluation. But no arguments have been made out beyond the fact that the decision had to be taken as it had become inevitable. In regard to the rise in prices, she said that "Government will not hesitate to take additional legislative powers, if necessary." Even if after the rise in prices is admitted by her, measures would be taken, if necessary. She ended by an appeal to trade and manufacturers. The whole talk consisted of good intentions.

The July 7, talk was given by her on the eve of her departure to Europe. In analysing the situation she did nothing more than repeat what was already known. We got

no suggestion about solutions, except a reference to the need for reconvening the Geneva Conference on Vietnam. She gave us information about the steps the Government had taken about land improvement works, supply of rice from Burma, Punjab, Nagaland, Mizo Hills and reminded us that there was no substitute for rapid development.

The August 7, talk was curious for the broadcast says that although the Government have launched Fourth Five Year Plan, "a detailed outline of the plan as a whole is expected to be ready by the end of this month." She did not tell us anything about Third Five Year Plan, how much was achieved and how much remained unfinished. Need we know that? At the time she advised that we should remain within our means, she also asked us to donate beyond our means to the National Defence Fund. We must grow in "conditions of financial stability" she said. But how we shall reach stability we were not told, unless by instability she meant stability. There was, however, a truthful remark: "strikes (referring to U. P. transport strike) and destruction of public property anywhere constitute an unproductive, self-inflicted tax on every Indian." But this remark came at the fag end of the talk and this only relevant thing in her broadcast occupied only a few lines. What a pity that matters of good sense occupy very little of her attention. What shall we do with the generalisations every month?

RAJANI MUKHERJI

Indian Periodicals

Science In China

Whatever may be our ideological and political differences with China may be—and they are undoubtedly both fundamental and far-reaching in spite of what the *China Lobby* of the Communist Party of India may hold—there would seem to be no question that China's progress in science and technology during the last seventeen years of Communist rule has been remarkably significant. The most significant aspect of this advancement is the remarkable measure of self-reliance which China has developed in this field and which may provide certain guide-lines for emulation by our own country with a great deal of profit. Writing editorially on the subject, what the *Science & Culture* has to say would, therefore, be of exceptional interest :

In spite of famines, lack of foreign exchange aid and enormous population pressure, Chinese Science, Technology and Industry have, by all accounts, increased tremendously in the last seventeen years of Communist rule. . . . The extent to which China relies on herself for essential technical skill and materials is remarkable. In the context of our current economic difficulties and in the context of an increasingly powerful China on our northern borders, it is important for us to realise the reasons for the strength and the weaknesses behind her remarkable achievements.

One of the first striking things about China's leaders is the clear recognition on the goals of technical, scientific and other specialised fields in the area of national development. For instance, when China needed an enormous expansion in the number of teachers and technical personnel for industry, and agriculture, she made a very clear decision on the necessity of lowering the standards of college education, particularly of practical training. When she had no clear-cut

ideas as to the method of approach, she blindly copied those of Soviet Russia's institutions. However, the main feed-back into China's technological progress is through her scientists and technologists, particularly those in the middle hierarchy, who are allowed to express their opinions and act on their self-confidence freely as long as they relate to scientific and technical areas.

For example, when a professor or an engineer can master the techniques of his field, its economic consequences are immediately worked out, not only by him but by his associates in other areas. It lies with the Academy of Sciences of China and not with the Government bureaucracy, to decide and to find out how the knowledge and the skill can be brought to bear on the industrial growth of the country. The break with the Soviet Union and the drying up of Soviet technical aid has not fazed Chinese leaders. Their technological aims have remained as optimistic as ever. This is due in large part, to the opinions and technological confidence of Chinese scientists and technologists in the middle echelons of the scientific hierarchy. This self-confidence acts through the organizations of academic science to the political leadership.

China embarked on a Plan soon after 1949 to develop in the country a viable electronic industry, mainly on the recommendations of the Academy of Sciences. By 1961, when, for all practical purposes, Soviet aid in the electronic sphere had dried up, the electronic industry in China had already become viable.....By late last year (1965) China had developed a moderately sophisticated but quite extensive electronic industry in the country. They were able, through Hongkong, to export large quantities of transistorized equipment of various sorts, some fairly sophisticated, at prices which were competitive with world prices including those of Japan. Even if, as some people think, China is deliberately selling at less than the actual manufacturing cost, to be able to earn foreign exchange for certain basic components and for food, it must be realised that this is no mean

achievement in the field of modern technology... Our own country too, is on the threshold of embarking on such a policy of subsidized exports.

The Chinese population problem poses no less of headaches to her leaders than do ours. A few months ago she had to buy in cash a large amount of wheat from Canada to make up for her large deficiency in food supply. However, the extent to which her food problem—production as well as distribution—is under control can be gauged by her offer of 30,000 tons of rice to Pakistan recently to tide over East Pakistan's current rice shortage.

China and India are a study in contrasts. Starting ahead of China in 1949, we are fast dropping behind. Our military expenditures are hardly any excuse. China, with her atom bomb project, Vietnam commitments and aggressive military posture, has military commitments no less expensive than ours.

It is easy to blame the Government and the Congress party for the omissions, lack of foresight and purposive action. It is true that unlike our Government, the Chinese rulers entrusted a tremendous responsibility to the scientists and technologists of the country through the Chinese Academy of Sciences. It was the Academy which conceived and carried out the programme of scientific as well as technological development, not only in teaching and research but, in areas such as the development of the electronic industry and the atomic bomb project. The Government in consultation with the Communist Party on the one side and the Academy on the other, formulated the broad aims in the entire area of technological advancement and viability. The details of objective, propriety and resources were left to the Academy to work out. In our country the Government machinery inherited from the British take the advice of a few scientists who form a small coterie of scientists in Government service. This limits the nature of the advice the Government receives and prevents the total commitment to action of the entire community of scientists. Advice from government scientists alone has the serious defect that the bureaucracy feels it is a sort of a departmental advice on which they can act in the way they think fit. The scientific community in general is ignored.

Here, the editorial concerned, pauses to assess the responsibility of the intellectual and scientific community of clearly discussing issues and indicating to the country the various paths that lie ahead and the consequences of

following different alternatives. The scientific community in India, generally, has all along, we feel, been traditionally used to behaving as a closed corporation and would seldom function effectively beyond its own inclosed academic environment. It is not, however, entirely true that there has been no public discussion of scientific issues so far. For instance, the 'economics of planning' has, over the years, been discussed threadbare in public forums, including the newspaper and the periodical press and the basic scientific lacks in the Plan structure repeatedly and insistently pointed out. Unfortunately, the *Super-Cabinet* of his own Government that Nehru had set up and named it the Planning Commission and which he had packed with a team of pseudo-intellectuals who were prepared to wholeheartedly endorse his own fancied and uninformed leanings in so-called development planning, has never paid any attention whatever to these discussions and theses. The Planning Commission has progressively grown to be a frankenstein—a vampire which has been sucking the life-blood of the people dry in complete disregard of reason and ethics—which, apparently, the Government themselves are now no longer able to restrain. Still, it is interesting to follow the reasoning of the editorial under discussion :

Very few in our scientific and technical community outside the Government have pointed out and analysed important technical issues before us. One possible reason is that inter-disciplinary communication in our country amongst scientists has been extremely feeble and organizations such as the National Institute of Sciences have avoided facing problems and issues squarely... There is no scientific organization in India, including the National Institute of Sciences, which have tried to play a role even remotely comparable to that of the Academia Sinica, The Soviet Academy of Sciences or the National Academy of Sciences of the U. S. A. which include engineers, technologists as well as scientists and which have tendered vital advice on policies to their respective Governments...

Thus it happens that organization of scientists in our

country were never assigned important responsibilities; it is also true that our scientists have rarely acted in constructive and organized fashion to inspire that confidence of the political and bureaucratic leadership as well as of the intellectual community. Perhaps, this situation has been aggravated by the growth of quasi-independent and mutually-exclusive scientific empires under Government aegis which only speak to each other through the medium of the Governmental bureaucratic and political hierarchy and have no desire to open up channels of communication and share responsibility with their colleagues within the Government or outside.

The challenge of poverty and hunger, the challenges of China and Pakistan, are national and not addressed only to our Government and our armies. What the

scientists and technologists collectively do about them, will in a large measure determine their effectiveness in the years to come. The channels of communication between government scientific domains led by Bhagavantam, Sarabhai and Atmaram and the scientists in the universities and research organizations of the country cannot be fruitful if they are only across the table at committees. Nor can they be fruitful without the participation of technologists and cognisance of the technological challenges and their technical implications. Unfortunately, the non-connoscenti will not differentiate between scientists who are in power and those who are not. Our people will be apt to judge the nation's scientists and technologists as a whole by what they say and by what they do about the basic problems that confront us.

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Foreign Periodicals

A Middle Way Out of Vietnam

Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who was one of President Lyndon B. Johnson's principal aides and draftsmen at the White House, especially on issues relating to America's Far Eastern policies, and who was reported to have defected out of the President's team of principal aides some time ago, recently wrote in the *New York Times* on the President's Vietnam policies under the above caption. Beginning with an analysis of the American involvement in Vietnam, Schlesinger seeks to offer a middle way out of what, clearly, has been proving increasingly to be an impasse.

Why are we in Vietnam (writes Schlesinger) is today a question of only historical interest. We are there, for better or for worse, and we must deal with the situation that exists. Our national security may not have compelled us to draw a line across Southeast Asia where we did, but having drawn it we cannot lightly abandon it. Our stakes in South Vietnam may have been self-created, but it has nonetheless become real... Our commitment of over 300,000 American troops, young men of exceptional skill and gallantry engaged in cruel and difficult warfare, measures the magnitude of our national concern.

Mr. Schlesinger seems to be of the view that there was hardly any integrated thinking leading to the present magnitude of American entanglement in Vietnam :

We have achieved this entanglement (he says), not after due and deliberate consideration, but through a series of small decisions...President Eisenhower, after rejecting American military intervention in 1954, set in motion the policy of support for Saigon which resulted, two Presidents later, in American military intervention in 1965. Each step in the deepening of the American commitment was reasonably regarded at the time as the last that would be necessary ; yet, in retrospect, each step led to the next, until we find ourselves entrapped today in that nightmare of American strategists, a land war in Asia,—a war which no President, including

President Johnson, desired or intended. The Vietnam story is a tragedy without villains....

Yet each President, as he makes his choices, must expect to be accountable for them. Everything in recent weeks—the actions of the Administration, the intimations of actions to come, even a certain harshness in the Presidential rhetoric—suggests that President Johnson has made his choice, and that his choice is the careful enlargement of the war. New experiments in escalation first denied, then disowned, then discounted and finally undertaken. As past medicines fail, all we can apparently think to do is to increase the dose. In May the Secretary of the Air Force explained why we were not going to bomb Hanoi and Hiphong ; at the end of June we began the strikes against the oil depots. The demilitarized zone between North and South Vietnam has been used by North Vietnam units for years, but suddenly we have begun to bomb it.

The writer seems to think that the popularly understood view said to have been held by the Administration that escalation of the Vietnam War will shorten its length, or even that a military decision of the Vietnam conflict is possible, or that an enlargement of the area of the Vietnam war will not be likely to induce Chinese or Soviet entry into it, is at best a terribly shaky one for undertaking the risks that are involved in the process :

When such steps work no miracle (Mr. Schlesinger continues)—and it is safe to predict that escalation will be no more effective in the future than it has been in the past—the demand will arise for “just one more step.” Plenty of room remains for widening the war... and if bombing will not bring Ho Chi Minh to his knees or stop his support of the Vietcong in South Vietnam, there is always the last resort of invasion. General Ky has already told us that we must invade North Vietnam to win the war. In his recent press conference the Secretary of State twice declined to rule out this possibility.

The theory, of course, is that widening the war will shorten it. This theory appears to be based on three convictions : first, that the war will be decided in North Vietnam ; second, the risk of Chinese or Soviet entry is negligible ; and third, that “military” victory in some sense is possible. Perhaps,.....in another year

or two we may all be saluting the wisdom of the American Government... Nonetheless, to many Americans these propositions constitute a terribly shaky basis for action which has already carried the United States into a ground war in Asia, and which may well carry the world to the brink of a third world war.

The illusion that the war in South Vietnam can be decided in North Vietnam is evidently a result of listening too long to our own propaganda. Our Government has insisted so often that the war in Vietnam is a clear-cut case of aggression across frontiers that it has come to believe itself that the war was started in Hanoi and can be stopped there. . .

Yet the best evidence is that the war began as an insurrection within South Vietnam which, as it has gathered momentum, has attracted increasing support and direction from the North. Even today the North Vietnamese regulars amount to only a fraction of the total enemy force (and to even a smaller fraction of the American Army in South Vietnam). We could follow the genial prescription of General LeMay and bomb North Vietnam back to the Stone Age—and the war would still go on in South Vietnam. To reduce this war to the simplification of a wicked regime molesting its neighbours, and to suppose that it can be ended by punishing the wicked regime, is surely to misconceive not only the political but even the military character of the problem. . . . There seems little question that the Chinese have no great passion to enter the war in Vietnam. They do not want to put their nuclear plants in hazard; and, in any case, their foreign policy has been typically a compound of polemical ferocity and practical prudence. But the leaders in Peking are no doubt just as devoted students of Munich as the American Secretary of State. They are sure that we are out to bury them; they believe that appeasement invites further aggression; and, however deep their reluctance, at some point concern for national survival will make them fight.

When will that point be reached? Probably, when they are confronted by a direct threat to their frontier, either through bombing or through an American decision to cross the 17th parallel and invade North Vietnam. If a Communist regime barely established in Peking could take a decision to intervene against the only atomic power in 1950, why does anyone suppose that a much stronger regime should flinch from that decision in 1966? Indeed, given the present discord in Peking, war may seem the best way to renew revolutionary discipline, stop the brawling and unite the nation.

As for the third solution, the Jt. Chiefs of Staff, of course, by definition, argue for military solutions. They are the most fervent apostles of "one more step." That is their business and no one should be surprised that generals behave like generals.

What is the purpose of bombing the North? It is hard to find out. According to General Maxwell Taylor, "The objective of our air campaign is to change the will of the enemy leadership." Secretary McNamara, on the other hand, has said "We never believed that bombing would destroy North Vietnam's will." Whatever the theory, the results would appear to support Secretary McNamara. The northern strategy instead of driving Hanoi to the conference table, seems to have hardened the will of the regime, convinced that its life is at stake, brought it closer to China and solidified the people of North Vietnam in its support.

"There is no indication", General Westmoreland said the other day, "That the resolve of the leadership in Hanoi has been reduced." In other words, bombing has had precisely the effect that the analyses of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey after the Second World War would have forecast. Under-Secretary George Ball was a director of that Survey; this may well be why he has been reported so unenthusiastic about the air assault on the north.

And far from stopping infiltration across the 17th parallel bombing, if our own statistics are to be believed, has stimulated it. "It is perfectly clear", Secretary McNamara has said, "that the North Vietnamese have continued to increase their support of the Vietcong despite the increase in our effort. . . What has happened is that the North Vietnamese have continually increased the amount of resources, men and material, that they have been willing to devote to their objective."

Even supposing that a final military solution of the Vietnam war was at all possible, —which it is not,—the cost of the effort would seem to be stupendous. In fact, the increasing effort towards a desirable military solution of the Vietnam problem towards which the Pentagon would appear to have been leading the Administration and in which the Administration itself does not appear to have any faith as successive statements on the issue by Secretary McNamara would seem to indicate, has only been having the effect of accelerating the velocity and destructive power of the Vietnam vicious circle, without visibly making

any dent on its periphery at any point at all. Mr. Schlesinger continues :

Nor can we easily match this infiltration by enlarging our own forces,—from 300,000 for example, to 500,000 or even 750,000. The ratio of superiority preferred by the Pentagon in guerrilla war is 10 to 1, which means that every time we send in 100,000 more men, the enemy has only to send in 10,000 or so, and we are all even again. Reinforcements has not created a margin of American superiority ; all it has done is to lift the stalemate to a higher and more explosive level. Indeed, there is reason to believe that, in its own manner, the enemy can match our every step of escalation up to the point of *nuclear war*.

.....The Korean War, as Gen. Mathew B. Ridgeway has said, "taught that it is impossible to interdict the supply route of an Asian Army by air power alone. We had complete air mastery over North Korea and we clobbered Chinese supply columns unmercifully.....But we did not halt their offensive nor materially diminish its strength." If air power was not decisive in Korea, where the warfare was conventional and the terrain relatively open and compact, how could anyone suppose that it would be decisive against guerrillas threading their way through the hills and jungles of Vietnam ?..... And we had it on the authority of the Secretary of State, that despite the entry of the North Vietnamese regulars, the war in South Vietnam "continues to be basically a guerrilla operation."

Sir Robert Thompson, who planned the successful British effort against the Malayan guerrillas and lately served as the head of the British advisory mission in Saigon, has emphasized that the defending force must operate "in the same element" as their adversaries. Counterinsurgency, he writes, "is like trying to deal with a tomcat in an alley. It is no good inserting a large and fierce dog. The dog may not find the tomcat ; if he does, the tomcat will escape up a tree ; and the dog will then chase the female cats. The answer is to put in a fiercer tomcat."

Alas, we have no fiercer tomcat. The counter-insurgency effort in Vietnam has languished while our bombers roam over that hapless country dumping more tonnage of explosives each month than we were dropping on all Europe and Africa during the Second World War. Just the other day our bombs killed or injured more than 100 civilians in a hamlet in the Mekong delta all on the suspicion that two Vietcong platoons numbering in all some 60 men, were there. Even if the Vietcong had still been around—which they weren't—would the

military gain have outweighed the human and political loss ? Charles Mohr writes in the *Times*, "Almost every provincial hospital in Vietnam is crowded with civilian victims of the war. Some American doctors and other officials in the field say that the majority are victims of American air power and South Vietnamese artillery."

The trouble is that we are fighting one war with our B-52's and our naval guns and our napalm and the Vietcong are fighting another with their machine guns and ambushes and forays in the dark.....When they (the Vietcong) occasionally rise to the surface and try to fight our kind of war, we do blast them. But the fact that they then slide back into the shadows does not mean that we are on the verge of some final military triumph. It means simply that we are driving them underground—where they renew themselves and where our large fierce dog cannot follow.....I know of no convincing evidence that the Vietcong lack the political and emotional commitment to keep fighting underground for another 20 years. Our strategy in Vietnam is rather like weeding a garden with a bulldozer ; we occasionally dig up some weeds, but we dig up most of the turf too. The effect of our policy is to *pulverize the political and institutional fabric* which alone can give a South Vietnamese State the hope of independent survival which is our presumed war aim....Indeed, the most likely beneficiary of the smashed social structure of South Vietnam will be Communism. "My feeling", Genl. Wallace Greene, Commandant of the Marine Corps has wisely said, "is that you could kill every Vietcong and North Vietnamese in South Vietnam and still lose the war. Unless we can make a success of the civic action program, we are not going to obtain the objectives we have set.".....

At the same time our concentration on Vietnam is exacting a frightful cost in other areas of national concern. In domestic policy, with Vietnam gulping down a billion and half dollars a month, everything is grinding to a stop. Lyndon Johnson was on his way to a place in history as a great President for his vision of a Great Society ; but the Great Society now, except for token gestures, is dead. The fight for equal opportunity to the Negro, the war against poverty, the struggle to save the cities, the improvement of our schools—all must be starved for the sake of Vietnam.

We also pay a cost abroad. Our allies naturally draw away as they see us heading down the road toward war with China.....As nations seek to disengage themselves from the impending conflict, the quasi-neutrality of leaders like de Gaulle gains new plausibility.

The Administration has called the critics of its Vietnam policy neo-isolationists. But surely, the real neo-isolationists are those who have isolated the United States from its allies and raised the tattered standard, last flourished 15 years ago by Douglas MacArthur, of "going it alone.".....We have somehow lost the understanding of the use of power. Understanding of power implies, above all things, precision in its application... President Johnson, for all his formidable abilities, has shown no knack for discrimination in his use of power. His technique is to try and overwhelm his adversary—as in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam—by piling on all forms of power without regard to the nature of the threat. Given the weakness for the indiscriminate use of power, it is easy to see why the application of force in Vietnam has been surrendered to the workings of... "the escalation machine." This machine is, in effect, the momentum in the decision-making system which keeps enlarging the war, "for reasons only marginally related to military needs."...Sir Robert Thompson has noted of the American theory of the war: "There was a constant tendency in Vietnam to mount large-scale operations which had little purpose or prospect of success, merely to indicate that something aggressive was being done."

Mr. Schlesinger goes on to accuse that one of the obvious purposes of this constant stepping up of the war was, not so much, to ensure a speedy military solution of the Vietnam problem—a prospect which, even according to the views of some of the senior military leaders themselves, is fraught with a considerable element of doubt and speculative uncertainty so as to boost the puppet Saigon regime :

The Administration has freely admitted that such operations, like the bombing of the North, are designed in part to prop up the morale of the Saigon Government. And the impression is growing now that they are also in part undertaken to smother doubts about the war in the United States and to reverse anti-Administration tendencies at the polls. Americans have become curiously insensitive to the use of military operations for domestic political purposes. A quarter century ago President Roosevelt postponed the North African invasion so that it would not take place before the mid-term elections of 1942 ; but today observers in Washington, without any evidence of shock, predict a new venture in escalation before the mid-term elections of 1966.

The triumph of the escalation machine has been assisted by the faultiness of the information on which our decisions are based. Nothing is phonier than the spurious exactitude of our statistics about the Vietnam War.....The figures on enemy strength are totally baffling, at least to the ordinary citizen relying on the daily newspaper.

...We have always lacked genuine knowledge of and insight into the political and cultural problems of Vietnam and the more we press all problems into a military framework, the worse off we are. The Administration in Washington was systematically misinformed by senior American officials in Saigon in 1962-63 regarding the progress of the war, the popularity of Diem, the effectiveness of the "strategic hamlet" program and other vital matters....Ordinary citizens restricted to reading the American press were better informed in 1963 than officials who took top-secret cables seriously.

The fact is that our Government does not know a lot of things it pretends to know. It is not discreditable that it should not know them, for the facts are elusive and judgment incredibly difficult. But it is surely inexcusable.....that it should pass on its own ignorance to the American people as certitude. It is even less excusable that it should commit the nation to a policy involving the greatest dangers on a foundation so vague and precarious.

So we are now set on the course of widening the war—even at the cost of multiplying American casualties in Vietnam and deepening American troubles at home and abroad ; even at the risk of miring our nation in hopeless and endless conflict on the mainland of Asia beyond the effective employment of our national power and beyond the range of our primary interests ; even at the risk of nuclear war.

Why does the Administration feel that these costs must be paid and these risks run ? Hovering behind our policy is a larger idea—the idea that the war in Vietnam is not just a local conflict between Vietnamese but a fateful test of wills between China and the United States.

Our political and rhetorical escalation of the war has been almost as perilous as our military escalation. President Johnson has systematically inflated the significance of the war in Vietnam. "We have tried to make it clear over and over again," as the Secretary of State has put it, "that although Hanoi is the prime actor in this situation, that it is the policy of Peking that has greatly stimulated Hanoi....It is Ho Chi Minh's war. May be it is Mao tse Tung's war."...President Kennedy had said...a few weeks before his death, "unless the

people of South Vietnam support the war....We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisers, but they have to win it, the people of Vietnam"....We have (now) summoned the Saigon leaders, like tribal chieftains on a retainer, to a conference in an American State; we crowded the streets of Saigon with American generals (58 at last count) and visiting stateside dignitaries. In short, we have seized every opportunity to make clear to the world that it is an American War—and, in doing this, we have already gone far to make the war unwinnable.

The proposition that our real enemy in Vietnam is China is basic to the policy of widening the war. It is the vital element in the Administration's case.

The writer goes on to illustrate that the Administration's case that the conflict in Vietnam is the result of a centralized commu-

nist conspiracy aiming at monolithic world revolution, is based on the fundamental misconception of the course of historical events. The very conditions under which the fight in Vietnam is being carried on is a negation of the logic of the supposition that it is not a mere local civil war and is being powered by a centralized direction and initiative, the tactics and techniques of which have to be conditioned primarily by opportunities within the countries concerned, opportunities which have been proved to have been subject to violent and frequent changes. Besides, the forces that would be likely to contain Chinese expansionism in Asia are certainly not Western

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intervention, but those of local nationalism. Small countries like Burma and Cambodia have been most successfully preserving their integrity and autonomy without American or Western intervention; the two recent blows which have the most heavily affected Peking's prestige abroad have been the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party and the declaration of independence by North Korea, both events were achieved locally without benefit of American rhetoric or patronage. Mr. Schlesinger, therefore, visualizes:

In the unpredictable decades ahead, the most effective bulwark against international communism, may well be national communism. A rational policy of containing China could have recognized that a communist Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh might be a better instrument of containment than a shaky Saigon regime led by right-wing mandarins or air force generals. Had he taken over all Vietnam in 1954, he might to-day be enlisting Soviet support to strengthen his resistance to Chinese pressure—and this situation, however appalling for the people of South Vietnam, would be better for the United States than the one in which we are floundering to-day. And now, alas, it may almost be too late.....

Is there no way out? Are the alternatives widening the war or disorderly and humiliating withdrawal? I think a middle course is still possible if there was the will to pursue it. And this course must begin with a decision to stop widening and Americanizing the war—to limit our forces, actions, goals and rhetoric... Let us understand that the ultimate problem here is not military but political. Let us adapt the means to the ends we seek...The objective of our military policy...should be the creation and stabilization of secure areas where the South Vietnamese might themselves undertake social and institutional development... We should get rid of those one-star generals who regard, in the words of Sir Robert Thompson, their tour in Vietnam as an opportunity to indulge in a year's big-game shooting from the helicopter howdahs at Government expense. ...At the same time we should induce the Saigon Government to institute generous amnesty provisions of the kind which worked so well

in the Philippines, increase the incentive to come over by inducing the South Vietnamese to abandon the torture of prisoners—a practice not only horrible in itself but superbly calculated to make the enemy fight to the bitter end. In the mean time we must end *our own shameful collaboration with this barbarism* and stop turning over Vietcong prisoners to the South Vietnamese...

As regards bombing the North...given its limited military effect and the Administration's desire to gratify the Saigon Government and the American voter, it is not important enough to justify indefinite escalation. So long as bombing continues there is no chance of serious negotiation. Nor does the failure of the 37 day pause during last winter refute this...For Hanoi has substantial reasons for mistrusting negotiations...He has entered into negotiations with the West twice in the past—in 1946-47 and, again, in 1954—and each time...he lost at the conference table things he thought he had won on the battlefield.

For all our official talk about our readiness to go anywhere, talk to anyone etc., it cannot be said that the Administration has pursued negotiation with a fraction of the zeal, imagination and perseverance with which it has pursued war. Indeed, some American scholars who have studied the matter believe that on a number of occasions when pressure for negotiation was mounting we have, for whatever reason, stepped up the war.....It is hard to see why we should not follow the precedent of Laos when we admitted the Pathet Lao to the peace talks and offer the Vietcong the prospect of a say in the future political life of South Vietnam—conditioned on their laying down their arms, opening up their territories and abiding by the ground rules of free elections. Nor is there reason to see why we have been so reluctant again to follow the Laos model and declare neutralization under international guarantee, our long-run objective for Vietnam. An imaginative diplomacy would long since have discussed the means of such neutralization with Russia, France and Britain and other interested countries. Unsatisfactory as the situation in Laos may be to-day, it is incomparably better than the situation in Vietnam...

De-escalation could work if there were the will to pursue it...The issue in the United States...will be whether President Johnson's leadership is sufficiently resilient to permit a change in the direction of policy and arrest...an unnecessary catastrophe.

Editor—ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

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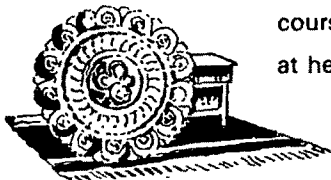
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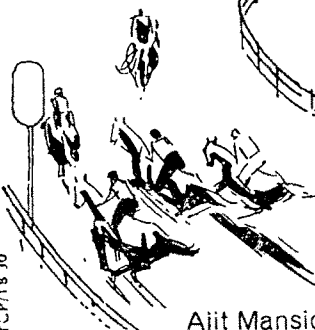
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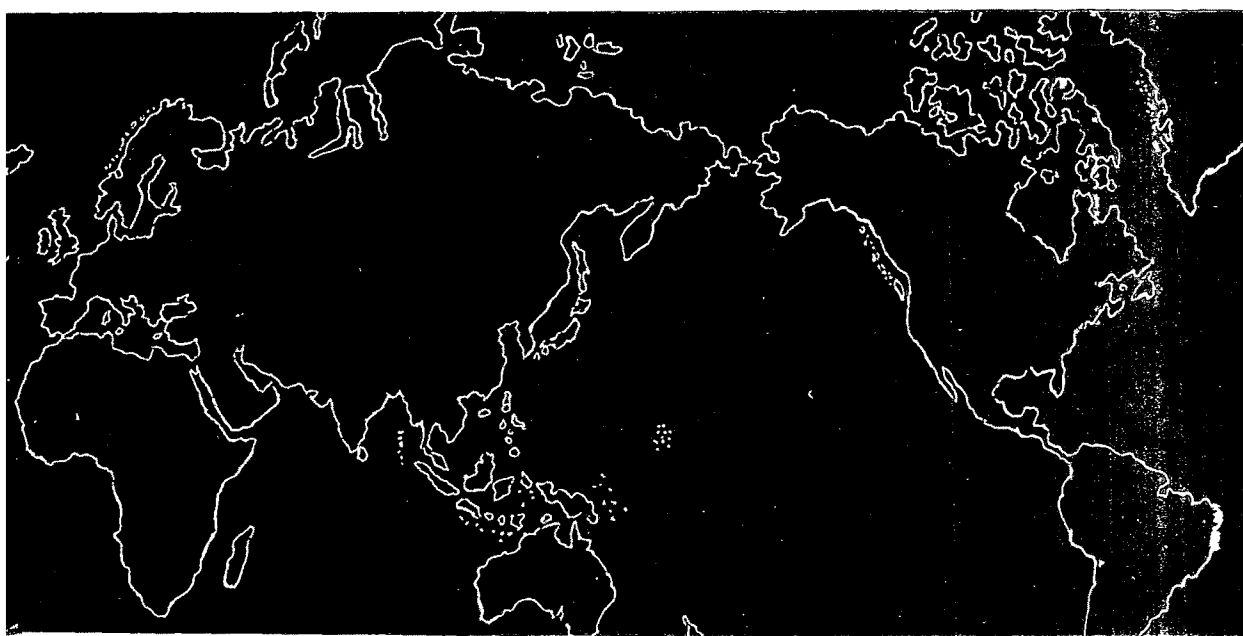
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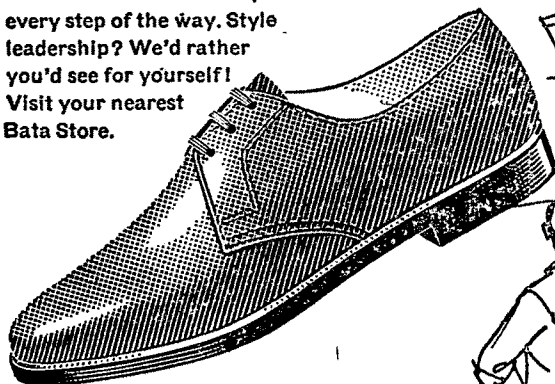
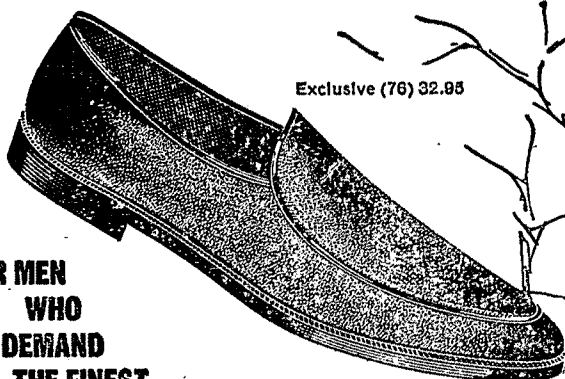
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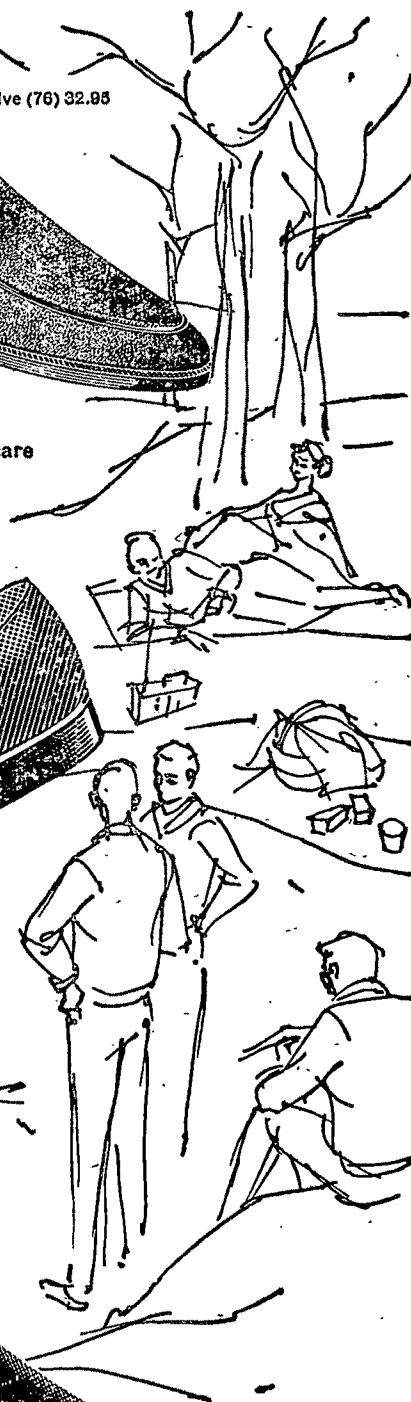


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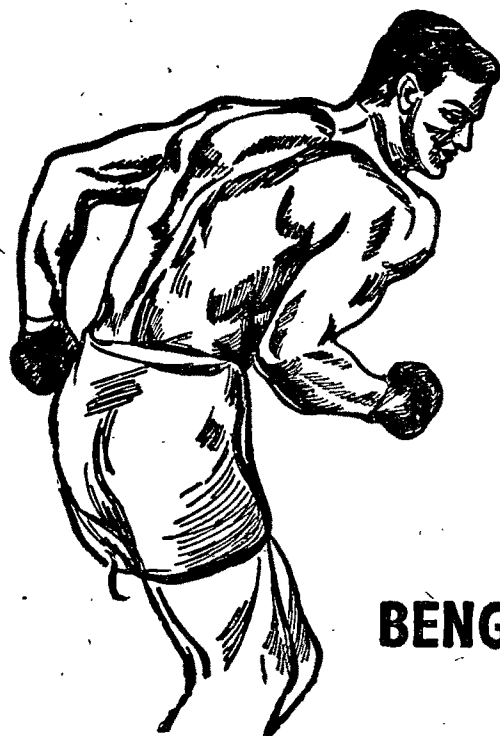
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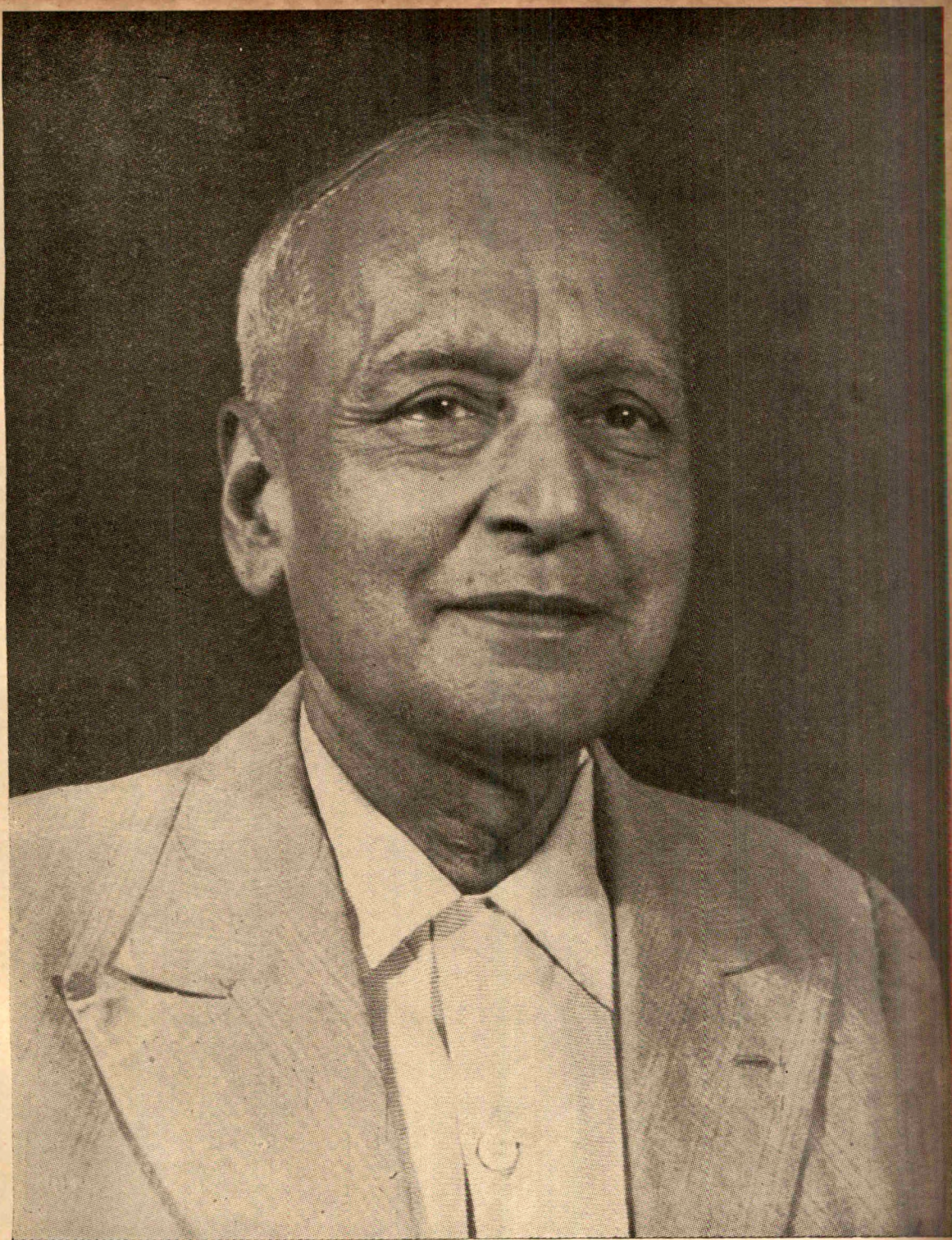
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NOTES

Cow Protection

The matter of cow protection has assumed a fantastic shape during the last several weeks. Armed Sanyasis in large numbers have led an attack on the Government and the Government had the painful necessity of shooting down people in order to maintain its power. The Sanyasis who have renounced the world have not been able to renounce the cow and they have started a minor rebellion so that cow slaughter could be banned in India. Cows are caused to die in India for many reasons and in many ways. Some die in slaughter houses to provide meat for beef eaters. Others die of starvation or of poisoning in order to enable milk men to make the maximum profit out of a milch cow or hide merchants to procure hides cheaply. The first type of death can be prevented by legislation to the extent that laws can be enforced in India. There are many laws for the benefit of society which cannot be enforced in this country. The laws against vagrancy are flouted by many who pretend to be mendicants. Some of them are

criminals with no ostensible means of livelihood, but their ochre coloured clothes, uncut and uncombed hair, their uncovered body and the trident of Siva protect them from incarceration. These criminal types of Sanyasis have been law breakers for several centuries and when the worshippers of the cow recruited Sanyasis to force the Indian people to act according to their will, they lost public sympathy. For though most Indians do not like the killing of cows, they like to be ordered about by superstitious people even less. Even Asoka the great did not try to force a meatless diet on the people of India, though he and his Court observed the Buddhist tenets of Ahimsa very scrupulously. Asoka had hospitals for animals and we have an idea that his censors must have stopped professional milkmen from killing calves by starvation in order to sell the whole of the mother cow's milk. They probably prevented the chamars from poisoning cattle for hides. In India any ban on cow slaughter will be unenforceable. For there are millions of people in India who eat beef and the relative cheapness of that meat induce many

to eat it. The ships that call at Indian ports replenish their supplies of meat by purchasing beef and the suppliers will side-step any law that may be made in order to carry on their trade. Dog lovers and those who keep lions, tigers and other carnivores buy beef too. But the main point to be argued is that the cow worshippers are not cow lovers. They allow the young calves to be starved to death by the **goalas** and also the **chamars** to poison grown animals in order to obtain hides. They also do not at all look after the cows as they should and their moral indignation against cow slaughter is not born of any genuine fondness for that highly useful and friendly animal. Cow slaughtering is not liked by many but economic circumstances force them to tolerate it.

There are 86 tanneries in India employing about 7000 persons who earn 57 lakhs of rupees in wages. The value added by their work is about a crore and a half. But the export trade of India shows about 8 crores worth of goat skins and 27 crores of leather and 3 crores worth of leather footwear among the goods that we export. About 30 crores worth of foreign trade depends more or less on the supply of hides. These hides are not so good because Indians do not look after their cattle properly. Our cattle compare badly with the cattle of other countries where nobody bothers about the killing of animals. They feed their cows well and treat them with consideration. We indulge in sanctimonious talk and let our cattle live or die unattended and uncared for. In the matter of making use of surplus animals, there should be strict laws against slaughtering milch cows. The activities of **goalas** and **chamars** should be controlled too for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Private owners of cattle should be compelled to feed and house their pets properly.

The conclusion is that about 60 million people in India are beef eaters not counting

all those castes among Hindus and Buddhists who have no objection to eating beef. Prohibition of cow slaughter would not improve the lot of the cow in India as **goalas** and **chamars** would continue to starve cows to death and poison cattle for hides. That the general public too would remain apathetic and callous about care of cattle as they have been for as long as we can remember is equally certain. The economic objections are also of formidable proportions.

Haldia Scheme

Calcutta being one of the major ports of the world, shipping head for this riverine port with goods meant for the whole of Eastern India, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim from all over the world. During the days of sailing vessels a river was as good as the ocean for passage of ships. Steam ships have grown in size and gone deeper in draft during the last one hundred years. As a result Calcutta, which could take almost all steam ships coming this way towards the beginning of the century, can no longer cope with the big ships and tankers that want to unload here. The Haldia scheme was prepared therefore, for the handling of the larger cargo boats and the big tankers. Though this is a very important and urgently required arrangement for keeping the commercial life of Eastern India healthy and progressive, the Government of India have been rather cursory and negligent in their management of the Haldia project. They have again given it the green signal and have said they are looking for the 6 or 7 crores of foreign currency required for it. Calcutta earns foreign exchange more than any other port in India. This mishandling of Calcutta's vital interests can therefore be called a mishandling of

India's economic affairs, and persons responsible for it should be removed from office. We have heard a lot about Paradip and the export of iron ore ; but surely, tea, jute, light and heavy engineering goods, coal, oil seeds and cakes, leather etc., among exports and machinery of all kinds, metals, food grains, oils of all kinds, rubber, newsprint etc., among imports have a much greater bearing on India's economic progress than exporting iron ore. And Paradip has been developed without all these repeated interferences with its construction. The Ganges has been the commercial life line of Eastern India for over two hundred years. The silting up of the Bhagirathi too has affected the movement of shipping in Calcutta. The Farakka project for keeping the Bhagirathi navigable at Calcutta has also been subjected to the Government's usual pastime of playing with green and red signals. A Government which can neither make up its mind nor estimate its resources in advance can hardly be called a Government.

India Not Joining Asian Games

The Asian Games were inaugurated with the idea that Asian nations should have their own trials at games and sports to encourage the spread of athletics, the manly arts and team games in Asian countries. The International Olympic Games admitted contestants from all nations and that made things difficult for Asian sportsmen on account of the high standards already attained by European, American and Australian athletes and players. The Asian games were instituted to encourage competition among sportsmen and sportswomen of the countries of Asia and Pandit Nehru took a particular interest in these games.

During the last several years the Govern-

ment of India have been taking increasing interest in all games and sports and an All India Council of Sports has been set up with its counterparts in the States in order to give money grants to specially deserving sports organisations and for special tournaments and competitions. This has been of great assistance to the sports loving people of India. The AICS also arranges for coaching of Indians by foreign experts and that has done much good too. The States Councils have not been of much use for the reason that whereas the Central Council has outstanding men who have a good knowledge of games and sports the States' Councils are managed by politicians. The AICS is however controlled by Ministries of Education and Finance which quite often cause embarrassment to patrons of sports in India and difficulties for the Federations which really organise and manage the different kinds of games, sports and athletics in India. The official interference quite often leads to trouble which none can deal with. All games, sports and athletics have internationally recognised rules, regulations, procedures and standards which our Ministries cannot change. For example, if the Ministry of Education require all foot ball teams to play tripartite games on a triangular ground with three sets of goal posts and three teams of thirteen players each, such games will not be recognised as football internationally. The Ministry of Finance may desire a single man to go and take part in a boxing tournament in behalf of India. In fact they actually did want this to be done at the Tokyo Olympiad in 1964. Our national insolvency or foreign exchange shortage cannot

change the rules of boxing which demand that all boxers must be accompanied by competent seconds when they take part in contests.

This year the Asian Games will be held in Bangkok in December. The Games will continue for 25 days. The Indian Federation were instructed by the Indian Olympic Association to train up their contesting teams in a suitable manner. Persons who had attained a certain minimum standard of excellence in particular games or sports were accepted as probable participants in Asian Games. In this manner India collected a first class contingent of sportsmen of sound ability numbering about 150 persons in all. But the Ministry of Education in consultation with the Finance Ministry wish to limit the contingent to 81 persons including managers, coaches and officials. The games and sports included in Asian Games are numerous. Football, Hockey, Volley Ball, Water Polo, Cycling, Swimming, Rifle Shooting, Field Sports, Weight Lifting, Wrestling, Boxing are some of the events. Many of these have events of different kinds requiring separate persons and teams to participate. For instance, a long distance runner cannot also run middle distances and do short sprints and the hurdles. Long and high jumps, relays, pole vault, shot put, discus, javelin and so forth, all require separate contestants. Men and women do these separately too in most events. So that a full athletic team may easily have 70—80 persons in it with officials. Football and Hockey teams with extra players, managers, coaches etc may run to 25 persons for each. A normal Swimming team of men and women with Water Polo players can reach upto 35 persons easily. Wrestling and Boxing have many

weights and teams of 20 persons are quite common for international tournaments. Volley Ball and Weight Lifting too can require 35 persons, so that an Indian contingent of over 200 persons would not have been too big for the purpose of representing India in the Asian Games. A full contingent improves the morale of the contestants. A team with no extra men to replace the injured or to make last minute changes, cannot give a good account of itself. Lone boxers and wrestlers feel lost too. And India has many internationally recognised officials, judges, referees, time keepers etc who should accompany these teams so that other nations do not have a monopoly of managing the show. If two hundred persons go to a foreign country by Air India planes, the foreign exchange requirements for a stay of 25 days would be £ 10000 at £ 2 p. d. per man. If the expenses are increased by 50% or even 100% the amount would go up to 15 or 20 thousand pounds. We donot know how much foreign money our various political-economic delegations spend annually to achieve what little they do by their trips abroad. Whatever they spend cannot put India on the map of the world in the manner that participation in Asian or Olympic Games can. Every time an Indian team goes abroad, our Ministries behave in an objectionable manner. Our players and sportsmen are humiliated by these bureaucrats and they donot like it. The savings in foreign exchange are negligible compared to the hundreds of crores that we constantly borrow and spend. It would therefore seem that the real purpose of interfering with the development of games and sports is love of INTERFERENCE, not effecting savings. Actually the Government should have no powers to interfere in

matters concerning games and sports. They should give grants to the I. O. A. who are no less competent to deal with it than the A I C S. Grants can be ear-marked if Government wish to be sure of the correctness of the expenditure. The State Councils of Sports can be abolished and grants made directly to the State Federations for specific purposes.

The decision of the IOA to cancel their participation in the Asian Games has been a great loss to India in so far as it has kept some very fine sportsmen from proving their merit in an international meet. But the attitude of the Government left no alternative for the President of the I O A. We sympathise with our athletes and players and we hope we shall have a better and more sensible Government by the time we send a team to the Mexico Olympics.

An Independent Front

Feeling that political parties have not acquitted themselves very well during the period they have operated the Democracy of India, some persons who belong to no political Party have formed an Independent Front for the ensuing elections. They think that the formation of parties has stood in the way of the development of true nationalism in India and has also encouraged self-seeking and corruption among persons protected by the political Parties. Independent men and women who are unconditionally and unequivocally nationalistic can join the Independent Front without subscribing to any other creed and without undertaking to obey the dictates of a Party or a similar body.

In its first Press Conference some of the sponsors of the Independent Front declared

that they wanted full employment for all Indians of working age as they felt socialism without full employment would be a farce. For members of a socialist state could participate in the national income honourably only through proper employment. The development of capital intensive industries gave insufficient employment to the millions of persons who lived in India. They wanted more of labour intensive industries. The same members of the Independent Front said India should have a stable gold standard rupee even if it meant revaluation of the rupee in terms of the no-standard rupee that now circulates and is inflated constantly by the reckless managers of India's economy. A gold standard rupee at any cost, no more foreign loans come what may and full defence arrangements including nuclear weapons even if that meant throwing overboard our much advertised and weak kneed foreign policy ; declared the Independent Front men.

In their second Press Conference, held at Spences' Restaurant, Calcutta, the I. F. introduced Mr. Mihir Sen, Bar-at-Law of Occanswimming fame as their first candidate for a parliamentary seat. Mr. Sen would be standing from South Calcutta. It was declared that all the seven Assembly seats of that Zone would be contested by the I. F. and the names of the candidates would be announced soon. Mr. Mihir Sen said he would try to mobilise the youth of India and with them try to solve India's political and economic problems. He said India's name has become mud in all Capitals of Europe, America, Asia and Africa due to the begging campaign carried on ceaselessly by the Congress Party. He said the world thought India was cracking up though Mrs. Gandhi thought otherwise. If the Congress were allowed to carry on the

government of the country in the manner they have been doing during the last nineteen years, the first Republic of India will soon cease to exist. If the youth of India put their shoulders to the work of saving India from utter ruin, they will surely succeed. Mr. Sen thought he would be able to muster a good enough number to come to the aid of Mother India. Extra territorial loyalties cannot be tolerated any more than extra territorial bondages. We want to be free from all bonds or obligations attaching our destiny with Washington, London, Moscow or Peking. All parties which aimed at the creation and strengthening of such bonds would be in fact destroying the very foundations of our national independence. India's greatness can only be built upon realities and not on thoughts or unenforced legislation. These realities must be faced boldly and not side stepped adroitly.

Food Shortage in India

It is very difficult to say anything about food production in India. It is still more difficult to explain how India can have any food shortage. All "facts" and figures published by Government appear to be thoroughly unreal and fantastic and one cannot rely upon any of these at any time for any practical purpose. India is a country with an area of about 1,262,000 sq.miles. Converted to acres this will give us an area of 814 m. acres. We have always been given to understand that half of the soil of India is cultivable; but we find from published figures that the cultivated area in India is only 350 m. acres even after the great progress made by our Government during the last 19 years. We have also understood that in spite of our low productivity we have an average production rate of about $\frac{1}{2}$ ton. per

acre at each cultivation. If a fair portion of our cultivated lands grow two crops 350 m. acres should yield much more than 79 m. tonnes annually, granting that various cash crops and other agricultural products take up the second cultivation entirely. However low the yield one cannot have only 78 million tonnes of food grains from 350 m. acres of land. And one would also like to know why 60 m. acres or more are not cultivated. Then the 79 m. tonnes can give 16 ozs. of food grains per day per capita to our entire population, irrespective of age or physical condition. That and other supporting articles in the diet should give necessary nourishment to the people. Our fully rationed areas give about 10 ozs. per head per day. If therefore even the 79 m. tonnes are properly used there should be no food shortage in India. If however the 350 m. acres are properly cultivated the total yield of food grains should be well over 100 m. tonnes and that should take care of all those millions who eat double rations. We have said before this that food production, procurement and distribution in India have something mysterious in their assessment and handling by Government men. India should be able to feed all her people through her agriculture quite comfortably. With proper irrigation and chemical manuring she could have a large surplus of food and much bigger cash crops. But the Government only moans groans, begs and borrows!

Is India Cracking Up?

—Or only the Indian National Congress?—

Our Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi does not think so. We should be able to express an opinion on the subject if we could precisely

describe what cracking up means. There is great agitation and upsurge of strong feelings everywhere in the country but that may lead to great and beneficial changes in the system of administration, economic development, the social order and in other important spheres of life. That will be the opposite of cracking up. If on the other hand the feelings displayed got suppressed or if nothing happened in a lawful and constitutional manner to remove the evils, wants and frustrations against which, generally speaking, the people are protesting; then things might take a different turn and lawlessness might assume the dimensions of a large scale civil commotion. No one can predict what exactly will happen for the reason that mixed up with genuine outbursts of indignation are quite a lot of artificially fostered and stage-managed demonstrations. These latter have more bark than bite in them and one cannot consider them as symptomatic of a country-wide civil unrest. These will pass as soon as the elections are over. So that we shall be able to assess more exactly what might happen to India only after the elections. The elections might bring about changes which would appease public feelings. Or, yet, things may happen which will aggravate the situation. In any case one has to wait and see what happens in the elections before one can make any prophesies.

Intensive Cultivation

Intensive cultivation, which includes irrigation, seed selection, the use of chemical and natural manure and hard work, can achieve wonders. Whereas from officially published figures production of grain in India would appear to be about 7 mds per acre; there are numerous people in India who produce more than 50 mds per acre in various parts of the country. There are a good few who have produced more than 100 mds. per acre. In the circumstances

the best way to solve the food problem in India should be through the better known methods of intensive cultivation. As dams and canals take a long time and much money to construct, villagers should be encouraged to dig ponds and wells for irrigation. Ponds serve a double purpose. They can be used for pisciculture and for duck farming too. A pond measuring one acre with an average depth of 20 ft. would require excavation of about ten lakhs cubic feet of earth. Any average man, assisted by women to carry away the earth, can dig up about 250 cft of earth in a day. That is one can dig up more than 6000 cft. in a working month of 25 days. A team of 25 men assisted by 25 women can, therefore, dig a fair sized pond in six months. They can recondition old ponds in less than two months. An average village in India has about a thousand acres of cultivable land. It has also four or five ponds of various capacity and they are mostly in need of reconditioning. Almost all villages can put up teams of 50 or more persons who can recondition all ponds in a village within a few months and also dig one more every year. That work should be undertaken straight away, helped by ordinances and the costs recovered by water supply taxes. The State Banks can advance money for this purpose through the District Magistrates, assisted by S.D.O.s and other officials. If the team workers are paid Re. 1 and 50 paise p.d. for men and women respectively, the cost cannot exceed Rs. 10000 per village in a year. The cost for the whole of India cannot exceed Rs. 400 crores as there are thousands of villages which are served by other irrigation projects.

The real trouble with India is that all schemes of village improvement soon get involved in politics. The politicians in the villages are always in want. The higher officials, therefore, cannot trust them with funds which get misused at times. As a result the whole idea of **gram panchayat**

and all the rest of it serves little practical purpose. In such circumstances the trustworthy officials should be drawn into the scheme and the work carried out district-wise and in a manner which will begin to yield results very soon. What we are suggesting can be carried out by the State Governments quite easily. Men can be transferred from various Government offices where they have little work now, to do the work of supervision. The Police and the Food and Supplies Department men should be strictly barred from taking any part in this work. Mrs. Indira Gandhi can inaugurate the scheme separately and cut all Planning and Development talent of the Government and the Congress out of it. They have proved to be expensive failures. If she can achieve this she will have done something for which India will remember her. She always talks about putting this thing or that on a war footing. Total War means that the entire nation should devote itself to the purpose of war, **forgetting everything else.** Mrs. Indira Gandhi should forget all other **high level** considerations and devote her energies entirely to the problem of food supply.

Another Reason for Food Shortage

It is a very surprising thing that in spite of great food shortage and high price of food materials, the production of food is very low in India. There is lack of irrigation, good seeds, manure and ability to pay essential expenses; but another and more important thing that stands in the way of good cultivation with maximum effort, is the secret way in which landlordism is

being — carried on in spite of legislation against it. Half share was bad enough for *bhagchias* (share-cropping) but, now that things are being done surreptitiously and in an illegal manner, the half-share is often more in the sense that the actual cultivators are subjected to levy while the landlords escape it by putting their grains in the black market. This secret landlordism must be abolished and the actual cultivators given their rightful share of the product. The rest should come to the State and the landlords dismissed with compensation. They should be given a last chance to declare their secret holdings and to take their compensation as some large holders have done in the past. Then the cultivators can pay the landlords' share in grains or in cash as the State may decide.

Secret violation of the law is rampant in India. The laws against child marriage are being violated everyday by all persons who still do not believe in progress. Laws against food adulteration are not obeyed at all; goalas water their milk shamelessly and all the time. There are millions of criminals in India who are really living by petty larceny, robbery and goondalism everywhere. The police know most of them but no action is taken to put them to proper work and to save law abiding people from their **zulum**. There are rackets everywhere which should be wiped out; but who will undertake to do that, when the makers of law and the administration have to collaborate with quite a good few of the racketeers for political reasons? The politicians are, of course, deeper in these with only honourable exceptions.

DR. KALIDAS NAG

Dr. RADHABINOD PAL

It would be doing an ill-service to the illustrious memory of an erudite scholar to attempt to give an account of the activities of Dr. Kalidas Nag in a paper like this. By the death of Dr. Kalidas Nag on 8th November, 1966, in his seventy-sixth year, India has lost not only one of her brightest luminaries but also a powerful and beneficent influence on her cultural development.

Son of late Mottilal Nag, Dr. Kalidas Nag was born in Calcutta in February, 1891 and had his early education at the Sibpur English High School and passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1908. He then joined the Scottish Churches College, Calcutta, from where he graduated with high Honours in History in 1912. Immediately after obtaining his M.A. degree from the Calcutta University in 1914, he joined the staff of the Scottish Churches College as a lecturer in History and continued to work there for the next 4 years when, in 1919, he went out to Ceylon as Principal of the Mahinda College in Galle.

He worked in Ceylon for only a year after which he went abroad for higher studies. He joined the University of Paris and studied for 3 years at the Bibliothèque Nationale d'le Sorbonne, Collège de France, and Ecole d' Louvre. He also worked at his researches at the British Museum in London and at the India Office Library. In 1923 the University of Paris accepted his thesis—*Le Theorie Diplomatique d' d'Ind Ancienne a la Arthashastra* and awarded him the degree of D. Litt. He was also given a cash award of Fr. 2,000 by the Assyris Foundation.

While in Europe as a student, he participated in several important international conferences. In 1922 he was a prominent participant at the Congress of Education held in Geneva. A year later he was an active delegate to the Locarno Peace Conference and to the sessions of the Orientalist Congress held in Berlin and Prague. Dr. Nag, on the occasion, also visited all the important centres of learning, museums of art, famous picture galleries and centres of cultural

activity in Italy, Spain, Germany, England, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland. He was also invited to speak to many eminent centres of cultural activity and learning in these countries. On his way back to India, he visited Sweden, Norway, Egypt and Jerusalem and other places of interest.

On his return to India from Europe, he was appointed Professor of Ancient India History and Culture at the Calcutta University, a post which he continued to adorn for the next 32 years. This was also the signal for a varied and widening field of activity for Dr. Nag. He became closely associated with the education and culture centres of many lands and made special and valuable contributions to intellectual and cultural exchanges with other countries. He became a member of the Executive Council of the Visva-Bharati at its very inception and was an active participant in its counsels for the next 20 years.

In 1924 he accompanied Rabindranath Tagore on a cultural exchange mission to a large number of Eastern countries including Burma, Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Champa, Cambodia, China, Japan etc. In 1930 he visited Geneva again on an invitation from the League of Nations and later went on a lecture tour to North America and virtually covered all the important art, culture and education centres and universities right across the American continent. In 1936 he visited Buenos Ayres as a delegate to the World P. E. N. Congress and toured through the whole of the South American and much of the African continents on a lecture mission. The Honolulu University invited him in 1937 for a course of extension lectures, when he also spoke at the Honolulu Academy of Fine Arts. He also participated as India's accredited representative at the Commonwealth Relations Conference held in Sydney, when he travelled across the whole of the Australian continent and in New Zealand and New South Wales.

Dr. Nag indeed could never be a negligible personality in any company of the world's

intelligentsia. His commanding presence, his rich, resonant voice, his earnest, direct and compelling address, are still fresh in the minds of all who knew him.

Of the immensity of Dr. Nag's erudition there can be no two opinions. His mind was always bursting with ideas of which sometimes only a darting gleam or glint could be got round on the pages.

The power of Dr. Nag's almost febrile intelligence was such that it might devour the life of its possessor by turning every experience into reflection: Unlike so many great minds Dr. Nag, however, was aware of this in himself, and could thus forewarn himself against the subtle and omnivorous depredations of his intellect.

Intellectuals are often apt to become, like the fabulous Laputans, wholly absent-minded, drifting off into speculation, forgetting altogether about the persons and things in front of them. These cerebral people are incapable of the ordinary human interchange involved in conversation. Their eyes do not focus on the person or object before them.

Dr. Kalidas Nag, however, attained to that fullness and naturalness of Being which is rare amongst the intellectuals. He did not lose life to his scholarship and succeeded in keeping green his Life's glowing tree. He did not look out upon the external world through windows from the isolation of his ego. Everywhere and always he was already *out of doors* with his fellow beings. No doubt he was one of the most brilliant minds of his times; yet never too brilliant to need any little saving streak of earth-bound common sense so that the feet can be planted on the soil of some unshakable fact.

We always saw in Dr. Nag the well-rounded individual, the whole integral man not a mere intellectual fragment of man, not a fragment wholly rooted in the enlightenment—or, uprooted in it.

Dr. Nag was one of that generation of Indians for whom the outbreak of the First World War coming in the first years of their matured life marked a turning point in their way of looking at the world and its so-called civilization. August 1914 is the axial date in Modern world history, and once past it, we are

directly confronted with the present-day world. The sense of power over the material universe with which modern man emerged from the Middle Ages, changed on that date into its opposite: a sense of weakness and dereliction before the whirlwind that man is able to unleash but not to control. That feeling of danger has persisted and grown stronger, and to the present generation it has come as an uncanny awareness of the explosive quality of man's secular powers. This awareness is a far cry from that sense of intoxication and power with which the Renaissance and the Enlightenment sought to banish the darkness of the Middle Ages and to turn their energies confidently to the conquest of nature.

There are indeed two primary methods of looking at life which stand in contradiction to each other. The one is the method of regarding the system of Nature as the final reality to which man must adjust himself. The other regards Nature from the human perspective as either chaos or meaningless order from which man will have to be freed.

Every people passes through some stages of mental clarification in order to find its own solution of the eternal problem with which Nature confronts man.

The Occident took the second view and shaped its response to the challenge of Nature accordingly, which led it to such bold ventures as the smashing of atoms.

The Orient chose the other view. They preferred to think of a re-modelling of man through the forces of Nature in order to adjust man himself to the harmony of Nature. The Orient thus preferred to Occident's superactivity that restrained activity after which the whole world is now yearning and which lies dormant in the depth of man's spirit. The Orient never wanted to conquer Nature. It has never been their aim to conquer the outer world. The people of the Orient had always sought to understand Nature and to adapt themselves to its order and working.

In Dr. Nag the Orient and the Occident met and co-existed peacefully. His Occidental education did not in any way affect his Oriental spirit particularly in this respect. Indeed this happy combination did result in him that new kind of attitude and new type of scholarship as are required for the present day world in which the alien

cultures have come to meet and co-exist. Now men everywhere are called upon to open their intuition and imagination, even their souls, to the possibility of insights, beliefs and values other than their own thus bringing scholarship to bear upon the world's problems as a whole.

In line with the post-World War technical developments, *new global theories* have been evolved which hold that air is now the medium in which ultimate power resides. Some of the most noted proponents of this type of theory, after describing the bipolarization of power in North America and in Eurasia concludes that a great industrial nation should organize its military efforts toward the establishment of world-wide supremacy. This theorist urges that the great deterrent to the potential enemy should be the threat of massive *air retaliation* on so large a scale as to amount to virtual annihilation of the enemy.

Politics thus is still the sum total of the methods of self-preservation constantly eyeing the force for the purpose. But it forgets to tell us whose self-preservation it has in view !

The one essential premise for the survival of mankind now is that the actions of statesmen also need the ethical illumination.

Today we face the question of how to escape from physical force and from war, lest we all perish at the nuclear war. It may indeed be inspiring that the answer to this question came from Asia. Our Gandhijee in word and deed gave the true answer ; only a *suprapolitical force* can bring political salvation now.

Gandhijee's nonviolence had suprapolitical roots and succeeded. Unique, indeed, is the great fact that a man who clearly knew what he was doing and demonstrated it by his life engaged in politics on a supra-political basis. Sacrificing his own person he turned the supra-political into a valid political force in our time. He did not divorce politics from ethics and religion but anchored them there unconditionally : better to die, better to wipe the whole nation off the map, than to surrender the purity of the spirit !

Dr. Kalidas Nag, who truly became a contemporary of the globe-trotting savants of olden times in the breadth of his outlook on life and the universalism that characterized his humanism, was a true believer in this suprapolitical force and in Asia's mission in this respect. This induced him to present to the world the result of his "Discovery of Asia", where he wrote :

Religion apart, the basic intellectual ideas of the East are reacting clearly against the aggression of the West. The Cairo Conference on Afro-Asian solidarity gives a signal that civilization may yet be salvaged and Humanity saved through the solemn and scientific truths of co-existence and nonviolence. May the men and women of good will all the world over join Asia to strengthen the cause of world peace for, as the Indian sages ever pronounced, Humanity stands on the foundations of Peace, Goodness and Unity :

-शांतिम् शिवम् अद्वैतम्



KALIDAS NAG

Dr. RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR

I have no recollection now exactly when I first made the acquaintance of Kalidas Nag. It was sometime in 1915 or 1916. He was junior to me by 2 or 3 years and we were never students of the same college; but we were attracted to each other by some common interests and inclinations. Both of us were keen on research in Ancient Indian history, both of us had great devotion to Tagore, and we were both in the teaching profession. These were the chief attractions, but the genial personality of young Kalidas Nag was the most important factor. He often visited me in the evening and I still remember how on many moonlight nights he delighted myself and my wife on the roof of my house at Bhawanipur with his melodious songs of Rabindranath. It is a strange coincidence, so far as I am concerned, that both of them (my wife and Nag) left me within a fortnight. I had also spent many days and nights with Kalidas at Darjeeling and we often went in the morning to Birchhill where Kalidas sang Tagore songs. Many persons know of the public life and academic contributions of Kalidas Nag but few know of his genial personality and character. That is why I put these few facts, but I need not pursue these personal details any further.

Kalidas Nag began his life as a lecturer in Scottish Church College almost immediately after passing the M.A. examination, in 1914 and continued in this post for six years. Nirad Chandra Chowdhury, who was his student, has referred to his lectures and personality in very appreciative terms in his book "Auto-biography of an Unknown Indian". Another student, Soumyendra Nath Tagore, said in a meeting in connection with the centenary of Romain Rolland that it was from Kalidas Nag that he and his other class-fellows heard of Romain Rolland for the first time. These things indicate that Kalidas Nag was not a teacher of the stereotyped fashion. After serving as a Principal of the Mahinda College (Ceylon) for two years, Kalidas joined the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University and served there upto 1953. In the meantime, he obtained the Doctorate degree of the University of Paris

by his thesis, *Les Theories Diplomatiques De L'Inde Ancienne Et L'Arthasastra*.

Dr. Nag came into close personal touch with a number of men of international fame, among whom may be specially mentioned Romain Rolland and Rabindranath Tagore. He helped the former in writing biographies of some eminent Indians. He accompanied Rabindranath to China, Ceylon and other places and wrote very interesting accounts of these tours. All this was possible because Dr. Nag had an international outlook, and, as he has himself said, he was inspired by the vision of 'unity of man in history' by his association with Tagore. He has left a permanent memorial of his wide human outlook and keen thirst for the knowledge of primitive humanity and its gradual cultural evolution in his two books: 1. *India and the Pacific World* and 2. *Art and Archaeology Abroad*.

Inspired by the same vision, he travelled extensively not only over Europe and America, but also all over Asia, both East and West, including not only China and Japan but also Honolulu, New Zealand and Middle East, and the two books mentioned above are the results of his experience of these extensive tours.

The beginning of this wider outlook may be traced in his earlier life, while both of us, as young research students, dreamt of writing the history of greater Bengal. When in 1943, he presented me a copy of his book "*India and the Pacific World*", he wrote the following lines in his own hand on the page of dedication:—

" To
Dr. Ramesh Chandra Mazumdar, M.A., Ph.D.
From
his loyal friend and colleague in the cause
of Greater Bengal and Greater India
Kalidas Nag
1. 1. 1943 "

Our common interest found a permanent shape in the establishment of the Greater India Society.

But in spite of these wider interests, he did not forget for a moment that we have another and

a far greater task viz., regeneration of Indian culture. He was associated with many educational and cultural institutions and it was a marvel to me how he attended three, four, or even more functions in a single day. I used to call him a Priest of the Lakshmi Puja who performs worship of the Goddess in a large number of houses in the same evening.

Up to the very end of his life Dr. Nag maintained his interest in cultural regeneration of India and uplift of humanity in all possible ways. He was never tired of meeting peoples individually or in groups to serve this purpose. In him India has lost a noble soul and I, a great and charming personal friend, whose memory will always be a rich treasure in my life.

DR. KALIDAS NAG : IN MEMORIAM

Principal DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

Kalidas Nag, Kedarnath Chatterjee, Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis and myself were contemporaries in our college life. Kalidas, Prasanta and myself—we all graduated in 1912; Kalidas with History Honours from Scottish Churches College, Prasanta with Physics Honours from Presidency College, and myself with Mathematics Honours from City College; and Kedar left for U.K. before graduation here. Two years later, in 1914, Kalidas and myself passed M.A.—Kalidas in History and myself in Mixed Mathematics. Since those days in college—now over half-a-century ago—in spite of the diverse courses that our lives' streams have taken,—we have ever remained close friends: if anything with the efflux of time, our mutual friendship and attachment had deepened; and we have watched one another's careers with the utmost interest. In view of this deep attachment and affection that have bound us together, it is difficult—if not well-nigh impossible—for me to take a detached view of my friend Kalidas's life and career; and I shall, accordingly, be very brief in my tribute.

After having completed his University course here in Calcutta, and thereafter putting in several years of service as a Professor of History in Calcutta and as Principal of Mahinda College, Ceylon, when he proceeded to France, and there obtained a doctorate in History (on a thesis on "*Les theories diplomatiques de l'Inde ancienne*") at the University of Paris, we all felt-delighted.

The subsequent career of Dr. Kalidas Nag evoked our pride and admiration. His meeting with the master-minds of Europe like Sylvain Levi and Romain Rolland and his intimate contact with them; his close association with Poet Tagore

in his travels as well as in the *Visva-Bharati*; the ever-expanding horizon of his mind stretching over the entire Orient—if not the whole world from China to Peru; his original contributions in this direction envisaged in his "*India and the Pacific World*", "*Greater India*", "*New Asia*" and "*India and the World*" a journal he so ably Edited, all these marked him out as a real "*Citizen of the world*". Most of us, in course of years, develop a narrow single-track sort of mind, but not so Kalidas; he had a wide vision, a world-outlook, a real "*Weltanschauung*" as the Germans say. His universal sympathies made him cry out—like Protagoras of old—in the exaltation of his soul "*Homo Sum; humani vitat a me alienum puta*" ("I am a man; nothing human can be alien to me.")

When both of us had retired from service, Kalidas and I were again brought—by a rather fortunate freak of fate—very close together. In the first Parliament of Free India, both of us became members of the Council of States—Kalidas at a nominated and myself an elected member. Naturally we were closely associated in our Parliamentary activities. Dr. Kalidas Nag, by his clear presentation, soulful eloquence and suavity of manners, very soon made his mark in Parliament.

Now, after having lived a full, noble and colourful life—ever under the Great Taskmaster's eye—this great soul which in life disdained all shackles, has winged its flight away from this mundane world towards that "undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns." May my life-long beloved friend find his life's fruition in the sublime adventure of Death; and may his soul rest in peace!

DR. KALIDAS NAG

(Specially Contributed)

The death of Dr. Kalidas Nag on the 8th November, 1966, removed a vital cultural link between India and the world. For nearly half a century, Kalidas Nag has been going from country to country, community to community, to the Universities of the world, to the great libraries, research centres, cultural societies, international organisations and to the homes of those who have been the best representatives of human civilisation in different countries. Thus he came to know the world of learning, culture and human fellowship intimately and extensively and he was second to none in his knowledge of Humanity of to-day or of the centuries and millenia that have gone. His knowledge was not restricted to the world of learning and "high culture". He constantly met and mixed with ordinary people and he knew the common man of numerous countries intimately and well. He mixed with children, played with them and sang with them in tune with Rabindranath's song :

"Thus it was that I loved
The dance of light on tree leaves
.....
.....
And I filled my two eyes with the vision
Of children ; who drink
Newly of the flow of light
That streams out of the blue skies.

Kalidas Nag was a great scholar and a Humanist and he was for ever in search of new inspiration for a deeper and yet fuller understanding of the many shapes and forms that civilisation has assumed through the ages.

He was born in February, 1891 in Calcutta. His father Motilal Nag and mother Kamala Devi moved on to Shibpur, a suburb of Calcutta, at a later date. Kalidas studied at the Shibpur High School and passed his Entrance examination in 1908. After this he joined the Scottish Churches College (then called General Assembly College) and graduated with honours in History in 1912. During his college days he used to stay with his

maternal uncle Bijay Krishna Bose who was Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens at Alipur near the Viceregal Palace in which Hastings fought a duel with Francis in the eighteenth century. After graduation he joined the Calcutta University Post-Graduate classes and qualified for his Master's degree in History in 1914. Thereafter he worked as Professor of History at the Scottish Churches College for three years. During these years he travelled widely in India, took part in some archaeological excavations which were being carried out under the supervision of Professor Rakhaldas Banerjee, who located Mahenjodaro and Harappa, delivered many lectures in various educational institutions and learned societies in various parts of India. His fame as a lecturer and scholar spread and he was invited by the authorities of the Buddhist Mahinda College of Ceylon to accept the Principalship of that institution. He worked in Ceylon for one year and decided to go over to France for higher studies in 1920. In France he began his research work in the University of Paris and submitted his thesis "Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the Artha Shastra" for which he was granted the D. Litt. (Tres Honorable) degree in 1923.

During his stay in Europe, Kalidas Nag worked under the eminent Indologist Sylvain Levi of the College de France, who spoke very highly of his ability as a historian and an archaeologist.

Kalidas Nag read a paper on the *Humanization of History* at the Third International Congress of Education at Geneva in 1922. He discussed *Greater India—a Study in Indian Internationalism* in the Peace Congress of Locarno in 1923. He also joined the Congress of German Orientalists in Berlin, spoke at the Peace Congress at Prague and represented the Calcutta University at the International Congress of Libraries and Librarians at Paris in 1923. He made a study tour of the Museums, Art Galleries and important Universities of Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Germany and Spain. He lectured at the Oriental Institute, of Oslo, the Historical Academy of Stock-

holm and the Students' Congress at Trondhjem. On his way back to India after obtaining his Doctorate from Paris, Kalidas Nag visited Alexandria, Cairo, Memphis and Jerusalem. He was appointed Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture by the Calcutta University on his return to India. He did this work for 32-years.

In 1924 Dr. Nag accompanied Rabindranath Tagore to China and Japan. On his way back Dr. Nag visited Indo-China, Java, Bali, Malaya, Burma and other countries. During this tour he lectured on Indian Art and Culture at the Universities of Peking, Nanking, Keifung, Hankow, Shanghai, Kyoto, Tokyo, Batavia, Surabaya, Hanoi, and Saigon. He was a member of the Governing Body of the Visva-Bharati for nearly twenty years. He was Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for some years. He organised the Greater India Society and published many monographs on "Indian Culture Abroad" from the Society. About this time (1927) he published his "Greater India", a study in Indian Internationalism. He was invited as temporary collaborator by the League of Nations in 1930 and after his work there he was appointed visiting Professor, Institute of International Education, New York and he lectured on Indian History, Literature, Art and Culture at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and at the Universities of Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Evanston, Pittsburgh, Minnesota, Los Angeles, South California, Berkeley, Oregon and Montana. He returned to India in 1931. His most important work in 1932 was the publication of the "Golden Book of Tagore" celebrating the 70th birthday of Rabindranath Tagore. He delivered the convocation address at the Gurukul University in 1934. In 1936 he went to Buenos Ayres representing India at the World Writers' P. E. N. Congress. During his return journey he visited Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil, Ireland, South Africa and Ceylon. He was appointed visiting Professor by the University of Hawaii and he inaugurated the Indic Department of the University in 1937. His lectures were on the History of Indian Thought, Indian Sociology, Archaeology and Art. He also addressed the Honolulu Academy of Arts. He delivered an address on "Above All Nations is Humanity." The next year he represented India at the Commonwealth Relations Conference,

Sydney and lectured at Perth, Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Auckland and Wellington. He went to the University of the Philippines as Guest Professor and spoke on Tagore and Gandhi. He revisited Indo-China, Siam, Malaya and Burma.

The war of 1939-45 prevented him from going outside India for a few years. He wrote some valuable books during these years and published "India and the Pacific World" (1940-41), "Tagore in China and Ceylon" (1944-46), "Indian History and Civilisation" (in Bengali, English and Hindi), and several monographs. He joined the First Asian Relations Conference at Delhi, World Pacific Conference at Santiniketan and worked on the Fulbright Committee (1950-52). About the same time he went on a cultural mission to the Middle East and lectured on Indian History and Art at the Universities of Teheran, Bagdad, Damascus, Beirut, Ankara, Istanbul and toured Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt as adviser of the Calcutta Art Society. He also helped in the publication of the Bethune College Centenary Volume, Mohabodhi Diamond Jubilee Volume, the Bi-centenary volume, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in commemoration of Sir William Jones. He also published "Tolstoy and Gandhi" which was presented to the Tolstoy Museum, Moscow by Dr. Radhakrishnan who was then Ambassador of India in Russia. He was made a Fellow of the Calcutta University and was appointed by the same University as representative to the International Universities' Association (UNESCO) at Paris. He was appointed visiting Professor, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota in 1951-52 and was accompanied by his wife and daughters. In 1961-62 he visited Russia and later went to Hiroshima to obtain first hand knowledge of the devastation caused by the American atom bomb. What he saw there created a deep impression on his mind. He had always been a pacifist and considered war as a crime against humanity. The mass slaughter of 150,000 men, women and children at Hiroshima and Nagasaki made him think even more intensively of Peace, Human Welfare and Unity.

Kalidas Nag was a profound scholar who made a study of human life and civilisation in a comprehensive and all-embracing manner. He was a Professor of Indian History and Culture, but that was to him only an important branch of

human history and civilisation. Human life began in some dim dark recesses of time millions of years ago. It evolved at different periods in different places; but like the flow of mountain springs the streams of human life joined up with one another to create a greater current of life which divided and spread in many directions as it swept on. Humanity thus has spread to Asia, Europe, Africa, the Americas and the great islands of the Pacific. There had been great cultural currents that carried the thoughts and cultural activities of far away communities to other lands and their peoples. Thus, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Sumer, Chaldea, Crete, Mycenae, the Hellenic lands, China, India, Japan and all other centres of human life communicated with one another long before history took any definite shape. Even the Aztecs, the Toltecs, the Mayans and the little known communities of isolated places had something to give to others. The speed of such communication was slow and lasted through millenia. Thus Tibetan culture might have gone to South America and influenced the Amerindians; but it might have taken 20,000 years or more to complete this work of cultural and racial infiltration.

Kalidas Nag travelled through virtually the entire world several times during his life. The ancient traveller-scholars Megasthenes, I-tsing, Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsang, Alberuni, Ibn Batuta, Marco Polo and others travelled slowly and had to stay many years in one country to study its people and their religion, manners and customs. Kalidas Nag could combine in one life time the experience and work of many such profound students of life and civilisation on account of modern means of quick transportation. He could see humanity in a wider and clearer perspective than his predecessors whose example he followed. He could also more fully express and embody his thoughts and findings in his books, which, by no means, form a complete record of his intellectual experiences acquired during his numerous tours of discovery. His later publications, viz., "China and Gandhian India", "India and the Pacific World", "Greater India" and "Discovery of Asia" give one some idea of the immensity of his knowledge.

As we mourn the loss of a unique personality, a great scholar, a Humanist of rare quality and a valued friend and preceptor of thousands of

men and women of many countries, we remember our long association with him in India and Europe. We came to know him at the Jora-Sank house of Rabindranath Tagore and at Santiniketan where many went to seek inspiration from the Poet-Philosopher. Kalidas Nag was a good singer, a charming conversationalist and a literary man of talent. He took part in the impromptu act that Sukumar Ray organised in Santiniketan at the house of Dinendra Nath Tagore. That was when he had become a Professor of history in the Scottish Churches College. We saw him quite often during the years that he spent in Europe and we had the pleasure to accompany him on some of his sight seeing tours. He always impressed us by his wide knowledge of little known subjects. Painting, sculpture, architecture, stained glass, music, drama, French cooking or the arts of book binding, gem setting, cameo cutting or anything else that had enriched human life at any time, enthused Kalidas Nag equally. It was Kalidas Nag who first told us about Jamini Roy's *Potua* art and it was he, again, who took delight in the rag made *Kanthas* of Bengal or the wooden toys sold at the village fairs. It is only the truly great who can appreciate the simple emotions of the poor villagers and their expression through easily available media. Kalidas Nag took a keen interest in folk theatres (*Yatra*) songs, poems and *Upakhyaana* (mythological tales) and he cultivated the fellowship of common people to assess the real human value of all things of cultural significance. Kalidas Nag used to sing a song composed by Rabindranath Tagore of which we are attempting a free translation:

"The earthen lamp flickers in a corner of a
mud hut,
The Evening Star wants to see the
shimmering rays,
That are like the sorrowfully yearning
glances of a beloved woman
That swing and sway like the fear in a
mother's heart.
The earthen lamp is lit and is put out
In the heart of the green Earth,
And trembles every moment as if in pain
As the wind blows in an urge of restlessness.
The Immortal Flames are roused by their
eagerness
To see the earthly light shine."

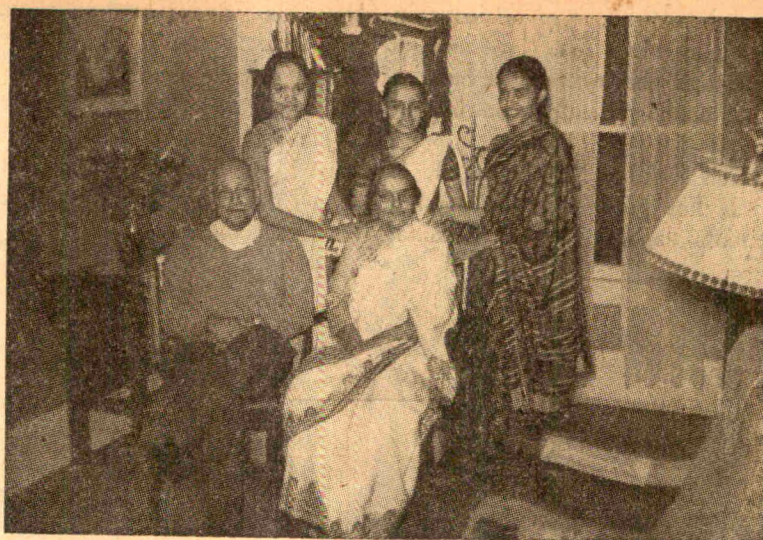
There is a close bond of love and friendship between things great and things that come and go unnoticed. Grandeur and charm create a balance and a rhythm that enable life to continue in creation.

The age to which Kalidas Nag belonged is no longer there. It has gone with the passing away of Rabindranath Tagore, Romain Rolland,

Mahatma Gandhi and all those great Humanists who tried to save mankind from the consequences of aggressive ambition. Dr. Nag was a close collaborator of many great men. He helped Rolland to understand India. He helped the Western intellectuals to understand the East. He served the cause of Peace, Goodness and Unity to his fullest ability.



Dr. Kalidas Nag, his wife Shanta Devi and their three daughters with Quaker friends in London, 1952



At St. Paul in Minnesota (U.S.A.)—Dr. Nag, Shanta Devi and their three daughters, 1952



Dr. Nag in his study in Calcutta 1964



Dr. Nag in Hawaii

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE FAR EAST

Dr. KALIDAS NAG

The study of Indian Art and Archaeology is undergoing a rapid change. While it was possible for Mr. Havell and Mr. V. A. Smith to write elaborate histories of Indian art with only desultory allusions to Java or Cambodge, Coomarswamy and his co-workers on the same field find it difficult not to devote a considerable part of their works to the detailed and intensive study of Far Eastern families of art and their Indian origins or affinities. It is no longer possible to discuss adequately the problems of Indian architecture, sculpture or iconography without reference to their vast Asiatic context. For nearly half a century the archaeological finds from Central Asia (Serindia), Indo-China, Indonesia, have been collected, compared and studied by European scholars, predominantly from the French, German and Dutch schools. The cumulative effect of their researches, have been felt in a gradual development of a new taste for art forms, and a new canon of art criticism transcending the narrow limits of Graeco-Roman norms. Goethe and Hegel would have been surprised, nay shocked, to find their modern descendants going into 'ecstasy over a Chinese landscape, a Japanese wood carving, a Cambodging temple on a Japanese decorative motif. The Christian Gothic Cathedral was a sufficient irritation to those nineteenth century aesthetes, what to speak of their feelings before a Khmer, Angkor Vat or an Indonesian Prajnaparamita! Yet we must admit that a vast change, nay a veritable revolution, has taken place in course of the last fifty years when the Orient and Orientalism have come to deliver aesthetic and cultural values undreamt of by Hegel and his contemporaries.

India, what to speak of the general mass, even in our academic representatives, is not yet fully alive to the significance of this change in the angle of vision. That is why we shall attempt to give some idea about one or two centres of study out of which has emanated not only a wealth of cultural data, but a new vision of India's role in the history of mankind. In a recent publication of the famous French School of Archaeology—Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient—we read the following significant passage:

"We feel here (in the appreciation of Oriental art) without doubt something more than a passing fad—a development of taste beyond the habits created by the canons of Occidental classicism. These new tendencies go hand in hand with a truer vision, dawning gradually, about the place occupied by the Far East, in the general history of Indian civilization. For a long time India believed herself to be bounded by the coast lines of the peninsula. Today she has started casting her glance on the world colonized by her beyond her frontiers, on her Golden Chersonese (*subarnabhumi*) and the Islands where so many and so beautiful works were born under her inspiration. And the time is not very far when the elite of New India will come to adore in Angkor, one of the noblest flowers of their national culture." (*Memoires Archeologiques*; Tome I, p. vi).

In the history of the progress of the Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient of Hanoi (Tonkin), we read the history of this progressive orientation. Ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, France took the lead in Oriental studies. The chance adventure of Napoleon in Egypt was the indirect cause of the epoch-making discovery

of Champollion, and **Egyptology**, at the beginning, was a French science. Keenly interested in Graeco-Roman culture as she was, France founded her schools of Athens and of Rome, but not stopping there, she founded that excellent centre of Egyptian antiquities—**The Archaeological Institute of Cairo** with one of the finest museums in Asia.

So, in two other important branches of Oriental studies France had the honour of founding simultaneously in 1815 a chair of Indology under Eugene Burnouf and a chair of Sinology under Abee Remusat in the College de France. With the consolidation of French power in Indo-china France started her systematic examination of its antiquities by starting an Archeological Commission (*La Commission Archeologique d' l'Indo-chine*) as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. Amidst heaps of antiquities Captain Etienne Aymoniere discovered the most valuable links between India and Indo-china, the Sanskrit inscriptions of the Hindoo colonies of Champa and Cambodge which were sent to the **Societe Asiatique** of Paris, which in its turn charged the then greatest Sanskritists Abel Bergaigne, the friend of Mon. A. Bartu and the guru of Mon. Sylvain Levi, both of whom helped Bergaigne in his work. As the result of this happy collaboration two important corpus of the Inscriptions of Champa and of Cambodge were published between 1883 and 1893. Interest in Indology, especially in its epigraphic branch, was already intensified by the monumental study of Emile Senart, on the Inscriptions of Piyadasi (1880-1886) and the name of Senart whose death (in 1928) at the ripe old age of 81, we are mourning, came to be associated soon with the foundation of the famous **Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient**. Mr. Paul Doumer, Governor-General of Indo-China, conceived in 1898 the idea of founding a regular French school of Archaeology for the Far East and sought the advice and

collaboration of Mon. Senart and two of his friends, Mon. Anguste Barth, the famous author of the 'Religion of India' and Mon. Michael Breal, the great philologist of the University of Paris. There was once a talk of locating this research centre in Chandernagar, but financial arrangements proved unsatisfactory and the generous offer of Governor Doumer settled the question of the seat of the school. India lost and Indo-china gained by that decision, and while the research centre was organized in the far away French Colony, its scientific control was vested in the renowned **Academie des Inscriptions of Belles-Lettres** of the French Institute. The Academy recommended and the Governor-General ratified the appointments of M. Louis Finot as the first Director of the new School of Archaeology and gave him as assistants M. Antoin Cabaton as secretary and librarian, and Captain Lunet de Lajonefuiet as the archaeologist. The party arrived in Saigon, January 1899 and started the work of preliminary survey. That being over, the party got a sanction of the authorities to make a tour through the Islands of Java and Bali with a view to study the ways and means of organizing the conservation work, the library, the museum, after consulting the expert Dutch workers in the same field working in the renowned **Society of Arts and Sciences of Batavia**, the oldest Asiatic Society in the East. On their return journey from Indonesia, M. Finot surveyed the monuments of the Hindu colony of Champa, visiting the temples of Panduranga (Phanrang), of Po-Nagar (Nhatrang), the Buddhist monasteries of Dong-Duong and Mi-Son and the grottoes of Phong-Wha. On the 20th January 1900 just thirty years ago, the temporary Archaeological Commission was given the permanent status and name : **Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient**, which began in right earnest its career of signal success in the domain of Far Eastern Art

and Archaeology. An Act for the preservation of monuments was passed to stop further pillaging of antiquities and the Ecole penetrated Laos to collect Laotian manuscripts and to study the relationship of the art of Laos with that of Cambodia.

Meanwhile M. Paul Pelliot, a brilliant scholar from the French School of Oriental Languages (Ecole des Langues Orientales) arrived in Hanoi (Tonkin) January 1900, and with all the audacity of a genius gave a new turn to the activities of the School. In May, 1900, the Boxer rebellion took a dangerous appearance, and Pelliot, a versatile Sinologist offered his services to the French Legation in Peking, and with the passing away of the political storm, Pelliot brought a rich harvest of Chinese manuscripts, paintings and other art objects which have become the cherished treasures of the museum of Hanoi and of Louvre (Paris).

The tropical climate told upon the health of Mon. Cabaton and he returned to France working thenceforward to publish several volumes on Indo-Chinese languages and antiquities. He was succeeded by Jean Commaille, who later on published the excellent **Guide to the Ruins of Angkor** (1912) and also by M. Henri Parmentier, whose contributions to Indo-Chinese archaeology had made the name of the School famous all over the world.

In July 1900 appeared the first publication of the School, a study in numismatics, **the Coins and Medals of Annam and Cochinchina**, by M. Lacroix and in 1901, before M. Finot could procure for himself a little holiday in Paris after the strenuous work, he had the satisfaction of establishing the museum and the library and of publishing the first volume of the Bulletin of the school, which has since then become an indispensable guide to all students of Far Eastern art and antiquities. In the very first volume which printed letters from Barth,

Breal and Senart, we find articles that are of abiding interest to us. M. Finot wrote on the 'Religion of Champa according to the monuments'. M. Parmentier discussed the 'General character of Chano architecture' and M. Foucher who came from Paris to act in the place of M. Finot on leave, wrote his illuminating, 'Notes on the Ancient Ecography of Gandhara', proving Afghanistan to be a great cultural centre and pilgrim path of ancient India.

During the year that M. Foucher acted as Director (1901-1902), M. Pelliot brought from China the second collection of Tibetan, Mongol and Chinese manuscripts, paintings, porcelains and Jades, and thus the museum was enriched beyond expectation. The same year M. M. Dufour and Carpeux started surveying and photographing the grand temple of Cambodia, **Angkor Thom or Bayon** and the documents were published in Paris in two vols. (1910-13). Mon. Foucher on his way back to Paris visited Bangkok and published notes on the temples, museums and libraries of that city in the second volume of the Bulletin (1902) which also published the first of the series of masterly articles by M. Sylvain Levi on 'Chinese notes on India'.

In Nov. 1902 there was the Colonial Exhibition at Hanoi and M. Pelliot who was busy arranging the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur, the Mongolian Kanjur and the Chinese Encyclopaedia, was appointed Secretary of the Orientalists' Congress. The most remarkable result of this Exhibition was the meeting of the first Congress of Far Eastern Studies held in Dec. 1902 in which six Governments and numerous representatives of learned societies participated. The Dutch East Indies was represented by Dr. Brandes, Siam by Col. Gerini and Japan by Dr. Takakusu who later on contributed in the Bulletin (1904) of the school his valuable study on the 'Chinese version of Samkhya philosophy'.

The Congress worked in four primary sections: India, China, Japan and Indo-China. Thus the School had the privilege of inaugurating the first Pan-Asiatic Congress of academic collaboration.

In March 1907 a new Franco-Siamese treaty modified the map of Cambodia so that the marvellous monuments of Angkor were placed under the expert care of the French archaeologists. Elaborate preparations were made for a thorough exploration of the sites and for the last twenty years the School has been publishing monographs and memoirs on those marvels of Indo-Khmer art and we are glad to handle this year, thanks to the loving industry of Mon. Finot, Parmentier and Victor Goloubew, two sumptuous volumes on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat, showing what phenomenal activity in art creation resulted from the rapprochement of Indian and Khmer cultures.

Similarly the grand history of the cultural and artistic efflorescence as the result of the collaboration of India and China for over a thousand years was studied amongst others by Prof. Paul Pelliot, Sylvain Levi and above all, by Edward Chavannes. In the beginning of 1907 Chavannes started on his memorable archaeological voyage through Trans-Siberia, Kai-fong, Honan-fu, Si-ngnan-fu, Lungmen etc. famous for the relics of Buddhist religion and art of the Wei and the Tang Dynasties. Pure Sinological contribution apart, the value of Chavannes' works to Indologists has been eloquently appreciated by Sylvain Levi in his article 'La Part de l'Indianisme dans l'Oeuvre de Chavannes' (*Bulletin Archéologique du Musée Guimet* Fascicule 1. 1921).

In 1908 Indo-Chinese history and philology came to find its honoured place in the foundation of a special chair at the College de France, and the experienced savant-director of the School, M. Finot, was invited to occupy the same. The relation

between the scholarly group of France and Indo-China became more and more intimate and brilliant young scholars like Mon. Huber, translator of the Chinese *Sutralankara* of Asvaghosa, Jules Bloch, author of the first historical grammar of Marathi, Maitre and Peri copious contributors on Japanese subjects, Henri Maspero and L. Auroussean. Sinologists, Georges Coedis, the renowned scholar of Sri Vijaya fame, Ch. Duroiselle of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Henri Marechal, the architect, and Victor Goloubew, the famous editor of the *Ars Asiatica* series have, amongst a host of silent and sound workers, helped in the rearing of the superb edifice of far Eastern Archaeology, with India as the golden thread running through and connecting all.

In Serindian or Central Asian studies M. Pelliot through his successive missions and excursions, contributed as much to the museums as to the scholarly journals like *T'ung Pao* and the *Bulletin* of the school. The documents of *Mission Pelliot* (1906-1909) are as yet far from being completely edited or published. Mon. S. Levi and Prof. Meillet had edited and commented upon a few texts and M. Pelliot has published a few volumes of his album on the paintings of the grotto of the thousand Buddhas (Touen Huang). His researches and discoveries were of so great an importance that a special chair of Central Asian history, archaeology and languages was created in College de France in 1911, and ever since that date M. Pelliot is lecturing on that most fascinating branch of Asiatic history.

From 1911-12 the Ecole was reinforced by the services of an indefatigable worker, Mon. Georges Coedis. As early as 1908 he had published the excellent 'Inventory of the Inscriptions of Champa and Cambodia' and ever since he continued to publish solid studies on the art, archaeology and folklore of Indo-China, till in 1918 he managed to identify the long-forgotten Hindu empire of Sri Vijaya (Sumatra-Java)

and earned the gratitude of the whole world of Indologists.

The first Sanskrit inscription of Indo-China was edited by the Dutch scholar H. Kern before the *Ecole* was properly organized. M. Coedis returned the courtesy by adding a new chapter to the history of *Insulindia* which the Dutch scholars like Krom, Vogel and others are developing in right earnest. The *Bulletin* and its rich monographs apart, the *Ecole* has published in course of the last quarter of a century, works of paramount importance. The entire problem of Graeco-Buddhist art has been dealt with by M. Foucher in his own masterly style in three volumes (*L' Art Greco-Bouddhique due Gandhara*, Tome I 1905 II (i) 1918 II (ii) 1922). M. Chavannes' precious discoveries were published in '*Mission archeologique dans la Chine Septentrionale*' (1913-1915). M. Henri Cordier was published in four volumes as *Bibliotheca Indosinica* between 1912-1914.

The war naturally interrupted for a while these fruitful activities, still the sympathy for and solidarity of the *Ecole* was amply testified by the publication of two valuable collections of monographs named *Etudes Asiatique*, in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the School. To this volume, old masters like Senart and Sylvain Levi sent their contributions as well as the newer generation of scholars like M. Auronssean, Demieville, Przyluski, Marechal, and connecting the two generations stood the veteran Director M. Louis Finot whose modesty is as deep as his spirit is large and who has given his whole life to the organization, stabilization and development of the *Ecole*. Privileged to watch him working in his cultural laboratory of Hanoi during my visit in 1924. I can say that I have rarely seen an institution so modest in its external paraphernalia and yet so far-reaching in its beneficial and creative activities with regard to the elucidation of the intricate problems of Asiatic culture and

its relation and Indology. The library M. Finot has built up is a veritable symbol of the Protean face of Asia! The museum is a glory to Asiatic genius in art, plastic as well as decorative. The newly-founded museum of *Pnom Penh*, and the enthusiastic collaboration of M. Groslier has combined to make the special contributions of Cambodia, past as well as present, live before our eyes. M. Groslier, *Directeur des Arts Cambodgiens* is not only trying to revive the arts and crafts of Cambodia through an excellent school at *Pnom Penh*, he has published remarkable books like *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* (Paris 1921). *Art et Archeologie Khmeris* etc., to focus new light on the history and technique of that great branch of Asiatic art. Khmer art definitely established its claim upon the attention of experts and connoisseurs of Paris, thanks to the excellent presentation of the documents in the Musee Guimet of Paris which in its *Bibliothèque due Vulgarisation* has published an original and bold study of a rising art critic M. Phillippe Stern: *Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'Art Khmer* (1927) forcing us to reconsider the chronology of the Indokhmer monuments. M. G. Coedis whose valuable services were lent to the Archaeological Department of the Siam Government and who, having worked as the Librarian of the Vajirajñana Library of Bangkok, is now occupying the honoured position of the Secretary of the Royal *Institute of Siam*, is still contributing valuable articles to the *Bulletin* (vide *Le Date du Bayon*, in the latest number of the *Bulletin E. F. Ex. O.* 1929). His presence in Siam is responsible for a series of valuable papers on the art and archaeology of the only nation that considers Buddhism as its national religion today.

The Chief of the Archaeological service, M. Parmentier, who by his industry and insight is the *architect* in the real sense of the term, of his department, is as active

and brilliant as ever. He has opened quite a new vista of research into the comparative evolution of the Hindu and Far Eastern architecture by his monograph: **Origine commune des architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême Orient** (1925) and also by his **l'Art Khmer Primitif** (1927).

An art critic and photographer of rare taste. M. Victor Golonbew, whose passion for Indian art brought him to photograph the frescoes of Ajanta years ago, is also a great asset to the **Ecole**. As the editor of the famous **Ars Asiatica** series he had already rendered signal service to the study of oriental art by publishing splendid photogravure reproductions of the masterpieces of the different families of Asiatic art. In collaboration with Mon. Farmentier and Finot he published recently the superb memoir on the **Temple of Iswarapura** (Paris 1926) and this year two

volumes on the **Bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat**, the veritable marvel of Asiatic art creation.

While concluding this tribute, on behalf of Indian scholarship, to these noble scholars of the French School of Archaeology, I read in the latest instalment of its Bulletin the valuable notes of M. Finot on some new inscriptions of Cambodge—a study which he has made his own as much by his profound knowledge of the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and epigraphy as by his scrupulously scientific method. How after over thirty years of strenuous service under the trying climate of Indo-China, he is continuing with unabated enthusiasm the decipherment of these positive documents of Indian cultural expansion in the Far East—unknown **Raghu-Vamsas** unwritten by any Indo-Colonial Kalidas!

The Modern Review,
January, 1930—Pp. 63-68.



INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH: ATTITUDES OF OPPOSITION PARTIES

K. RAMMAN PILLAI

Introduction

The Commonwealth is a "free association of sovereign independent states..... together with certain dependencies."¹ It is a novel kind of international association.

The story of the growth of the Commonwealth is the story of the growth of national sentiment in the colonies which were to become member nations, and of constitutional concessions by Britain which enabled a link to be preserved between the former colonial power and the developing nations, without offending their national self-respect.²

The growing sense of importance of the self-governing colonies was recognized in 1907, when they were officially granted the special name of "Dominions".

The First World War marked a significant stage in the growth of the Commonwealth. The Dominions had emerged from the status of the "protected colony to that of the participating nation". Their association with Britain had also acquired a new name, the 'British Commonwealth of Nations.'

The Imperial Conference (1926) produced the classic statement of the position of the Dominions in the Balfour Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee. The Report was given legal effect by the British Parliament in the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The Statute accorded a *de-jure* recognition to the *de-facto* independence of the Dominions.

The main effects of World War II upon the Commonwealth were to bring the existing Dominions closer to international maturity and to accelerate the movement

towards self-government in the colonies. The Imperial Conference was replaced by the Prime Ministers' Meeting.

By the time of the Prime Ministers' Meeting in 1948, the Commonwealth had transformed itself into an association of both white and coloured nations.

The transformation of the Commonwealth became very clear in 1949 when the other members agreed that India could continue to be a member of the Commonwealth even after she became a republic. Since then the Commonwealth has expanded to include many other Asian and African nations. At present there are 23 members in the Commonwealth including Asian, African and Caribbean nations with a population of 750 million. The Commonwealth has become a multiracial association for consultation on matters of common interest. Tradition and sentiment are no longer the foundations of the association.

India and the Commonwealth

The First World War gave an impetus to Indian nationalism and both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, while reaffirming their loyalty to the British Empire, demanded a 'definite step towards self-government' and equal partnership with the Dominions in the Empire.

Having lost all hope of getting Dominion Status immediately, the Congress, in December 1929 (Lahore), declared "complete independence" as its goal.

Mahatma Gandhi and his staunch followers held the view that the Congress creed of "complete independence" did not rule out British connection based on

equality and freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru was also not opposed to British connection as such. He was against 'British domination' and 'British imperialism'.

The Ramgarh session of the Congress (March 1940) stated that "the people of India alone can...determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage."³

Consequent on the failure of the Cripps' Mission and the Simla Conference, the British Government despatched the Cabinet Mission to India. During the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, Maulana Azad, the President of the Indian National Congress, told the Mission that "if the question was left to India, it was not unlikely that India might decide in favour of continuing in the Commonwealth."⁴

After joining the Interim Government in September 1946, Nehru expressed the hope that in spite of the past history of conflict, an independent India would have "friendly and...co-operative relations with England and the countries of the British Commonwealth."⁵

The Congress accepted 'Dominion Status' for the interim period till the new Constitution was promulgated.

By its Objectives Resolution the Constituent Assembly had declared India to be an Independent Sovereign Republic. Replying to the debate on the resolution, Nehru said.... "At no time have we thought in terms of isolating ourselves from other countries which have dominated over us. On the eve of this great occasion, when we stand on the threshold of freedom, we do not wish to carry a trail of hostility with us against any other country.... (And) we want to be friendly with the British people and the British Commonwealth of Nations".⁶

At the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in October 1948, Nehru and Attlee exchanged views about India's association with the Commonwealth. India

was not committed in any sense, reported Nehru on his return from London, for the issue was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly.

The Congress endorsed Nehru's views at the Jaipur session in December 1948. It was declared that the Congress would welcome India's "free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace" provided it did not come in the way of her "freedom of action and independence" and her republican status was recognized within the Commonwealth.⁷

The final arrangement for India's membership was concluded at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in April 1949. The decision was embodied in the Declaration of London. India's intention to become a Sovereign Independent Republic and her desire to continue her "full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations" and accept the King as "the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth" were agreed to by the members of the Commonwealth.

The Constituent Assembly after a long debate gave its approval to the London Declaration on 17 May 1949. Thus, even after becoming a republic, India continued to retain its membership of the Commonwealth.

Why did India join the Commonwealth after independence?

Moving the resolution in the Constituent Assembly on 16 May 1949, Jawaharlal Nehru said "We join the Commonwealth obviously because we think it is beneficial to us and to certain causes in the world that we wish to advance." He thought it easier for India "to develop closer relations with other countries while we are in the Commonwealth than it might have been otherwise."

"I think the chief value of this Declaration and of what preceded it," he added, "was that it did bring a touch of healing in our relations with certain countries."⁹

Economic and defence considerations were also behind the decision to stay in the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth link, Nehru felt, would help India's "speedy progress economically and otherwise" and promote peace. Obviously without that link, he said, it would be "a far more difficult task" and it would take "a much longer time."¹⁰

Other considerations may also have influenced India's decision to some extent. The interests of overseas Indians, particularly those settled in British Colonial territories like Malaya, Fiji, Mauritius and British Guiana, could be better served, it was thought, if India remained within the Commonwealth herself than if she went out. The belief that Pakistan would continue to be a member of the Commonwealth and that in such circumstances India's dissociation from the Commonwealth was likely to affect prejudicially her defence position and her relations with countries of the Western bloc, might have given, perhaps, further support to Nehru's arguments. Nehru's friendship with the Labour Party and the Mountbattens and the good will created by the Labour Government by withdrawing from India in a peaceful and friendly manner, were factors of not inconsiderable importance. "The closeness and cordiality of Indo-British relations was possibly the most important single reason for India's decision to remain in the Commonwealth and her playing an active and effective role in Commonwealth affairs" observes Prof. M. S. Rajan.¹¹

In short, Commonwealth membership was accepted not so much for sentimental reasons, but rather for the tangible advantages believed to accrue from Commonwealth membership, both in the national and international spheres. "It was obvious that taking into account India's economic, defence and scientific interests, it would be to the advantage of India to continue to remain in the Commonwealth atleast for sometime to come ; nothing would be gained

by going out of the Commonwealth at this stage" observed another Indian Scholar.¹²

India's membership of the Commonwealth, though approved by the ruling Congress party, was not at all appreciated by the Opposition parties. In fact there was not only "little appreciation of the usefulness or importance of India's membership of the Commonwealth, but also widespread opposition to the connexion and this, long before the British military action in Egypt."¹³

The Opposition parties have severely criticized India's membership of the Commonwealth on several occasions.

The first serious challenge came over the Anglo-French aggression on Suez in October-November 1956. The British action provoked bitter denunciation at all levels of public opinion in India and also a demand for withdrawal from the Commonwealth. The demand for severance of the Commonwealth connexion was led by the Communists inside Parliament and supported by other opposition parties. Replying to the debate, Nehru maintained that it was "desirable for India not to leave the Commonwealth because of the Anglo-French aggression." But he conceded that the question "had to be thought about afresh." He added, "We think it (Commonwealth connection) is helpful ; it can help peace ;..... We do think that it would be wrong for us merely to show our irritation and anger at certain things that have happened, to cut off this Commonwealth connection."¹⁴

The issue of terminating the Commonwealth bond was once again raised in the Rajya Sabha in the form of a non-official motion by S.N. Mazumdar (Communist member) on the ground that it was inconsistent with **Panchsheel**. Nehru once again defended the association on the basis that it helped the cause of peace.

The attitude of some of the Commonwealth countries towards India vis-a-vis Pakistan in regard to Kashmir, specially as expressed in the U.N. Security Council,

intensified further Indian feeling against Britain and the Commonwealth early in 1957.¹⁵ The Indian people regarded this attitude as certainly not impartial. The resentment was so great that even Prime Minister Nehru confessed in the Lok Sabha that for the first time he felt that India's association with the Commonwealth might "sometime or other require further consideration." He felt that our policies were "in no way—conditioned or deflected from their normal course by that association." Despite the painful shocks which India had experienced, he said, it was "desirable in the present context to continue this association with the Commonwealth."¹⁶

Again on 26 February 1960, the Lok Sabha rejected a non-official motion by Mr. Brij Raj Singh, pleading for the severance of India's membership of the Commonwealth.

Despite the strains and stresses on many issues such as Goa, Kashmir, Sato, Baghdad, Suez and racial discrimination, India's bond with the Commonwealth had survived.

Let us now turn to the attitudes of Opposition parties towards India's membership of the Commonwealth.

'Quit Commonwealth' says the C.P.I.

The CPI has opposed India's association with the Commonwealth from the very beginning. It did not like the idea of 'Dominion Status'. M.N. Roy, one of the pioneers of the Communist movement in India, referred to the talk about Dominion status as 'irrelevant'. He wanted to define complete independence as "unconditional severance of all relations with the British Empire."¹⁷

The party did not recognize Indian independence in 1947. The Calcutta Thesis (1948) of the Party strongly criticized the Mountbatten Plan and the Commonwealth connection. In accepting the Mountbatten Plan the national leadership, had "betrayed" the freedom struggle and had struck a

"treacherous deal" with British imperialism. The June 3rd Plan had given the Indian people "not real but fake independence." "Britain's domination has not ended, but the form of domination has changed." The party wanted India to join hands with the Soviet bloc and advocated "complete severance from the British Empire and full and real independence."¹⁸

The London Declaration was condemned as a "great betrayal" by the party.¹⁹

The party continued to advocate the termination of the Commonwealth connection in subsequent years. The programme of the party (1951) refuted the Congress claim that freedom had been won and that the Indian Government was tied to the "chariot-wheels of British capital" and have been essentially carrying out "the foreign policy of British Imperialism". It refused to believe that India's foreign policy was independent.²⁰

The political resolution adopted at the Madurai Congress (1953) said "a fully free India outside the Commonwealth and outside all imperialist influence will be a great factor for world peace and the freedom of all Asian and colonial peoples. Hence the necessity to intensify the fight against British imperialism for quitting the Commonwealth and the confiscation of British capital; hence the necessity of opposition to every "manifestation of subservience to British imperialism."²¹

The Communist leaders were no less vehement in criticizing the Commonwealth link. Speaking in the House of the People, prof. Hiren Mukerjee, Communist leader, denounced the "domination of British Imperialism over our economy." The Commonwealth has compelled us, he said, to "seek the narrowing markets within the confines of the Commonwealth and the dollar areas and we are prevented from seeking profitable trade and exchange with countries like people's China". He added "the Commonwealth is a racket and for us to be roped into this racket should not be perpetuated."²²

Communists deny the Government's

claim that Commonwealth connection has promoted the cause of peace. In a press conference on October 1, 1954, Sundarayya leader of the Communist group in Parliament said: "It is India's association with Britain and through Britain with America that gives the heart to those countries, to talk of launching war. If Nehru had dissociated himself from the Commonwealth and joined the peace-loving countries, the situation would have been quite different. Then the U.S. could not have interfered with Asia in this fashion."²³

The Suez crisis (1956) came in handy for the CPI to condemn downright India's association with the Commonwealth. The Communists now urged that India should quit the Commonwealth, not because it threatened India's independence but because India's membership of the Commonwealth "gives the British the prestige which enables it to deceive the world public opinion."²⁴

A resolution regarding India's membership of the Commonwealth was moved in the Rajya Sabha, by Satyen Mazumdar, a Communist member. He expressed the view that by our association with the Commonwealth, we are "helping British Imperialism to delude the world", and "delude the people of its own country."²⁵ In the discussion that followed, Bhupesh Gupta, Communist leader in the Rajya Sabha, said that we would lose nothing by leaving the Commonwealth. He felt that Britain by its aggression on Egypt and by the blockade of the Suez Canal had "created a crisis in India's economy and our economy is facing considerable strain and it has jeopardised our Second Five Year Plan". "Why should our friends ask us to continue in this association which has injured our prestige, which has injured our economy, which offends our conscience and offends our prestige in the World?" he asked.²⁶

The party staged a demonstration in front of Parliament on November 14, 1956 demanding the withdrawal of India from the Commonwealth.

Early in 1957, Communist leaders pleaded for severance as a "retaliatory

measure for Britain's deliberate hostile acts" in relation to the Kashmir issue in the U.N. Security Council.²⁷

In February 1960, a resolution was moved in the Lok Sabha by Brij Raj Singh (Socialist) that "India should quit the Commonwealth of Nations". Welcoming the resolution, Hiren Mukerjee expressed the view that even on the economic side Britain had treated India 'shabbily'. He charged the British business were making larger profits in India than in their country. He said that by quitting the Commonwealth India would 'sustain no loss.'²⁸

The CPI's uncompromising attitude towards the policy of **Apartheid**, followed by South Africa, a member of the Commonwealth till May 1961, was a factor to be reckoned with, while considering its strong opposition to the Commonwealth link. In May 1960 the National Council of the CPI appealed to prime Minister Nehru "to see that the Commonwealth Conference takes steps to ensure an end to the **apartheid** policy failing which Prime Minister Nehru and other Afro-Asian Prime Ministers should walk out of the Commonwealth Conference and make it clear that India and other Afro-Asian countries will not remain members of the same Commonwealth of which South Africa is a member."²⁹

In short the Communists have opposed India's association with the Commonwealth for various reasons like British colonial policy, economic exploitation, racial discrimination, formation of military pacts like Seato and the Baghdad Pact, the attitude of some of the Commonwealth countries to the Kashmir and the Goa questions and the continued British military recruitment of Gurkhas in Nepal. 'Quit Commonwealth' had been the slogan of the Communists since independence. The Party had spared no occasion to reiterate its demand. To the Communists, the Commonwealth connection was a liability which had led India to compromise with its anti-colonial policy.

The Communist group in Parliament persistently demanded the termination of the Commonwealth link. The main argument

both inside and outside the Parliament was that Commonwealth connection was inconsistent with India's economic and political freedom and that it linked India with the Western bloc.

PSP favours severance of India's link with the Commonwealth

Like the CPI, the Praja Socialist Party has been consistently demanding India's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. Even before independence the Congress Socialist Party (which in 1948 became the Socialist Party and later on merged with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party to form the PSP in 1952) had opposed all connections with the British Empire. The Congress Socialists made it perfectly clear that complete independence of India must include 'separation from the British Empire'. The achievement of "complete independence in the sense of separation from the British Empire" was adopted as one of the objects of the Congress Socialist Party.³⁰

In the following years this view was reiterated many times. The Congress socialists were not interested in Dominion status. They believed that "it is a goal unworthy of India, the Statute of Westminster notwithstanding."³¹ Jaya Prakash Narayan, the Secretary of the party, vehemently opposed the Government's policy of compromise with the British Government.

However, in 1947, the CSP accepted Dominion Status as a "stopgap arrangement of a defined duration". At the same time it stated that under no circumstances "must we allow our eyes to falter away from independence."³²

In December 1948, the National Executive of the Socialist Party³³ categorically declared that the Socialist Party "cannot be a party to India remaining a party to the British Commonwealth." The reasons for opposing the Commonwealth connexion, the Executive explained, was that the policy of racial discrimination and economic exploitation was being followed in the British Commonwealth; that Britain and her friends in the Western bloc were pursuing an imperialist

policy in Asia and Africa and they wanted to retain "a strategic foothold in Asia"; and that it would inevitably tie Indian foreign policy to the "apron strings" of Britain. It further argued that if India was to be saved from participation in another war, she should not only be free of any commitments with any power bloc but take the necessary steps for "the creation of a Third Force with a view to prevention of another world war and in particular to organise an alliance of Asian countries in furtherance of this object." And in the opinion of the Socialist Party, that could be done only if India did not become a part of the British Commonwealth.³⁴

The Seventh Annual Conference of the party held at Patna (March 1949) reiterated the views expressed by the National Executive and stated that India's neutrality would become "a farce" if she were to retain her tie with the British Commonwealth which was itself tied to the Atlantic Pact.³⁵

The London Declaration was not welcomed by the party. Jayaprakash Narayan declared that the party would take the first opportunity, whenever it is in a position to do so, "to undo this great national blunder." He thought that the agreement was a "triumph for British diplomacy" and not for Nehru. India's association with the Commonwealth, he said would prevent India from "gaining self-confidence and standing on her own feet."³⁶

The Praja Socialist Party was formed after the general election by the merger of the Socialist Party with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (a group of dissident Congressmen). The attitude of the PSP towards India's membership of the Commonwealth did not differ from that of the Socialist Party. The PSP always sided with the Communists in demanding severance from the Commonwealth. The Party refused to believe that India could follow an independent policy of neutrality while she remained linked up with the Commonwealth.

The Special Convention of the party held at Betul (June 1953) deplored the policy of the Indian Government 'which subscribes to the system of big powers and

which rests on collaboration with Great Britain'. This, according to the party, has resulted in Britain exercising effective control over the economic affairs of Asia. The only way to reverse this trend, the party feels, "is for India to give up the inferior membership of the British Commonwealth and free itself from the economic and strategic apronstrings of Great Britain."³⁷

Why does PSP favour severance of India's link with the Commonwealth? The party does not agree with the view that the Commonwealth is a stabilizing influence in world affairs and that it is a force working in favour of the maintenance of world peace. According to Madhu Limaye, spokesman of the Party, "if the concept of peace is a dynamic concept and if it means freedom of ever-increasing numbers of nations not only from direct colonial rule but from foreign economic domination and military commitments with either of the two camps, then the Commonwealth must be deemed a reactionary force." "The failure of the Government of India to make a dynamic approach to the problem of peace" he remarked, "is sufficient proof of the harmful influence this unequal association with Britain has been having on India's policies."³⁸

The party vigorously demanded the breaking of the Commonwealth link when the SEATO Council at Karachi discussed the Kashmir question in March 1956. Acharya Kripalani, Party leader, strongly urged the Indian Government to make it clear that "if England and other Commonwealth countries persist in showing scant regard for our vital national interests and side with our opponents, our membership of the Commonwealth cannot continue."³⁹

Consequent on the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt, the Third National Conference of the Party (Bangalore November 1956) demanded, that "India should sever connection with the Commonwealth", because of the assault on Suez Canal by Britain.⁴⁰

The demand for severance of the Commonwealth link was made in the Rajya

Sabha by Kishan Chand and in the Lok Sabha by M. S. Gurupadaswamy.⁴¹

In an article in 'Janata', (organ of the party) Surendra Nath Dwivedy, PSP leader, maintained that "we should leave the Commonwealth "not only on account of sentimental reasons but because of very practical reasons."⁴²

It may be seen that the PSP has consistently opposed India's membership of the Commonwealth. According to the PSP, Indo-British collaboration had remained the cornerstone of India's foreign policy. India is tied to the British Commonwealth and through it to the Atlantic Community. The party was opposed to the Commonwealth link because U.K. and other Commonwealth members had paid scant regard to India's vital interests and sided with India's opponents, citing for example, Britain's support to Pakistan for Kashmir and to Portugal on the Goa question. Racial discrimination followed by South Africa had also influenced the attitude of the party. The PSP's opposition to the Commonwealth link coincided with its foreign policy objectives.

Commonwealth Membership 'neither honourable nor profitable' says the Jana Sangh

Ever since the Jana Sangh was formed in October 1951, it has opposed India's association with the Commonwealth, mainly on account of the attitude of Britain and some other Commonwealth countries with regard to the Kashmir issue. Its opposition however was not so vehement as that of the CPI or the PSP.

At the opening convention of the Party, its President Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee, stated that India's continuance in the Commonwealth had to be "re-examined with great care." "We frankly recognize, he said, that we have gained very little by continuing to function within the Commonwealth. On the other hand in our dealings with Pakistan we have been struck by a strange policy of partiality towards that country observed by Great Britain". "The party would insist on India getting out of

the Commonwealth", he added, "if Britain and other Commonwealth countries followed the present policy of always supporting Pakistan and opposing India in the U.N. and elsewhere."⁴³

These views were reiterated in the Party's Election Manifesto (1952) and on many other occasions. Speaking in Parliament, Dr. S. P. Mukherjee referred to the attitude in general of the Commonwealth countries towards India in the UN and said "We should come out of the Commonwealth at this stage....(for) it has not helped us at all. On every crucial occasion the Commonwealth countries have failed to stand by India where India's stand has been right and just."⁴⁴

The party seemed to be perhaps less occupied with the Commonwealth in later years.

At the time of the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt, the Jana Sangh did not join the fray with other opposition parties. U.N. Trivedi the Party leader in the Lok Sabha, did not support the demand for quitting the Commonwealth. Instead he pleaded that India should advise and correct her friend Britain. And it was not impossible that Britain would feel, "the strength of our argument and retrace (her) steps" The Suez issue, he said, "cannot be a ground for our getting out of the Commonwealth."

The Jana Sangh in its 1957 election manifesto made no demand for India's withdrawal from the Commonwealth. But still it was critical of the Commonwealth link.

In 1960, Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, General Secretary of the Party, expressed his doubts about the usefulness of the Commonwealth as a "medium of international co-operation." He said, it (Commonwealth) has to demonstrate that it has something more and real to offer than the various agencies of the U.N.O. If it cannot, it will be simply a window-dressing for the British Empire—to delude the people of Britain and of the various newly independent countries. It will be nothing more than a myth—a myth at the cost of national prestige of countries who have fought and

acquired their freedom" He wanted the Commonwealth to "fashion a future for itself."⁴⁶

The party's views on Commonwealth membership was clarified further in an editorial in the party organ. It stated, "We should leave the Commonwealth because it is neither honourable nor even profitable for us to be there....For its economic 'aid' it is simply an investment on purely business lines....On the military plane it is equally meaningless. It is no use getting some military training in a country which is no more much of a military power. On the cultural plane we have had so much of anglicism in India that any diminution of it can do us nothing but good.....With the passing away of one who was endearingly described as not the first Prime Minister of Independent India, but the last Viceroy of British India, the time for quitting the British Commonwealth is high indeed," concluded the editorial.⁴⁷

In short, the party had opposed Commonwealth membership on the ground that it was neither honourable nor profitable. It had contended that Britain had been partial to Pakistan to the detriment of India's interest and honour. Because of its policy of strict reciprocity towards Pakistan, the Jana Sangh cannot but condemn any attempt on the part of Britain or any other country, in favour of Pakistan. At times its opposition was not so effective as that of the other opposition parties. In any case the party did not vigorously oppose Commonwealth membership. The Jana Sangh's views did not conform with those of the Swatantra in this respect.

Swatantra wants to retain Commonwealth Membership

The Swatantra party, formed in August 1959, claims to be a party with a difference.

Consistent with its orientation towards the West, the Swatantra Party held the view that India should remain in the Commonwealth. In this regard its views were directly opposed to those of its counterparts. All of them strongly condemned India's membership of the Commonwealth.

Speaking in the Rajya Sabha, Prof. Ruthnaswamy, one of the Vice Presidents of the party, strongly supported Commonwealth membership. He said "On account of a certain attitude taken by the British representative (at the Security Council meeting on Kashmir) it has been voiced both here and outside that it is time India left the Commonwealth..... We are not in the Commonwealth for the blue eyes of British statesmen, nor even for the blue eyes of the present aristocratic Prime Minister of England. We are in the Commonwealth because it helps our national and international position. We are there because it is useful to us, not because of any ideal or theory, international or national. And if the British representative took a certain line we may criticise it, but we have no right to resent, because one of the principles and conventions of the British Commonwealth is that each member should be independent, not only in regard to its national policy but also in regard to its international policy." He deprecated the action of certain members of Parliament who have gone on deputation to the High Commissioner waiting in his ante-room in order to convert the British to our point of view. He held the view that it was not in keeping with our self-respect.⁴⁸

Writing in the '*Swarajya*' Rajaji, the founder of the party, pleaded for a "firm and unambiguous alliance with America and Britain and their allies which, according to him, "will assist our friendship with Pakistan which is priority No. 1 in our affairs."⁴⁹ This clearly reveals how eager the Party is to have a positive alliance with the non-Communist West. And in this context, Commonwealth membership is just a corollary of Swatantra's major foreign policy objective.

In fine, in contrast to the positions held by the other opposition parties, the Swatantra party held the view that our association with the Commonwealth, did not preclude us from pursuing an independent foreign policy. On the other hand it believed that our Commonwealth link was in keeping with our national and international

position. The party wanted to minimise the influence of Soviet Russia and other socialist countries on India's international relations. This could be effectively done, the Swatantra party thought, if India moved to a position of positive alliance with the West, in the name of meeting the menace from China. India's membership of the Commonwealth coincided with the party's overall view on foreign affairs and hence it supported it while all other opposition parties opposed it.

Conclusion

To sum up, it must be conceded that India's association with the Commonwealth was not sufficiently broad-based or firm on the Indian side. Almost every single opposition party in the country was against India's Commonwealth connection—a phenomenon probably unique in the entire Commonwealth.

The CPI remained the most articulate critic of the Commonwealth link. To the Communists, the Commonwealth connection was inconsistent with India's economic and political freedom and that it linked India with the Western bloc. India's association with the Commonwealth added prestige to Britain and at the same time injured our economy and offended our prestige—this was what the party felt about the link. It strongly advocated severance of Commonwealth link. The party deplored Britain's hostile acts in relation to the Kashmir issue in the U.N. Security Council. The party's opposition to Commonwealth membership was based on ideological and other grounds.

At the same time the PSP's opposition was not so much on ideological grounds. It held the view that it would be impossible for India to follow an independent policy so long as India remained in the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth membership was also incompatible with the idea of 'active neutrality' and 'Third Force' approach of the PSP.

The Jana Sangh was less enthusiastic about the termination of Commonwealth membership. It opposed it on account of the

attitude of Britain and some other Commonwealth countries with regard to the Kashmir issue. To the Jana Sangh, Commonwealth membership was neither honourable nor profitable in the economic or military sense.

The Swatantra party, alone, wanted to retain the Commonwealth membership obviously because of its orientation towards the West. It held the view that Commonwealth membership would help our national and international position. The opposition of the Opposition Parties have started a process of rethinking in Government circles regarding India's association with the Commonwealth. Whether this will result in a break in our Commonwealth bond, remains to be seen.

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27. Bhupesh Gupta's talk to Pressmen, *Hindu*, 24 Feb. 1957. p. 7.
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29. See Text of the Resolution adopted by the National Council of the CPI : *New Age*, VIII No. 20. May 15, 1960, p. 15.
30. *All India Congress Socialist Party Constitution, Programme and Resolution of the 1st Conference of the Party and Report of the Organizing Secretary*. (Bombay 1934). p. 5.
31. *The Indian Annual Register*, Calcutta 1936. I. P. 348.
32. Resolution on the 3rd June Programme of the National Executive (CSP), 10 June 1947. *Indian Annual Register* 1947. I. P. 259.
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y the National Executive, Lucknow 29-31 December 1948. (Bombay 1949) pp. 1-2.

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Y. N. VAISH

For the first time these two sisters went to school in a French pension. They could not stay for long in France. Their father took them to Italy and England. In England these two sisters attended the lectures for women at Cambridge with great zeal and diligence. They returned to Bengal with their father in November, 1873. Her elder sister, Aru, died at the age of twenty, in July, 1874, nine months after coming back from England. Toru was alone spending the rest of her life in the old garden house of her father :

These lines refer to her early memories. Mother. She fired the religious feelings. She took her last breath on the lap of her daughter telling the stories from father on August 30, 1877. At that time the Hindu religious books. Being an

Even the month of March was not finished, she had become so sick that she had to lie upon her bed. She became unable to write but she could not stop the reading of the latest European books and she wrote her last letter to Mlle. Bader on July 30, 1877. After a month she slept forever.

Toru was a religious minded poetess. She was deeply influenced by her mother. She fired the religious feelings in her daughter telling the stories from the Hindu religious books. Being an

orthodox Hindu, Toru had also faith in Christian religion. She was a Hindu as well as a Christian :

"Oh thanks, good priest! Observance
And greetings! May thy name
I came on business, but I knew,
Here might be had both food and rest
Without a charge; for all the poor
Ten miles around thy sacred shrine
Know that thou keepest open door,
And praise that generous hand of
mine :"

She had found the greatness and liberalism in the Christian religion where

"The rich and poor, the high and low!
Come, wash thy feet, and break
Then on thy journey strengthened go."

We find the same greatness and liberalism in the religion of Buddhism. T. S. Eliot writes in *Essay on Shelley* that there is a resemblance between the Old Testament and the Buddhist religion. If I may say that she was the follower of the Buddhist religion, I would not be wrong. She found the evil and vices in Hindu religion. How Buttoo, who was "a hunter's lowborn son", was treated by the Kaurava and Pandava princes when he came to Dronacharya for learning "fair archery":

Unseen the magic arrow came,
Amidst the laughter and the scorn
Of royal youths—like lightning flame
Sudden and sharp. They blew the horn,
As down upon the ground he fell,
Not hurt, but made a jest and game;—
He rose—and waved a proud farewell,
But cheeks and brow grew red with
And lo—a single, single tear
Dropped from his eyelash as he past.

She was attracted by the miseries of the poor and working class people :

"A ragged herd-boy, here and there,
With his long stick and naked feet;
A ploughman wending to his care,
The field from which he hopes the
An early traveller, hurrying fast
To the next town; an urchin slow
Bound for the school; these heard
Unheeding all—"Shell-bracelets ho!"

She was a melancholy poetess. There is no humour in her poetry. This young melancholy poetess did never laugh in the short period of her life. Her melancholy is not less than the melancholy of Thomas Gray, Swinburne and Matthew Arnold. These are three great melancholy poets. She had studied them and she was influenced by them as she was influenced by the French poets. *Ballads of Hindostan* deal with serious subjects. The themes of the *Ballads* were chosen from ancient serious legends :

"Our hearts are broken. Come,
On earth no more we dwell;
Now welcome Death, and farewell
And thou, O King, farewell!"

She is the greatest melancholy poetess of India in my view. She was a born melancholy poetess. She had learned to endure sufferings and deaths in her family. She had personified Death and Life, as Thomas Gray had personified them in his works. So, she had borrowed them from his works.

Toru was less original in themes but she was original in versifying them. She tells that

Absurd may be the tale I tell,
Ill-suited to the marching times.
I loved the lips from which it well,
So let it stand among my rhymes

Toru had not remained only a poetess but in her heated poetic passions, was the she was also a prophet about the future of most correct to her. She used wrong English a new technique in the art of poetry. Her in *Sindhu* Part III, in an emotional outburst. poetry reveals that she was influenced by the Augustan era in the technique of poetry. She had composed a large part of her poetry in rhyme like the eighteenth century poets.

She was a beautiful and tender girl but she was revolutionary at heart:

I read the story and my heart beats
fast!
Well might all Europe quail before
thee, France,
Battling against oppression! Years
have passed,
Yet of that time men speak with
moistened glance,
Va-nu-pieds! When rugs your
Marseillaise
Man knew his rights to earth's
remotest bound,
And tyrants trembled. Yours alone
the praise!
Ah, had a Washington but then been
found!

Toru had a praise for Washington who had freed his country, America, from the British regime. She might have been satisfied with the British regime in India but the poverty of the working class people and their children had tired and worried her. She was in shock and grief when she glanced at their degraded condition. Her feelings for the poor and oppressed persons are more than those of Tagore and Naidu.

She is one of the greatest lyricists of the Anglo-Indian school. No one can claim that he or she is a superior lyricist to her. Emotions well up in her as the leaves naturally shoot up from a branch. She composed poetry without effort and was always a slave of the emotions. Toru believed in emotion and the creation of an emotion was perfect to her. So, she did not revise her works. Whatever she composed

Of our blind eyes he is the star,
Without him, what were we?

At the time of emotions a poet cannot check his passions. They flow like the water of a flooded river. Its waters break the ghats. It was also the case with her that she could not restrain her passions. She became a confused poetess. The correct English is:

Of our blind eyes he is the star,
Without him, what are we?

Toru was not an intellectual poetess like Naidu. Naidu had composed with effort. Therefore, the poetry of Naidu cannot tune our ears as the poetry of Toru does.

Toru composed poetry for her posthumous fame like Dante, but she knew one day:

"Fame
Shall sound thy praise from sea to sea
And men shall ever like thy name
With Self-help, Truth and Modesty."

It was not her dream because she was under the grip of romantic writers of England and France. Now she is not less unfamiliar with the readers and scholars of East and West.

Her volume of poems—**Sheaf gleaned in French Fields**—had appeared in 1876. It was her first obscure volume and published at Bhowanipur and printed at the Saptahiksambad Press. It consisted of two hundred and fifty-nine pages. There is no preface of the author in the book. The book attracted only two persons. M. Andre Theuriet who was a well-known French poet and novelist, appreciated her talent. His appreciation on the volume appeared in **Revue des Deux Mondes**. And another

was Professor W. Minto who was an editor of the **Examiner**. Professor Minto thrust **A Sheaf gleaned in French Fields** "into the unwilling hands of" Edmund Gosse. Gosse wrote an **introduction** to her shabby volume of verses in which he admitted that she was a gifted and talented poetess. Her genius was revealed within the brief space of years. Her name still stands among the European writers.

She was a devotee of God and called Him a father who is "deaf, but kind." It was her belief that by constant prayer glory.

God might hear the voice of His devotees. For God there is no discrimination between rich and poor. It is the philosophy of Vedas. We read the names of Hindu mythology—Uma, Vishnu, Brahma and etc. For the ancient and refined culture of India she praises her :

No fairer hand, in all the land,
And lo ! the bracelet matches it.

Uma stands for ancient India and her

HUMANIZATION OF HISTORY

.....Blinded by the academic pride of historical *detachment* and *objectivity* of judgment, the historians have failed to take note of how their researches are being used, or in what way those have been affecting the minds of their audience. Moreover, in spite of their pretension of sober narration of *common facts*, the historians with congenital human weakness for the *uncommon* and the *extraordinary*, have generally emphasised cataclysmic factors in society like *war* and exaggerated the importance of the super-man, the heroes of history. Thus, the normal and actual development of human society through peace and co-operation has been overshadowed by the lurid clouds of war and hatred. So, the history of the millions of men and women, the Helots and the Pariahs mutely bearing the painful burden of the "civilized" man, have been forgotten in the glamour of hero-worship. This initial wrong emphasis, this fundamental inequity, has made history, theoretically the most human of all intellectual disciplines, the most inhuman in its cruel injunctions and insinuations.

Dr. Kalidas Nag,
in *The Modern Review*, February, 1923.

SELF-RELIANCE : A CRISIS OR A TEST ?

Prof. H. L. DAVE

It is said that when the seeders can not feed, at least the leaders must. And in India they used to do so not quite badly until recently. But the outgoing year 1965 threw the blinds bare open. Many of the legs of our economy were found to be motored by the engines abroad and powers outside! It was a rude shock to bear the unbearable apprehension that these legs of ours might one day perhaps walk the wishes not ours. reminded that even our defence-leg is equally made to stand with the weaponry and war-sinews mostly bought, borrowed or begged from abroad! Evidently the shout is hardly escapable that "we live on borrowed food, borrowed machines, borrowed hopes and aspirations". (3) Lightly put, the almost legitimate suggestion can be that we are not on our own legs anywhere except perhaps in the region of the shaving blade! What a disgrace for a nation loving freedom!

Those Legs ?

The first such **Vital Leg is Food!** Shri V. E. R. V. Rao estimates that we have some 390 million acres of cropped area, of which 70 million acres could use the irrigation facilities. (1) That means every fifteen Indians can harvest, thirteen acres of land and each piece of 7 out of 39 acres bear irrigation-aids. Again, as we know, as many as nine out of our ten people work on farms, three indirectly, six directly. This combination of land labour and capital is not unreckonable. As against this, on an equal harvested area in the U.S.A., out of every ten persons only 0.8 person is spared for agriculture. But every one such seeder feels daily himself, twentyfive Americans and six other persons overseas. (2) That is, in India, nine farmers, all put together, on and around farms cannot just feed the ten h person. The result is that, as per a popular estimate, every **sixth bread** of ours has to be a P.L. 480 bread for which the national purse daily pays some forty lakh rupees.

The next leg not working on our own is our industrial sector. Our external reliance on foreign machines, raw materials and technical know-how is just well-known and understandable as well. Again, for the last three years, we have been constantly

From Lahore to Tashkent.....

In its journey from the Lahore sector (war) to the Tashkent (Peace), the nation has come to read the key warning that lay written on its very plan-high-ways to the far-away destination of affluence: "Self-reliance". Quick came the leaders, experts, Government and, of course, people with a seemingly firm and resolute declaration of self-reliant economic development. They swore as it were to go on "for years, if necessary; if necessary, alone."

Planning and Self-reliance:

Here the pertinent question is whether the planners have realised only as late as now the importance of self-reliance. The entire planning era in India can be examined in two parts in this context: the peaceful fifties and the militant sixties. Throughout this era, the concept of self-reliance has been implied in every plan. But during the peaceful fifties, it had a very wide perspective. Aids from the various International institutions, from the various Governments, differing ideologies, foreign private investments, etc.—all kinds of foreign participation in our plans have so far been accepted

SELF RELIANCE

by us in principle as well as in practice. Provisions were in fact made for the estimated foreign aid in advance. This was the basic background in the strategy of our planning during the peaceful fifties. But thereafter in the militant sixties, this wide perspective of self-reliance has continued to narrow down.

Fourth Plan and Self-reliance

Today, our Fourth Plan is pledged to "Self-reliant economic development." This new turn is a very great event. Here sentiment has no place. Does this indicate the crisis of our planning upto now or its mere test? Has it caused a crisis that would warrant total change in the fundamental strategy of our planning? The answer depends upon how we interpret self-reliance.

(i) Self-reliance does not Mean Self-Sufficiency

In the recorded history of over 5000 years, no human society has acquired complete self-sufficiency. No such mathematical precision in equal distribution of resources exists. Thus, economically isolated existence in the long run is for any society impossible. India cannot be self-sufficient in this sense.

(ii) Self-reliance does not Mean Affluence through lop-sided growth

A country named 'Kuwait' is said to be the richest region the world over. Two hundred and fifty years ago, there was no human life. Even today only five and a half lakh people habitate there. Annual earnings for every family amount to about a million dollars or half a crore rupees! It is the only tax-less island on the earth. Free telephone service, free education service, free medical care and even pocket expenses are provided by the Government to the people. Reason for this affluence?—A sub-soil oil ocean;

240 tons of oil a minute. Through the oil industry alone a great variety of wants of the Kuwaities are afforded in abundance by foreign imports. Notwithstanding this grandeur, Kuwait is yet to be found in the list of developed countries. This too can be branded as self-reliance—but perhaps a deceptive one. Imagine for a moment when, for some reasons, Kuwait confronts an economic blockade. Shall Kuwaities jump into oil-wells and sustain their economy? Thus, the affluence through lop-sided growth, can be instrumental in self-reliance but does not itself signify one. Kuwait provides an extreme illustration. India cannot or need not follow it.

(iii) Self-reliance is a Development-strategy

Self-reliance is such an inter-sectoral development-strategy that although the external dependence is not totally removed, its place is taken by a more or less balanced mutual dependence as a result of self-sufficiency or near-self-sufficiency in the sectors basic to the economy.

It is significant to note that in this sense, the role of international institutions stand acceptable as before. Aids from Governments also become negotiable strictly on business terms. In short, negation of foreign contribution is itself ruled out.

Self-reliance here demands self-sufficiency in certain sectors considered basic to the economy with a view to converting, through economic growth of the remaining sectors, their inevitable entire and external dependence into mutual reliance. In the present Indian emergency, Defence and Food are accepted as the basic sectors awaiting self-sufficiency. Defence self-sufficiency calls for an adequately sound industrial base. For food self-sufficiency agricultural revolution is a must. Thus, the problem of self-reliance turns out to be the one of choosing the priority between industry and agriculture.

Let us here examine the situation vis-a-vis our planners: (i) Agricultural revolution has preceded industrial revolution according to the sequence recorded in the economic history of the developed countries. Indian planners have raced straight to industrialisation and thus have walked on the lines dotted by the Communist planners; (ii) Agricultural development is neglected. We have missed the fruits of an agrarian revolution.

Here are the possible explanations in respect of the above:—

(i) The sequence of agrarian revolution preceding industrialisation has been found in some of the European free-enterprise economies. This was a convenient accident of history but not necessarily the result of any plan-strategy.

(ii) These regions are under-populated. Here was the need to spare labour by agrarian revolution from agriculture for the industries. This is not applicable to India.

(iii) Here was also the need to increase the purchasing power in the agricultural sector by its revolution to a home market for the gigantic output as a result of the industrial revolution. India does not fall strictly within this situation.

As a matter of fact for any society, the strategy for economic growth changes in conformity with the local circumstances. According to Prof. Skultz the development mechanism needs or affords some stimulant intersectoral imbalances. The centres of these imbalances must be changeable according as the need arises. This opinion probably throws light on the strategic importance accepted in our planning for "some industries".

Let us not forget that when in the 13th, 19th and 20th centuries the present developed societies were out in constant and vigorous labour for industrialisation, the Indian people were being crushed under colonial subjection. Neither was our country our own, nor our ideas, beliefs, nor our lives. Our Industry, trade or

commerce were either disturbed, damaged, destroyed or suspended to suit the colonial angles. This caused a terribly large historical bulge-gap in the stages of economic development of theirs and ours. This historical disadvantage grows day in and day out in view of the present sputnik-speed in their advancement in technology and technocracy. That is why industries such as steel, cement, machinery, petrochemicals having not even distant physical dependence on agriculture were established straight away. These heavy industries could be "feeders" for small industries on the one hand and provide for the required inputs in agriculture. That this bold strategy was accepted even in the peaceful fifties speak of the prudent enterprise of our planners. In the present militant years, when the defence-sector has acquired highest priority, the proven utility of this broad industrial base has been well evidenced by the present Indo-Pak cease-fire line of September 1965!

Agriculture's Priority

This need not lead us into thinking that the planners had nothing to do with agriculture. Agriculture in India is completely a free enterprise. Innumerable small farms are cultivated by individual poor farmers. Government's role in planning agriculture is indirect by way of creating some very useful economic and social overheads. For this limited indirect role investments of Rs. 3000 crores have been already made in the last fifteen years, as against which industries have drawn only 250 crores or so. The farmer's own private investment on his own is in addition to this. Except in the case of major irrigation projects, the capital coefficient in agriculture is generally considered to be far smaller than in heavy industries. This is an adequate explanation as to the size of the investment criterion is the quantum of investment.

Mild Growth Rate

The open secret of our economy is, however, the fact that none of our investments has proved to be effectively fruitful. For example, our overall growth-rate has stayed around $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the average per annum. Industrial production has increased five yearly at the rate of 39%, 41% and 69% during the three plan periods. In the case of agriculture, the stagnation is quite discernible and disappointing with the production rising by 22%, 20% and perhaps somewhere about 21% in the course of each plan.

Priorities in the Context of Self-reliance

If the total size of our investment in the Fourth Plan is limited, it is so by and in terms of our potential of investable savings. Efforts no doubt must be undertaken to see that such potential goes high and thereby our total investment. Self-sufficiency in the defence sector does not suggest any change in the investment priority. Within the investment priority on industries only, the emphasis shifts from peace-time production patterns to the war-time production patterns. Similarly, within the investment-priority of Agriculture, food self-sufficiency demands economic as well as other changes, which ensures our investment in agriculture to be effectively fruitful. Thus the entire concept of self-reliance is not suggestive of fresh-changes in the priority between agriculture and industry. On the contrary, the complementarity of industry and agriculture is made firm.

This also does not mean that our house is in order. The very plight of our agriculture provides a test of our efforts in self-reliance. Investments in agriculture bring more disappointing results than those in industries. Obstructing inhibitions can be cured by economic as well as other changes.

(1) Land-reforms Legislation

The simple objective of Land Reform Laws is to provide social status and economic security to the peasantry. This objective has not been achieved through the laws made so far. The laws have been sporadic, disuniform and full of leakages and loopholes. Dr. Radhakrishnan has said : Zamindari has been abolished, but not the Zamindars. Here is a test for the Government, Administration and the people of a free progressive democratic society.

(2) Productivity

The concept of productivity does not still find expression in Indian agriculture. The slogan of horse-power in the place of a horse or a bullock has still not reached our farms. The chemical fertilisers, insecticides and herbicides are still seen only in our mind but not in the agrarian profession or practices. Very encouraging and eye-opening happy results in cultivation only by use of chemical fertilizers have been found in the recent experiments in the vegetables processing industry of M/s. Hindustan Lever Private Ltd. Company in the U.P. at Etah and Ghaziabad. Thus, there are no two opinions about the fruitfulness of these new ideas. Nevertheless, the per capita consumption of fertilizers in India is hardly near a single kilogram as against 17 kilograms in Japan and 41 kilograms in West Germany. Even at the end of Fourth Plan, this consumption level is expected to be 4 kilograms only. This also means that not only India has no widespread awareness of the utility of fertilizers but also that either the fertilizer is costly or unavailable or both. The Dy Chairman of Indian Planning Commission Mr. Ashok Mehta, rightly blamed industrial failure in providing cash-incentive to agriculture, which fact is partly responsible for our failure in this field. Many further ideas, some of them not costly, can

be added for augmenting productivity. France acquired success in raising production because of cheap, simple and easy experiments. The Japanese methods of cultivation provide yet another model in some respects. It is heartening that the National Council of Applied Economic Research has now taken up problems of agricultural productivity also.

(C) Farm-management

Agriculture is something more than industry. Decision making is more difficult in agriculture than in industry. For an Indian peasant, agriculture is a life-long tradition and not a professional challenge. In fact, the Indian farmer is more of a farm-labourer than a farm-organiser. He is illiterate and therefore slow in grasping the new ideas, demonstrating them or using the experiences gainfully. Today not all the farming people have been able to make use of the facilities created by the Government. Only the vested interests and some exceptional people have used them. Thus, the greatest living input in our agriculture, the farmer is not adequately equipped for proper management-skill. This challenge is ethical as well as social.

(-) Government Administration

Modern scientific ideas move from the world to India very slowly. But it takes very much time for them to reach the distant villages. National Extension Services have yet to score achievements. It is alleged that

the village level worker represents neither any village nor any level nor any work ! If any sector has made minimum adjustment during the entire Plan-Era it is the Government Administration. Of course an Administration of a democratic set-up suffers from certain limitations. But here taking them into account also, the cadres show very low level. Government alone cannot be completely blamed for this. The whole ethical strata and temperament of the people also have to bear the responsibility. This challenge to the people aspiring self-reliance is not to be answered by the planners alone. Social workers and other leaders too must share it.

This discussion of inhibitions in the Agricultural Revolution is only illustrative. But the efforts for planned self-reliant economic development extend to the home of every Indian common man. The common man can arrest the growing dimension of the burden of National self-reliance through family-planning. In this way, as much as we expect of agriculture or of industry, so much is equally expected of the common man as well. This nation today needs Rome's temper :

"Romans in Rome's Quarrel
Spared neither land nor Gold,
Nor son, nor wife, nor limb, nor life,
In the brave days of old."

AND The quarrel need not be for Power, it may be for Peace. It need not be for abundance. It may be for adequacy. It need not be for affluence but it must be for an **HONOURABLE EXISTENCE.**

POLITICAL CHANGE AND TRIBAL INTEGRATION

C. V. RAGHAVULU

Since Independence India's primary domestic concern has been with the integration of its component parts. In a plural society the task of forging together the particularistic elements assumes considerable importance. The integration of the tribals is more pressing in view of the barriers of language, custom, outlook and behaviour, not to speak of their geographical isolation. The aim of the present paper is to study the various facets of political change among the tribals, to analyse their implications in terms of the integration of the tribals and to see what role the political parties could play in the process of integration. While attempting to understand the problem it is nowhere assumed that political integration is an automatic solvent of all the issues connected with the integration of the tribals, which, if done, would be an over-simplification of an admittedly complex problem. For ultimately how well the tribals could be integrated depends upon a number of other factors. The most important of them include the development of communications, extension of educational facilities, interaction between the tribal and the wider economy and provision of administrative linkages and avenues of spatial mobility, the existence or lack of which help or hinder the integration process.

For ages, the tribals lived mostly in political isolation from the outside world and as a result developed political systems reflecting the social and cultural ethos of the concerned tribes. However, after the inauguration of the Constitution¹ certain important changes have taken place in their life, though in a gradual manner. This change

may be broadly summarised into two major trends, one the increasing 'Politicisation'^{2a} and the other the spirit of 'separatism'. Politicisation refers to the increasing articulation of the interests of the people, resulting in their intense political participation. This was a direct consequence of the introduction of adult franchise. In this context, it is interesting to note the change in the pattern of leadership in the tribal areas. The change corresponds to a difference in aims and methods of the emerging leaders. In the past, charismatic and ritual leaders controlled all spheres of the social, political and religious activities of the group. Their influence over the group was exercised mainly through the maintenance of the ritual order and the application of group sanctions in cases of deviation from the established norms. Recent anthropological enquiries² have brought to light the declining importance of the charismatic and ritual leadership though not its total disappearance. The emerging leaders are not content with confining their operations within the closed status groups of their own. On the contrary, they are in search of acquiring political status and influence outside the tribal world.

1. Myron Weiner, "The Politics of South Asia", in *The Politics of the Developing Areas*. (Eds. Almond and Coleman), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1960, p. 192.

1A. Provision was made for the special representation of tribals in the Legislatures.

2. See N. K. Bose, "Change in Tribal Cultures Before and After Independence", *Man in India*, Vol. 44, No' 1, January-March, 1964; Also P. Vidyarathi. "The Historical March of the Jharkhand Party : A Study of Adivasi Leadership in Tribal Bihar", *Indian Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 2.

Discussing the trends in the evolution of the Jharkhand Party in Bihar,³ Dr. Vidyarathi writes: "The most significant and obvious fact is the switch over from religious leadership to political leadership ... The modern leaders are representing the tribal people to an outside political world. They are not concerned primarily with raising the social status of the tribals in making ritual practices closely resemble those of the Hindus. Their chief task is to improve the material conditions of the tribals and to obtain government funds and services. Their activities, then, are within the realm of the religious and the social". A similar trend is noticed in regard to the aboriginals of Orissa. Among the Kisans persons with contacts with the courts, the outside world and especially the political parties are getting into leadership positions. With the result the Kisans⁴ are increasingly drawn into the fold of the Congress and the Ganatantra Parishad. Dr. Bailey's account of the political dynamics of Konds⁵ is much more pointed. He writes "The Political Parties cultivate the Konds and the present Government maintains the privileges which the Administration has always granted to adibasis, not only from motives of justice and altruism, but also from self-interest. They need votes. It is in the interest of Konds to organise themselves and make their vote effective by voting as a community. They are no longer individuals under the paternal care of the Magistrate. They are committed as a group in a wider political arena". Bailey's analysis makes sufficiently clear the increasing awareness of the tribals about the benefits that accrue from their alignment with the organised political parties. Evidence

gathered about the Bhagatas, Valmikis, Gadabas and Koyas of Andhra Pradesh also points to the increasing association of the tribal leaders with the Congress Party.

In recent years the trend towards political integration has been reinforced by the extension of Panchayati Raj or Democratic Decentralisation to the tribal areas. Under the new system of local government, the three-tier bodies set up at the village, Block⁶ and District levels, provide a built-in mechanism for the interaction between the local tribal leaders and the leaders of the political parties. In view of the meagre data available it is not, however, safe to generalise the role of the political parties in this sphere. But one thing is certain; the new institutional set-up has disturbed the traditional tribal councils.⁷ In many areas the initial response to Panchayati Raj was cold indifference. Currently they seem to have adjusted and are even actively participating in some areas. What counts for purposes of our analysis is that, in due course of time, the new institutional set-up is sure to break the political isolation of the tribals further. It would act as a bridge in building up effective political allegiances cutting across the clans, tribes and tribal villages which formed the traditional bases for tribal groupings. The impact of the Panchayati Raj institutions may be felt in another direction. Hitherto the tribal leaders were mostly inward-looking. But with their participation in the deliberations of the Panchayati Raj institutions, they are exposed to new influences whereby they are likely to view the problems of their regions in a wider context.

Notwithstanding these trends favourable to integration of the tribals with the

3. Vidyarathi. *op. cit.*, n. 5.

4. A. Aiyappan, "Some Patterns of Tribal Leadership". *The Economic Weekly*, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 9 Jan. 8, 1965, p. 51.

5. G. Bailey, "Tribe, Caste, and Nation: A Study of Political Activity and Political Change in Highland Orissa". Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1959, p. 187.

6. While the pattern is more or less similar in the various states, in Assam there is an additional tier at the sub-divisional level, the Mukhuma Parishad.

7. Aiyappan, *op. cit.*. Also see the Agency Administration Report of Visakhapatnam District 1964-65, Andhra Pradesh.

political life of the neighbourhood, political change among some of the tribal communities indicate a different trend, the separatist forces gaining ground. Among the several factors that are responsible for the growth of separatist forces, the most important is said to be the work of the Christian missions.⁸ Another factor that, curiously enough, accentuated the trend is the special treatment policy of the Government.⁹ The influence of the Christian Missionaries behind the separatist forces in Nagaland and the Mizo Hills is quite obvious.

The rebellious moves of the Adivasis of Bastar must be viewed on a different footing. Select evidence on the recent events indicates that the charismatic hold of the erstwhile prince and his readiness to make use of this for his personal ends was the root cause of the happenings. It is also worth noting that the mobilisation of the tribals at the time of elections further strengthened the separatist forces. In all this, politics had become one of the chief avenues for the fulfilment of the personal ambitions of the deposed prince. Strangely enough, the series of political events in the Bastar area show a marked tendency toward strengthening the spirit of 'tribalism' or tribal solidarity.

It would be, perhaps, too hasty to ascribe the emergence of the spirit of "separatism" solely to the work of the Christian Missionaries. In this connection attention has also been drawn to the presence of other factors which have not received sufficient emphasis. These include longstanding geographical isolation and outside interference.¹⁰ The proximity of many of these regions to the border makes them vulnerable to foreign interference. May be that religious colouring has imparted a fanatical vigour

to the separatist movement whipping up mass hysteria. In the view of the geographical isolation of the tribal areas, it must be emphasised that the 'separatist' elements generated by the Missionaries, got firmly entrenched in the tribal mind. As such, the 'world-view', as the Anthropologists call it of the tribals got restricted. But with the development of communications, the permeation of economic interests and the entry of political forces from outside, the hold of the religious forces that dominate the scene would relax and secular forces that are favourable to integration would emerge. The penetration of economic and political forces is, therefore, crucial to the integration process. As political competition creeps in from outside many of the old allegiances may persist in the short run but eventually diminish in their importance. And the separatist forces would submerge into the political competition of a wider area. The political allegiances which were hitherto confined to the precincts of the group would no longer persist but embrace wider horizons.

An example of temporary political integration is offered by the experience of the Adivasis of Bihar. The process was symbolised in the origin and growth of the Jharkhand Party¹¹ and its merger with the Congress Party. Initially, the Jharkhand Party was very aggressive and vociferous in making separatist demands. But the skilful manoeuvring and compromise moves of the Congress Party stemmed the tide of separatist forces taking an ugly turn. The story of the Jharkhand Party's assimilation brings home the vital point that the political integration of the aborigines is also a function of the political process connected with the evolution of political parties committed to unity and integration. It is interesting to

8. Andre Betaille, "The Future of the Backward Classes" in Perspectives, supplement to the *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XI, No. 1. January-March, 1965, p. 32.

9. N. K. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

10. It is widely suspected that there has been foreign instigation behind the separatist movements in Nagaland and Mizo Hills.

11. Vidyarathi, *op. cit.*

note that the merger of the Jharkhand Party did not sustain for long because the political ambitions of its leaders could not be accommodated. It is only logical to consider the demands and exclusive interests of the tribals and the political ambitions of their leaders and meet them half-way. It cannot be denied that in the short-run a measure of political expediency is inevitable. The utility of this approach lies in the fact that while political compromise at the governmental level is difficult to bring about and much more difficult to sustain, integration at the level of the political parties is easier to obtain. However, a great deal will

depend upon the rapidity with which the political parties respond to the divergent interests of the tribals and absorb the aspiring leaders into their fold. Such a process of political assimilation is contingent upon coming to terms with the specific demands of the tribals. The initiative, in this matter, rests with the political parties of national stature. These parties, more often than not, get lively on the eve of the elections. And pre-election moves are taken for whatever they are worth; their bona fides are likely to be suspected. Therefore, the political parties would do well to explore the possibilities of federating the tribal leaders at the appropriate time.

Humanization of History

The elemental harmony of the great Epic of India (*Maha-Bharata*) practically exhausts itself in the awful hush of the tragic field of carnage—Kurukshetra. But the Hindu Poet-Seer did not hesitate to take a little liberty with the strict canons of Epic composition by adding a few more cantos of peace—the *Santi Parvam*—as the only fitting climax of war. It is not the peace of the impatient propagandist or that of the builder of Utopia. It embodies the maturest reflections of the last representative of the noble warrior race—Devavrata Visma—awaiting his heroic end on the bed of arrows. The apotheosis of Sovereign Power has proved itself to be a tragic illusion. What appeared to be unshakable has had a disastrous collapse. The Hindu mind sought through Visma, a new foundation of social order, and found it in *Dharma*—the Eternal Verity. Hence the evolution of the Hindu doctrine of *Raja-Dharma*—the discipline for the supreme purification and transfiguration of Sovereignty...

Dr. Kalidas Nag

in The Modern Review, February, 1923.

SYLVAIN LEVI—INDIAN THEATRE

(Translated from the original French by Dr. Kalidas Nag—during his last illness)

Part 1

1. Bibliography and list of abbreviations.
2. Introduction.
3. Treatise on the art of Drama.
4. Poetics of Drama (a) the subject, (b) the heroes, (c) the heroines, (d) the sentiments, (e) the accessories of dramatic poems, (f) the four manners, (g) the dramatic poems, (h) the dramatic ornaments, (i) thirty-six beauties, (j) the elements of the garland.
5. The personages—
The role of men, women and minor roles.
Names of persons. Language of the persons. Prelude to the drama. The grand dramatic species. The secondary characteristics.
6. History of dramatic literature : (a) The precursors of Kalidasa, (b) Kalidasa, (c) Harsha, (d) Sudraka's Mritchakatika, (e) Bhabavuti, (f) after Bhabavuti.
7. Irregular Natakas.
8. Natika.
9. Sattaka—Vyayoga.
10. Prahasana.
11. Bhana.
12. Aesthetics of Sanskrit drama : the theory and the prologue.
13. The Rama—plays.
14. Mahavira-charita, Bala-Ramayana, Anarha-raghava, Prasanna-raghava, Janaki-parinaya.

Part 2

1. *The origin of drama*, (a) the legend Bharata and Natya-Shastra).
(b) The history : Vedic literature, the epics, grammatical documents, the religion and the performances, the marionettes, the first mentions of the Natakas, technical terms : Sanskrit and Prakrit, the literary origins of dramatic poetry.
(c) The Greek influence, (d) the practical part of Sanskrit drama :—the preliminaries of the show, the stage, the troupe of actors, the scenic effects. (e) Modern and contemporary Indian drama ; jatra, revival of classical drama, modern

European influence, Drama in Aryan India, Drama in Dravidian India (f) Conclusion.

Appendix and Index :

Text : Notes and excursus.

Catalogue of dramatic literature :

(a) Bibliography (b) Catalogue of dramatic works (c) Catalogue of dramatic poetry.

General Index : Index of passages translated from Sanskrit. Additions and corrections.

The precursors of Kalidasa. (P. 157)

Part 1

The brilliant glory of Kalidasa has almost effaced the souvenirs of his predecessors. However, before his triumph the poet must fight against the reputations solidly established and against the party hostile to new experiments. The prologue of his first drama "Malabika" resounds as an echo of that struggle. The director of the troupe calls his party to give them his orders :—

"This is the wish of the assembly. The poet Kalidasa has composed a drama entitled Malabika, because today is the festival of spring. Play the same before us—" and thus the symphony commences.

One other person says—"Not yet. You are placing the works of Kalidasa by the side of the works of his illustrious masters : Vasaka, Saumilla, Kabiputra and so many others. Can Kalidasa, a poet of our times, deserve such an honour ?"

The director says—"You do not speak about men of good sense. Ancient poems do not always deserve to be called 'good poems', and 'the moderns' do not always necessarily signify 'bad poems'. Honest persons compare and choose according to their own good tastes. The stupid person judges after all the others." The other one says—"The public will decide."

The reknown of Vasa, long resisted oblivion before disappearing from public memory. Vana, who lived in the 7th century A.D., placed Vasa by the side of Kalidasa, among the grand names of literature. The dramas of Vasa, with their numerous persons and their episodes, were like temples, assured of their glory. In the same epoch, Vakpati attributes to Vasa the same rank in verse, when he presents him to the readers. Vakpati found his pleasure in Vasa, the friend of Fire, the author of Raghu—that graceful god, and also in the works of Subandhu and Harichandra. Rajasekhara in the middle of 8th century A.D. ranges Vasa among the classic poets, and a century after Somadeva inserted in his romance *Vashastilaka*, a verse of the great Poet Vasa. Finally in a date rather late, the author of *Prasanna-Raghava*, Jayadeva, named by the side of Kalidasa that of Vasa. "Vasa is the laughter of poetry while Kalidasa is the grace of poetry." The instances gathered in the anthology give but an incomplete idea of his genius. One has curiously excavated bits of testimonies for divining the character of his drama. Mr. Peterson was attracted to this stanza on Vasa, stressing on the

sense and the words, but he could not dissimulate that the epithets relating to Vasa characterised his dramatic works, destined to justify the equivocal comparisons established by the poet. He has demanded however that these qualificatives have some precise values and wondered if Vana had any intention to note in his original treatise, the dramas of Vasa signalling the usage of the prologue, the multiplicity of persons and the introduction of episodes. So Mr. Pischel, in his turn, tried to establish that Vasa was the author of *Mritchakatika*, though later he rejected that opinion. Various indications combine to make us ponder on that question, to try to enlighten the past which has remained 'mysterious' for a long time.

Abhinaba Gupta, the leader of the modern literary school and the commentator of Bharata and Ananda Bardhana—written at the end of the 10th century—cites a work entitled *Swapna*, Basaba Datta. Thus Vasa had transported to the scene, as it was done later on by King Harsha, the adventures of Vatsya Udayana. The fireworks of *Ratnavali* (Act IV) is directly borrowed from Vasa.



DR. KALIDAS NAG

MICHEL REMOVILLE,
Consul General for France in Calcutta

(Address at a memorial meeting at the Academy of Fine Arts, Calcutta)

On behalf of the French Ambassador to India and the French community here, I am honoured to join today with the many whose minds and memories dwell upon Kalidas Nag and to pay homage to this great Indologist. I would like to thank the President of the Academy of Fine Arts, President of the Alliance Française of Calcutta, for having accepted to call this public meeting, held under the auspices of these two associations, to mourn his death.

A disciple of Tagore and a friend of the French writer Romain Rolland, Kalidas Nag attended the first meeting between these two writers. President of the Association of Romain Rolland's Friends, President of the All India Romain Rolland Birth Centenary Committee, Kalidas Nag, through the years, kept deeply and totally faithful to the memory of this meeting that has been, at the same time, a mutual discovery and an opportunity to affirm between France and India a common faith in an achieved understanding between East and West.

French and Indian Indologists mourn their loss as they did on the death on August 18, 1966, of the French master of Indology and foremost French scholar of the Vedas, Professor Louis Renou—member of the Institute de France who held the Chair of Indian and South Asian Civilisation at the Sorbonne—continuing in the tradition of Bergaigne, Sylvain Levi and Jules Bloch. It is not a mere coincidence that Professor Louis Renou and Dr. Kalidas Nag reached the shore of the Unknown almost at the same time.

Educated at the Universities of Calcutta and Paris, Kalidas Nag had a perfect command of the French language. He was made an 'Officier de l'Académie'—an honour which is given in France to those who excel in the field of literature. The University of Paris, where he did research work for his thesis in French on 'Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India', conferred on him a Doctorate of Literature. In 1924, Kalidas Nag with the collaboration of the French poet Jouve brought

out a French translation of Tagore's poems 'BALAKA' under the title 'CYGNE'.

As for us, how could we forget that Romain Rolland's Indian biographies—Mahatma Gandhi (1924) Ramkrishna and Vivekananda (1928), were written thanks to the helpful cooperation given to our compatriot by Dr. Kalidas Nag? This explains why these biographies represent one of the most important Western efforts to an understanding of the Indian mind in a meeting of what the author of GITANJALI called "the twin spirits of the East and West, the Mary and Martha".

The first time I met Kalidas Nag, I was struck by his radiant goodness and simplicity. Spontaneously, the words written by Tagore about Romain Rolland came to my mind: "the depthless lake of love, full up with divine tears". Tagore, Romain Rolland, Kalidas Nag belong to the same community of mind; in the Himalayas of the Spirit, if Tagore is one of the highest and Romain Rolland perhaps one of the most invincible, might not Kalidas Nag be considered in the future as the most serene? "The shut lotus bud of light Evening has placed in the leafy fold of darkness."

“মুদিত আলোর কমল কলিকাটরে
রেখেছে শব্দা আঁধার পর্ণপটে”

The serene repose of verse 707 in GITANJALI perfectly evokes what has happened.

Everyone knows this letter written by Tagore to Kalidas Nag about Romain Rolland: "Santiniketan, 9th May, 1922—of all the men I confronted in the Occident, it was Rolland that struck me as the nearest to my heart and most akin to my spirit . . . For men like Romain Rolland, there does not exist the distinction between their country and the Universe." What he said about Romain Rolland applies not only to Tagore himself but also to Kalidas Nag who, like most men of science, was a personality of international mould and thinking. To us, he stands for the Universal. This completely noble man of science will belong to humanity as much as he belongs

to India. He will become a world citizen not because he became world famous but because he felt with the world.

In this he would have kept faithful to that lighthouse of human thought, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, to his message and his concept of the spiritual unity that links the whole of mankind "the purpose of religion being to reach down to that fundamental unity of human relationship, of human efforts and achievements."

A great believer in cooperation of every sphere of human life, Kalidas Nag—the author of 'Greater India' which he dedicated to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, then President of the Institute of Asian African Relations—belongs also to that galaxy of great Indian Indologists, to whom Indology has been an essential for the rediscovery of the soul of India. In this temple of Indian thought and culture, that is the Academy of Fine Arts of Calcutta, may I recall that among the nationalist leaders themselves there were men who were Sanskritists and research scholars and many whose interpretative and evocative expositions

have helped India to recapture the enduring values of Indian life and spirit. Kalidas Nag will rank among the brightest of those candles of freedom.

This life is nothing but the crossing of a sea. It consists in seeking, "often at the cost of everything else; value and not merely success in order to try to realise in ourselves the immortal man so that we may die but not perish." A man of faith like Ram Mohun Roy, a man of truth like Romain Rolland, a man of the Universal like Tagore Kalidas Nag shall never perish.

"In front lies the beam of peace
launch the boat, Helmsman
You will be the comrade ever
May the immortal bonds perish
May the vast universe take him in its arm
And may he know in his heart without fear
The great unknown."

"নমুখে শান্তি পারাবার
ভাসাও তরলী হে কর্ণধার"

VOLTAIRE ON INDIA

Prof. A. VICTORIEN

"I have studied all that has been written on the Indians, from Arrien to Abbé Guyon", writes Voltaire. This statement of one who was acclaimed by Gibbon as the most extraordinary man of the 18th Century is no exaggeration. The genuineness of his interest finds concrete proof in the profusion and variety of the writings that he has left on this country. Not many know that he is the author of "*Fragments on India*", and, scattered in the enormous mass of his literary output are numerous references to this land:—from detailed geographical descriptions and elaborate dissertations on contemporary political events to pertinent reflections on religion and customs; from eulogistic utterances on the ancient wisdom of the people to critical remarks on their superstitions and certain social habits. That Voltaire was conscious of the importance of knowing all about this country is shown by the fact

that, together with his friends, he commissioned a ship to India in order to get first-hand information from people whom he could trust and thus verify the truth of what has been written of the Indians.

Voltaire was not, however, the only major writer of eighteenth century France in whom India roused so profound an interest. Diderot, the Father of the colossal Encyclopaedia which symbolized the spirit of the age was not unacquainted with the land of the wise and learned Brahmins, while Montesquieu occasionally alludes to the customs and traditions of the Indian people in his politico-philosophical treatises. No doubt, this might partly be explained by the abundant literature on India that began to circulate in France at that time. The narratives of the missionaries, and more particularly of the adventurers and travellers like Tavernier

Bernier, Chardin and Thevenot, to cite but a few, stirred the imagination of the luxury-loving Parisians, and set them dreaming about the fabulous land of the Great Moghul, the exotic scents of its spices, the shimmer of its muslin and the silvery tinkle of its pearls and diamonds.

But to the "philosophes" of the age of enlightenment, India offered the fascination, not of her prodigious wealth, but of her important contribution, from the gray dawn of history, to the development of thought and civilization. In the case of Voltaire, however, his interest in India cannot be said to have been wholly motivated by the mere curiosity of a savant. It arose, to a certain extent, from necessities connected with his literary career. In fact, as the first European writer, in the opinion of many, to have introduced the peoples of Asia in a universal history, he naturally had to collect material on the antique civilization of this country, and in his *"Essays on Customs"* in which he attempted to retrace the march of Humanity towards progress, he devoted several pages to a panegyric of India's achievements in the various fields of human thought and activities.

Apart from this, as the historian of the age of Louis XIV, he found himself led to the *"Compagnie des Indes"* founded during the reign of the great King, and consequently, to evoke the activities of the French in India in the broader context of the political situation in the subcontinent at that time. His knowledge of Indian affairs and his humanitarianism led him, in the last years of his life, to intervene actively in the rehabilitation of Lally Tollendal, the Commander-in-Chief of the French East Indies, who was unjustly condemned to death on charges of treason and cowardice.

Finally, the sacred lore and religious traditions of India put in his hand an effective weapon in the war he waged, throughout his life, to cut Christianity to its proper size and to rid religion of its odious and baneful overgrowth.

Voltaire's general attitude to India is one of admiring esteem. "Let us respect, I tell you, these ancient Indians", he exclaims. What, indeed, seems to have impressed him most is the antiquity of her sages, the Brahmins. He scarcely

ever misses an occasion to emphasize this. "The Indians are undoubtedly the most anciently cultured people", he says, and he goes on to explain, "If conjectures are allowable, the Indians living near the Ganges are, perhaps, the earliest people to be united into an organized body. The soil on which animals most easily find pasture is soon covered with that species which it is fit to nourish. Now, there is no area in the world where men have within their ready reach more wholesome, more palatable and more abundant food than near the Ganges".

In glowing terms Voltaire records his admiration of India's intellectual supremacy in early days, and her gift of knowledge to the world. Says he, "Is it not probable that the Brahmins were the first legislators of the earth, the first philosophers, the first theologians?" "The Brahmins are proud to own the most ancient monuments of this world. The most antique rarities which the Chinese Emperor, Cam-Hi, displayed in his palace were Indian. He showed to some of our missionaries who were mathematicians Indian specie in coins of much earlier date than any of the copper money of the Chinese emperors, and it was probably from the Indians that the Kings of Persia acquired the art of coining. The Greeks, before the time of Pythagoras, travelled to India in quest of knowledge, and still almost all over the world, the signs of the seven planets and seven metals are such as the Indians invented. The Arabians were obliged to adopt their arithmetical characters. The game which does the greatest honour to human faculties (the game of chess) unquestionably comes from India. The elephants for which we have substituted towers bear witness to this. It was natural for the Indians to make the elephants walk, but no tower was ever seen walking!". Referring to the commercial intercourse, in ancient times, between India and the other countries of the world, Voltaire writes, "The peoples who were the earliest known, the Persians, Phoenicians, Arabians, Egyptians went to trade in India in order to bring home specie which nature has given to this land alone, whereas the Indians never went to ask for anything from these countries".

Holding India in such high esteem. Voltaire never fought shy of criticizing the Euro-

peas who generally went to this country in search of wealth, and were utterly indifferent to higher intellectual pursuits. "The Europeans", he says, "have swarmed over India. They have brought war into that country. Many of them have amassed immense fortunes, but few have bothered to know about the antiquity of this land which, in the days of yore, was more renowned for her religion, her sciences and her laws than for her riches which nowadays have become the only reason of our travels there." One is almost bewildered by the violent courage with which he often denounces the cupidity of European travellers: "Want created the first robbers. They invaded India because she was rich and surely a rich people is united, civilized and polished long before a society of thieves".

It would be superfluous to point out that Voltaire's assessment of India's achievements should not be judged in the light of present-day knowledge. It must be noted, however, that he never put forth any opinion, the truth of which he had not scrupulously verified after a careful and critical scrutiny of the data available in his time. He thus comes to the conclusion that the accounts of India as given by his countrymen are often exaggerated or erroneous, and he confesses with regret that in his desire to know the true history of this nation, its government, its religion and its customs, he found no help in the compilations of the French authors. Neither the writers who transcribed fables for the publishers nor the missionaries and travellers, have conveyed the truth. He would rather depend on English authors, and among them, on Dow, Scrafton and particularly on Holwell for whom he is full of praise.

Thoroughly informed as he was, the gross errors in the reports of the travellers and missionaries, or the falsehoods deliberately spread by them scarcely escaped his discerning mind. It is significant that he always makes it a point to disprove them. He thus refutes the opinion held by some authors that the great Moghul was the sole master of all lands. His delight is greater wherever he has an occasion to direct his scathing wit upon the clergymen and lay bare their unscrupulous cheating by exposing the falseness of the weird tales propagated by them. Suffice it to quote this passage in which, after explaining that 'the rites of the Indians, their pagodas indi-

cate that everything is allegorical with them", he brings out the symbolic significance of Goddess Durga: "They still represent virtue beneath the emblem of a woman who has ten arms, and who fights ten mortal sins represented by monsters. Our missionaries have not failed to take this image of virtue for that of the devil, and to assure that the devil is worshipped in India. We have never been among these people but to enrich ourselves and to calumniate them!"

Voltaire's hatred of religious fanaticism and intolerance, and the vehemence with which he indulged in a lifelong attack on Catholicism are well-known. His idea was to show the unimportance of the history of our planet. This could best be done by a comparison of the Christian cult with the religious literature and observances of the Indian people. Voltaire draws attention to India's contribution to the making of the Biblical mythology. An example of this is the fall of the celestial beings in revolt against God, which, Voltaire affirms, is an idea inherited from the sacred lore of the Brahmans. Although he is not uncritical of the metaphysical speculations of the Brahmans, he recognizes the sublimity of their ethical tenets and observes that "the ancient religion of India and that of the Chinese scholars are the only religions in which men have not been barbarous".

Voltaire lays particular stress on the gentle and peaceable nature of the Indians. He attributes their quietism to the climate of their country and to their belief in the theory of metempsychosis which "inspired them with feelings of universal charity". Their love of peace is reflected even in their ancient scriptures which he compares with the sacred books of the Hebrews: "The Indian books announce only peace and gentleness, they forbid the killing of animals. The Hebrew books speak only of massacring men and beasts. Everything is slaughtered in the name of the Lord. It is quite a different order of things". And yet, this does not prevent him from wondering "how these same men who looked upon killing an animal as a crime could allow the women to burn themselves upon their husbands' dead bodies".

... ..
A similar parallel between these two religions is drawn again in "*Amabel's Letters*", a novelette in which Voltaire recounts with pungent brio

the story of a young couple who is subjected to inquisition in Goa and taken to Rome to be judged. This remarkable raconteur is in his element when, unfettered by the exigencies of historical exactitude, he can, with a semblance of truth, set a tale against the background of some Eastern country, and at the same time, bring to light some moral or philosophical idea or ridicule his enemies. It is significant that in his stories, the Brahman is a man of high intellect, indifferent to worldly pursuits, notable for the finesse of his reasoning and not devoid of a certain sense of his reasoning and not devoid of a certain sense of humour. In one such tale, Voltaire shows him upsetting the mental quietude of a jesuit with his theory of concatenation of events. The missionary believes in the free will of man and in the power of prayer, but the Brahman contends that prayer cannot make a fly live a moment longer than it was meant to live, and to prove that all events are linked to each other by an invincible fatality, and that small causes may produce great effects, he reveals to the stupefied jesuit that he is one of the causes of the assassination of King Henry IV of France who was stabbed to death by a fanatic named Ravallac. The Brahman explains: "I took it upon my head to begin a short walk on the coast of Malabar with my left foot instead of my right. So doing, I had the misfortune of causing my friend Eriban, a Persian merchant, to fall in the water and die. He had a pretty wife who took an Armenian tradesman for her second husband.

She had a daughter who married a Greek. The daughter of this Greek settled in France, and married the man who was to be Ravallac's father. If all this had not happened you certainly realize that the history of France and that of Austria would have taken different turnings. The system of Europe would have changed. As you see, all depended upon my left foot which was itself linked with all the other past, present and future events". And in a most doctoral tone, the Brahman concludes that "to be free is to do what one wants and not to wish for what one wants", and that "prayer is submission".

... ..
Voltaire's description and appraisal of India's contribution to the growth of culture and civilization might appear almost devoid of any element of novelty to the modern reader. His observations might sound commonplace or inaccurate. But, in spite of all the uncertainties and deficiencies, it is no small merit for a writer living in an age when the frontiers of civilized world were generally believed not to extend beyond the European shores, to have dispelled the clouds of ignorance and courageously endeavoured to destroy any complex of superiority by revealing the millenia-old civilizations of the Eastern peoples. It is equally no small honour for a country when the antiquity of its culture and the greatness of its achievements are given due recognition by a man who dominated the intellectual world of the 18th century, and was, in his time, the "oracle of Europe".



Current Affairs

KARUNA K. NANDI

The Late Dr. Kalidas Nag-

Others more competent will have paid their tributes of admiration to the late Dr. Kalidas Nag in these and other columns. Nevertheless, it would do no harm if the present writer should also add his humble offering of admiration and reverence on this occasion.

In spite of his deep and wide-ranging scholarship what, to this writer, seemed to endear Dr. Kalidas Nag most to all those who had the privilege of knowing him, was his deep and abiding humanity. He found a deep human interest not merely in the pages of human history—in which his scholarship matched those of all the most eminent among the celebrated researchers in this field of study—but also in all the simple facts and events of life. It was this deep, abiding and wide-ranging human interest that made his life and work so significant.

As far back as early 1923 we find Dr. Nag pleading for what he called **humanization of history** before a World Congress of Educators in Geneva. He said that historians had, so far, been putting undue emphasis upon what are generally regarded as heroes of history and upon cataclysmic events like wars and revolutions which are fed mainly by hatred and conflicts while neglecting the far more abiding contributions made to the evolution of civilization by cooperation and synthesis, in short by the ancient Indian concept of **Dharma**. It is this sense of **Dharma** which appeared to both inform and sustain Dr. Nag in all his endeavours and activities that placed him far above the common run of historical researchers

and made him one of the pioneers among those who sought to break new ground in historical presentation as an integrated and ordered process in the evolution of the human civilization. An intellectual of rare brilliance and abilities, Dr. Nag was thus also a leader of thought in a world which, especially of late, appears to have been growing increasingly poorer in the realm of thinking.

To think of Dr. Nag conjures up before one's eyes the image of the Lord Buddha whose incessant and never-halting footfall spanned a whole continent from North to South and from East to West and even across the seas and the mountains, carrying his message of love and universal humanity in his lotus-hands. Dr. Nag, likewise, was a globe-trotting savant incessantly and never-endingly seeking for the common root which, he never stopped ardently believing, bound the whole of humanity together, across all the seemingly insuperable barriers of continents and races and religions. It is this image of Dr. Kalidas Nag, that will ever remain deathless and immortal.

* * * *

The Prime Minister's Fear

Speaking to the International Press Institute Assembly in New Delhi recently, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was reported to have said things which would seek to set certain very questionable norms relating to the functions of the press in a democracy. She was reported to have said that the freedom of the Press "created problems and difficulties" and sought to justify attenuation of this freedom by adding that the war on poverty in India was analogous to the

Second World War which had compelled Britain to impose certain restrictions on the publication of news calculated to be detrimental to the national interest. The analogy was sought to be equated with the current all-India students' agitation. "Now, I am sure", Mrs. Gandhi was reported to have stated; "that had this agitation not got wide publicity, there would not have been another agitation in another place. Because there was wide publicity, students in other places felt that they were lagging behind."

Thus she was reported to have posed the question as to what measure of freedom the press should be allowed in the present circumstances of the country. Her own answer to it does not seem to be very clear or free from ambiguity for, in answer to a question from a member of the otherwise dumbfounded audience, she sought to hastily clarify that she did not mean to suggest that news should be suppressed, nor did she allege that newspapers generally or any section of them in particular had distorted or falsified the news of the agitation. Did she, then, desire that the press should put out only such news on like occasions as authority may prescribe and in the manner indicated by it, generally only by oral advice?

The Prime Minister's views, as per the above statements, on the role of the press in a democracy would seem to indicate that she is ignorant or is deliberately inclined to ignore, the very fundamental concept of a democracy. Even apart from the Prime Minister, a lot of confusion seems to obtain at the highest levels of the country's legislative and judicial counsels, not to speak of the Government for the time being in power, as regards the ultimate seat of authority in a parliamentary democracy. Some claim that it is the Constitution which is sovereign; while there are others who seem to think that sovereignty lies with Parliament alone. This latter view is sought to be justified on the ground that since the

Constitution has awarded Parliament by the provisions of Art. 386 the authority to amend it, Parliament's sovereignty must be without question. The Constitution of India unfortunately embodies within itself all the usual defects and shortcomings of a written Constitution and while adopting Art. 386, the Constituent Assembly had failed to provide—possibly by oversight although it is not impossible that it may also have been by deliberate intent—that the right to amend the Constitution by a certain prescribed majority shall be limited to such verbal changes as may be found necessary to remove functional *lacunae* that may crop up from time to time and shall not touch any fundamental provisions of the Constitution dealing with its directive principles, its territorial definitions, the fundamental rights of the people and similar other fundamentals. For, apart from all its practical aspects, theoretically at least, the Constitution of India is supposed to be a codified expression of the will of the Indian people. The Constitution alone is, therefore, sovereign because it embodies and symbolizes the will of the people, who are sovereign: Parliament cannot be sovereign, because it exists at the pleasure of the people and all the powers it has are delegated to it by them; nor is the Government sovereign, because it exists at the pleasure of the Parliament and wields powers delegated at second-hand by the people through the Parliament.

The functions of a Government in a parliamentary democracy must, therefore, be subject to constant review by Parliament. To prevent the Government from becoming too authoritarian or too despotic, the mechanism of a modern Parliamentary democracy requires that a strong, determined and respected opposition must function within Parliament by a process of well-aimed and wholesome criticism of its actions and decisions. And to enable the people to exercise their choice at an election to be

well-informed and wholesome, all that happens in Parliament and outside in which the Government may be in any way concerned, must be truthfully and wholesomely publicized. The liberty of the press in a democracy is, therefore, as fundamental to the democratic process as the machinery of elections and even the functions of Parliament. It is only an objective and pragmatically honest and reliable newspaper press which can keep the functional dynamics of a democracy in order. In a democracy like that in India in its present stage of evolution, where the Party in Government has been enjoying virtually monolithic powers ever since the setting up of the Indian Parliament, it is even more fundamental.

One does not argue that a dishonest or unreliable press is not also capable of incalculable mischief. It is universally acknowledged that newspapers in this country, by and large, have been acquitting themselves and carrying on their functions with a commendable sense of responsibility and restraint against, some times—be it also recorded—some very insuperable difficulties and pressures. Any attempt, therefore, to abridge or, in any way attenuate, the freedom of the press—the desire for which, one apprehends, lies at the back of what Mrs. Indira Gandhi had to say at the IPI luncheon in this context—would not merely be widely resented as it necessarily should be, but would also be regarded as an attempt by the Government in power to suborn all public expression of lack of confidence in itself.

One does not argue that certain dangerous symptoms of disorder have not been increasingly rearing their heads of late and the Government is not being correspondingly forced into a difficult corner. But the press is certainly not responsible for the situation. On the contrary one may even say that the bulk of the daily newspaper press has been countenancing all the failures (and worse)

of the Government with a measure of indulgence which, to some at least, can only spell **regimentation**. The fact remains that for all the present disorders, the ineptitudes and worse of the Government have been mainly responsible. Had there been any really organized opposition of really honest, thoughtful and respectable people—one does not take into account the many and fragmented opposition parties in existence including the newly conceived Bangla Congress who are as inept and untrustworthy as the Party in Government—the ruling Party would have inevitably suffered a very considerable attenuation of its majorities at the ensuing polls. For most of the evils of misgovernment, Mrs. Indira Gandhi may not be responsible; clearly she is the unfortunate victim of an evil inheritance. But during the nine or ten months she has been actually on the saddle of the Prime Ministerial horse, she appears to have been singularly inept and weak and like her more illustrious father has been apt to cover up these ineptitudes and weaknesses by a constant flood of wordy verbosity which has been deceiving no one. Abridging the liberty of the press, she must be warned, will not cure any of these evils. If she really desires to do something substantial, she must gather the strength to lead and not only to follow the evil behests of the **Syndicate** which seems still to control the Party of which she is the accredited representative. In short, she must be an effective leader in her own Government and not merely a pawn and a tool in the hands of those who seem to wield the real power from behind the scene.

THE SYNDICATE AND GOVERNMENT

While on the subject of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's reported statement relating to the measure of freedom that the newspaper press should have in a democracy, one's attention is inevitably drawn to the manner

of acquittal by Government of their responsibilities to the nation and the country. When the late Jawaharlal Nehru was on the throne, we have again and again charged in these columns that the manner in which the Government was being run, its least concern would appear to be the nation and the people,—its primary preoccupation being the service of certain vested interests so that it may be financed back into power at every successive general election. All the talk of a **socialistic pattern of economy** notwithstanding, throughout the Nehru regime and after, the major part of the State's resources—both those actually available on the spot, those gathered by either borrowing or begging, and those that were collected by drawing drafts on the future which would have to be honoured—not by the present generation of our rulers, most of whom were and are decrepit old dodgers but by posterity—have been directed towards a pattern of development planning which has, so far been so heavily inflation-oriented that the wholesale price level was stated by the Union Finance Minister a few months ago, to have risen by as much as 58 per cent during the ten years between 1956 and 1966. According to an earlier estimate, the gross price rise during the period 1950-51 and 1955-56 was said to have been of the order of some 28 per cent in the wholesale sector of the market. In other words, compared to 1950-51, the purchasing power of the rupee has been reduced to something like 25 per cent of its original value as at the base year 1950. As a result of the implementation of the Plans, we have been told that from the base of an annual national income level of Rs. 9,000 crores in 1950-51, it had risen to Rs. 10,800 crores in 1955-56; to Rs. 14,500 crores (one wing of the Planning Commission stated that the final assessments revealed that it was only Rs. 14,000 crores) and, although final assessments have yet to be made, it is unlikely that the level of the national in-

come at the close of the Third Five Year Plan in 1965-66 would work out to any higher level than Rs. 17,000 crores at current prices. According to the targets envisaged in the Plans, the level of the national income should have risen to Rs. 11,700 crores at the end of the First Five Year Plan; to Rs. 15,500 crores at the end of the Second Plan and to Rs. 19,800 crores at the end of the Third Five Year Plan; in other words the gross rise in the national income throughout the fifteen year period, should have been of the order some 120 per cent compared to 1950-51 at the base-year constant prices. The actual face value increase achieved according to the accountings rendered by the Planning Commission and the Government from time to time would appear to have been of the order of Rs. 10,800 crores, Rs. 14,500 crores and approximately (because final accounts have yet to be drawn up) Rs. 17,000 crore in terms of face values, at the end of the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans respectively at current prices.

We have already mentioned above that it has been officially conceded, that with 1950-51 as the base year, wholesale prices registered an increase of 28 per cent in 1955-56; the present Union Finance Minister has stated that between 1955-56 and 1965-66 wholesale prices have further risen by 58 per cent; in other words, compared to 1950-51, price levels have gone up by very nearly 75 per cent in 1965-66. So that the purchasing power of the rupee has been correspondingly, reduced to just about one-fourth of what it used to be in 1950-51. The per capita income was said to have risen from around 288 at the end of the First Plan period, and to Rs. 312 at the end of the Second Plan; it has been officially conceded that there was no likelihood of the per capita income having gone up further during the Third Plan, because of shortfalls in achievement of targets which, such as they have been, are estimated to have been

wholly absorbed by increase in the quantum of population. Per capita averages, however, are misleading enough generally, and they would appear to be especially so in this country where, according to the findings of the Mahalanobis Inquiry, more than 56 per cent of the gross national income is appropriated by only about 7 per cent of the population,—the top-most income earning category comprising 1 per cent of the population appropriating as much as approximately 28 per cent of the national income. Be that as it may, even taking per capita incomes at their face value, an income of Rs. 312 in 1966 would buy only about what Rs. 78 would buy in 1951; that is the condition of the average Indian today, after 15 years of massive development planning they have an income which, in terms of what it can buy today, has been reduced to about 30 per cent of what it was in 1951.

But investments under the Plans had been pitched at levels which were supposed to have been designed to achieve increases in the national income of the order of Rs. 11,700 crores, 15,500 crores and 19,800 crores at the end of the First, Second and Third Five Years Plans respectively at constant (1950-51) prices. Inevitably there has been increasing concentration of income and wealth in microscopic sectors of the community. According to an unofficial estimate, before Planning was launched in 1950-51, the top income-earning 1 per cent of the population used to appropriate about 6 per cent of the gross annual national income and owned about 14 per cent of the aggregate national wealth; the gross taxation level in the country in this year was computed at around Rs. 8 per capita. Even as far back as 1960-61, the Mahalanobis Committee computed that the top income-earning 1 per cent of the population appropriated 28 per cent of the gross annual income and owned approximately 46 per cent of the national wealth. In 1965-66, the

approximate per capita gross taxation burden is computed at Rs. 50. This is the measure of socialization of wealth and incomes that our present rulers have brought to this country after nineteen years of massive and presumably socialistically-oriented development-planning!

And yet, they have the audacity to pretend that unless Planning is further and even, perhaps, more disastrously pursued on a far larger scale than heretofore, the country would be doomed to perpetual stagnation in the future. Since the bill has to be footed by the people—and even more than the present generation of them by posterity—they are apparently not concerned except in so far as Planning may help to boost the vested interests which have been continually financing them into power. What is amazing is that the country has been accepting the situation with a measure of unconcern which passes all understanding. It is, apparently, that motley crowd of illiterates and celebrated non-entities popularly known as the **Syndicate** which has the power to lay down the law in this behalf and which the Government has to obey for very dear life. One can easily understand Shri Ashoke Mehta; his economics has always been all confused and lopsided. He had a certain popular political appeal but that did not quite satisfy his ever-demanding ego which desired a place among the intellectuals. He had a certain nuisance value to the ruling **coterie** as an opposition leader of sorts and the Syndicate dangled the prize—the vice-chairmanship of the Planning Commission before his nose—and he did not hesitate to jump for it by playing renegade to his own erstwhile political ideology, party and friends. Having once burnt his oars he has nowhere else to turn and he must hold on for dear life to this, his only political asylum and means of subsistence. And, whatever the cost to the people and the nation, he must, under-

standably, plead for an increasingly larger-sized Plan.

But Shri Ashoka Mehta is only an insignificant pawn in a terribly sinister game which the Syndicate has been playing with the fortunes of the people and the future of the nation. So long as the late Jawaharlal Nehru was in the saddle, his personal prestige, power and personality held the Syndicate down somewhat; it tried to raise its head when Lalbahadur Shastri came into power. But Shastri with a blandness and a smiling equanimity which was, in itself an epitome of diplomatic adroitness, brushed the Syndicate unceremoniously aside where his Government and its decisions were concerned. This had offended the Syndicate and led to the convening of what has since become known as the little A.I.C.C. at Ranchi; had Shastri been spared by providence for a longer period, there might have been quite a tussle for power. Unfortunately, Shastri was carried away all too suddenly and this time the Syndicate ensured that the new Prime Minister must be of its own choice and must be one who would unquestioningly carry out its behests.

Mrs. Gandhi's amazing thesis about the role of the press in a democracy propounded before the IPI Assembly would appear to be not so much the expression of her own independent thinking as, perhaps, a statement of the wishes of the Syndicate in this behalf. There is very little of an independent press still in existence in this country as it is. There was not a single daily newspaper in the whole of Eastern India—with, of course, one very notable and, we must underline, a very honourable exception—which had anything to say on Mrs. Gandhi's statement in this behalf, which demonstrates, we feel, the measure of regimentation that the ruling party has been able to enforce upon the newspaper press in this country in general. But these very few and notable exceptions are an inconvenience—hardly a menace—

to the powers and the prerogatives the Syndicate has been able to arrogate to itself, especially at this, the election-eve juncture. Any vehicle of expression of unbiased, independent opinion, presentation of facts in their true and correct perspectives and which may set a train of thinking in motion among the common people of the country, may be dangerous to its future hegemony. For, after all, the Syndicate rules by exploiting the trappings and formularies of a democratic system to maintain itself in power; a system which reposes the ultimate authority in the will of the people themselves and in which any glimmerings of thinking may destroy the fine balance upon which the authority of the ruling coterie is based.

Take, for instance, the manner in which the current season of drought in the country is being exploited. The drought, no doubt, has been very bad in places; but it is by no means the worst that the country has seen within living memory. Even as late as 1949, Bihar had seen a devastating drought affecting the whole of South Bihar. In West Bengal the drought of 1963 was far worse than the one of the present season. And, yet, the situation is being publicized in official hand-outs as being one of the worst which the country has so far seen, and immense cash appropriations are being authorized to provide relief to the affected people. No one can legitimately object to money being spent for legitimate relief to the genuinely distressed. But such large appropriations as on the present occasion were not considered at all necessary by the Government during previous even more distressing situations. The question naturally is being asked, as to whether the Central and the State Governments concerned had become so unwontedly moved by the people's distress only because it was the election year? The question, further, is asked, has not the drought come at a very convenient moment so that a considerable part of the

large appropriations for relief may not be unobtrusively and helpfully diverted to cover a part of the election expenses of the ruling party? In West Bengal, for instance, the recent decision to permit private buses to run in the metropolitan areas in addition to the State Transport vehicles—250 such vehicles have been so permitted for the time being—and which the Chief Minister has publicly stated may be a forerunner to the ultimate decision to denationalise the transport system in Calcutta altogether has, likewise, been taken at a very opportune moment. The timing of the decision is the most significant thing in this connection. The inadequacy of the transport system in Calcutta has been chronic over the years and the Government never felt called upon to do anything about it. It has often been publicly suggested that if the State transport system cannot cope adequately with its responsibilities in Calcutta, its monopoly should be withdrawn and competitive services allowed to ply within the area; but Government have never paid any the least heed to these suggestions and counsels. Now, suddenly on the eve of election some 250 additional private buses have been let loose in the city further cluttering up its already highly congested traffic system and without, visibly, relieving any of the peak-hour crowding and congestion. It is being openly whispered about that this has been done for two purposes; first, as a means of fund-getting for the elections for, every such bus, we are told, has **donated** (?) a very substantial sum to the Congress Party's election fund and, secondly, also because they would be available for carrying voters to the polling booths on election day for the ruling party. We cannot vouch for the truth or otherwise of these unauthenticated statements and stories, but they are certainly a measure of the people's estimate of the character and integrity of the ruling party. In any case, the measure looks highly suspicious.

RE-EVALUATION OF FOURTH PLAN RESOURCES

At the time of announcing his decision to devalue the par-value of the rupee, Union Finance Minister Sachin Chaudhuri gave a solemn undertaking to Parliament that under no circumstances will any further deficit financing for Plan investment or any other purpose be allowed. We have never had much faith, judging by our experience over the past fifteen years, in Government's promises or pledges, but we hoped in this matter at least, the Finance Ministry would not indulge in any kind of play-acting or prevarication. On that occasion the Finance Minister also gave the further undertaking that all necessary steps would be taken—even to the extent of promulgating a wage and price freeze—to hold the price line at the level it was subsisting on the date of devaluation. This pledge the Government has not honoured; on the contrary during the current session of Parliament the Finance Minister endeavoured, most cavalierly, to dismiss the question by stating that the incidence of price rise since devaluation has only been nominal and, in any case, it had no direct relationship with the actual process of devaluation.

Now, so far as deficit financing is concerned, a press report indicates that the Government find that it may not be altogether unavoidable and that the measure of deficit financing during the current financial year is likely to be of the order of Rs. 65 crores. Further reports since then seem to indicate that there is not a great deal of likelihood of any very substantial economy being effected in Government's consumption expenditure and that, altogether, indications are, that the Fourth Plan would have to pass through a heavy inflationary pressure.

To say the least, the Government should have known about the inevitability of these factors of planning in the manner and the

measure in which it is being proposed to be undertaken during the Fourth Five Year period. If that were so—and there is no reason to suppose that it was not—the least that can be said is that Government were deliberately dishonest about the whole transaction, especially in respect of their promises to avoid deficit financing. Besides, in spite of whatever Mr. Ashoke Mehta may say to the contrary—planning beyond available resources has already spelt disaster to the economy and the game of dishonestly continuing to pursue the same methods would be bound to create such further measures of imbalances in the economy from the effects of which the nation may never recover within the life of the next several generations. The results of planning during the last three five-year periods, discussed in greater length elsewhere in this feature, would make such a conclusion quite inescapable. But, perhaps,

the Government are quite helpless in the matter. They have to carry out the wishes of certain favoured vested interests—even if it were to the detriment of the nation—or their very existence at the next polls may be put into jeopardy!

Foreign Oil Interests in India

There are three major foreign oil companies operating in India. Until the establishment of the public sector Indian Oil Corporation, these, between them, used to hold monopoly the entire petroleum business in the country. With the advent of the IOC, their share of the business has been progressively reduced to about 70 per cent of the total (until 1965, it was computed at about 85 per cent), but the net volume of the business under their control has been progressively increasing at the rate of approximately 7 per cent per annum. The following table gives an estimate of their sales and employment incidences :

Year	Caltex Marketing Co.		Esso Marketing Co.		Burmah-Shell Marketing Co.	
	Sales in Kilo-litres.	No. of men employed.	Sales in KL	No. of men employed.	Sale in KL.	No. of men employed.
1956	9,60,600	3,100	15,15,500	4,500	37,27,200	16,500
1965	17,07,000	2,876	31,63,000	3,649	54,43,000	9,041
Percentage increase in sale and reduction in staff	77.7	7.2	108.7	19.0	46.0	45.2

That is to say with an average 40 per cent increase in the volume of sales effected by these foreign oil companies operating in India, (and which may be said to be still enjoying a virtual monopoly of the Indian oil market as a whole) progressively over the last ten years, the quantum of employment has been reduced by approximately 64 per cent over the same period. The following table gives a picture of the progressive reduction of staff effected by these companies during the six years from 1960 to 1966 (1965 and 1966 figures approximately as of September, '30) :

Year	Burmah-Shell		ESSO		CALTEX	
	Number of employees.		Number of employees.		Number of employees	
	Marketing	Refinery	Marketing	Refinery	Marketing	Refinery
1960	13,505	1,701	4,474	583	3,575	396
1961	12,567	1,648	4,421	499	3,620	396
1962	11,864	1,513	4,330	470	3,530	388
1963	11,335	1,477	4,192	446	3,449	385
1964	10,736	1,411	3,930	406	3,074	386
1965	9,041	1,367	3,649	394	2,876	343
1966	3,500	1,315	3,300	370	2,533	290

Thus, it would be seen staff reduction in these companies has been of the order of : 37.06 per cent and 22.69 per cent by BURMAH-SHELL in their Marketing and Refinery Divisions ; 26.24 per cent and 36.54 per cent by ESSO and 29.15 per cent and 26.77 per cent by CALTEX.

These oil companies were allowed a 12 per cent profit margin on the capital employed, taking into account all over-head charges, wage bills etc., as in 1958-59 by the Price Inquiry Committee appointed by Government under the Chairmanship of Mr. Damle. The Companies, however, continue to enjoy the benefit of the ceiling selling price thus fixed in 1960, while its wage bill has been considerably reduced on account of an approximate reduction in staff by some 30 per cent during this period. This, obviously, represents an additional element of profit to which the companies concerned are clearly not entitled. Before the ceiling selling price was prescribed by the Damle Committee, the ceiling used to be fixed in accordance with the following formula, commonly known as the Value Stock Account Formula :

F.O.B. Price at the Port of Ras Taruna (Middle East)

Add : Ocean Freight, Insurance charges

These yield the C.I.F. value at Indian Ports

Add : All storage, distribution and selling expenses (including expenses of staff)

Thus the total cost is computed

Add : 10 per cent of total storage, distribution and selling expenses as return or profit

This yielded the figure at which the selling price had to be based

But since the Government had no control over the expenses of storage, distribution and marketing, there was a deliberate policy pursued

of increasing costs on these items to ensure correspondingly increased profits, as they were a percentage of these expenses. The Damle Committee's recommendation put a stop to this form of profiteering which was a source of annoyance to the foreign oil companies. But the 12 per cent net profit allowed by the Committee did not represent the actual profit earned, since no formal credit was allowed for the discounts received by them on their purchases of petroleum products on the international market. These were only credited to the account of the parent holding companies abroad, so that the Indian consumer might not be able to claim any benefit of price concessions on this account. If this were done, according to the findings of a study group known as the Taluqdar Committee, the combined profitability of the Burmah-Shell in respect of their Indian transactions would have been of the order of 20.25 per cent of their capital employed in 1962 and 20.65 per cent on the capital employed in 1963 ; with ESSO, it would have been 13.35 per cent and for CALTEX 6.71 per cent.

It is obvious that the profitability of the oil business for the foreign oil companies in India is already high enough. The policy of progressive rationalization and automation, affecting the incidence of employment in these organizations would appear to be one attracting serious notice and measures to stop these by the Government of the day. The Government, moreover, could take advantage of this most illegitimate policy by nationalising the foreign oil business in India with or even, without compensation which would also save them at least Rs. 100 crores annually in foreign remittances by these companies. Why they do not do so or, in the alternative, compel these companies to pursue a more beneficial and legitimate employment policy, is difficult to understand.

CRITICAL ART

SATISH CHANDRA RAY

From near about 17th century various critics at various times have emerged in English literature. The catalogue containing the names is a big one. The work of criticism has led to the creation of a critical prose in English literature.

The art of criticism is a very difficult art. Except one or two none has reached the peak of perfection. T. S. Eliot opines, 'Coleridge was the greatest of English Critics, and in a sense the last.' He then ranks Matthew Arnold in the second place although he says that Arnold was more a popularizer than a creator of ideas, more a propagandist than a critic.

English criticism has been chiefly directed towards two directions :—

(1) Verbal disease, (2) Impressionistic criticism. Matthew Arnold suffers from verbal disease in this that his criticisms are mere strings of words, inadequate and they assemble rather than dispel doubts. The use of scientific vocabulary is the chief characteristic of modern writing and perhaps T. S. Eliot is a master in that direction. That is why he prefers the phrase 'Verbal disease' to the phrases like incoherence, inadequate, free from doubts and want of graphic line.

Mr. Symonds is another critic in the catalogue. His criticism is of the type of impressionistic criticism. He exposes a cultivated and sensitive mind. The technical phrases require explanations as the less

intelligent reader with uncultivated mind would not be able to get at the meaning of these phrases. Mr. Symonds reflects that Cleopatra is the most wonderful of all women. The comment is the reproduction of the emotion Mr. Symonds had gathered after reading Shakespeare's famous drama—Antony and Cleopatra. To be more precise, Mr. Symonds analyses and creates.

It is risky to exclude Aristotle, the great Philosopher, from the field of critical art. This Philosopher looked solely and steadfastly at the object and no other thing. Outward considerations never weighed with his mind.

In matters of criticism the critic must not make judgments of worse or better. He must simply elucidate the impressions a particular character or a particular poem may leave in his mind and the reader will form the correct judgment for himself. Upon this standard Horace has been the model for criticism upto the 19th Century.

Dryden is a critic of the seventeenth century literature. He legislates rather than enquires. Appreciation is a structure of the mind and criticism is the statement in language of this structure.

Swinnburne emerges as a greatest critic in English literature. Carefully scrutinised, he is not free from infirmities and his imperfection is greater than his perfection. He leaves notes as a poet upon poets. When it is a matter of pronouncing judgment between two

poets, Swinburne is almost unerring. He is a cataloguer of poets in order of merit. Tradition or historical sense is no less important in the art of criticism than erudition, sensitiveness and generalizing power. Coleridge combines in himself all these qualities and hence he is the last perfect critic in English literature.

Criticism of Poetry.

Wordsworth's theory that poetry is emotion

recollected in tranquility is not correct.

The poet shall use his ordinary emotions and, working them up, express feelings which are not in actual emotion. In a word the poet must be sensitive to his environment which attribute makes the poems of T. S. Eliot novelties in English literature. The chief interest of a critic will be in the poem and not in the poet.

HUMANIZATION OF HISTORY.

.....The uniqueness of the World War of our epoch lies in this that it made short work of all sophisticated and unsophisticated justifications, plunging the world in a deluge of refined barbarism and scientific savegery—thereby forcing modern man to think if there is really any progress in history. From inter-communal homicide to international suicide is a progressions of doubtful survival-value! Truly, orthodox historians are wanting to-day to produce documentary evidence to disprove the responsibility of their respective national Governments in launching the monstrous game, but that has only deepened the distrust of all normal human beings in a method of historical study which makes a case appear inevitably true *in parts*, yet as relentlessly false *as a whole*...

DR. KALIDAS NAG

in The Modern Review, February, 1923

ANDAMANS PAST & PRESENT

Sudhir Kumar Mitra

Andamans, the daughter of the sea, naturally produces in the heart of every Indian a feeling of dread and horror in view of the fact that it had been for many years a penal settlement. From the time of the Sepoy Mutiny to the end of 1945 dangerous convicts and political prisoners sentenced to transportation for life were sent to Andamans. They were practically lost to the world.

The Andaman and Nicobar islands comprise 223 islands great and small stretching over 500 miles of sea in the Bay of Bengal and cover an area of 3215 square miles; distance from Calcutta to Port Blair is 700 miles. The islands are in two groups, the Andamans and the Nicobars with a 10 degree channel separating the two. Andamans cover an area of 2580 square miles and the Nicobar 635 square miles.

The Andamans group, the bigger of the two, has three fairly large islands, North Andaman, Middle Andaman and South Andaman along with numerous other small islands, such as Havlock, Breakfast, Interview, Louis Inlet, Ross Island, Mayabundar, Blair Bay, Diglipur, North Bay, Mount Harriett, etc. Port Blair is the capital of the whole group of these islands, under the direct control of the Central Government. The head of administration is the Chief Commissioner.

The total population of these islands is 50,000 and the only town, Port Blair, has a population of about 10,000. There are about 200 villages. All the islands are covered with very thick forests. Of the total area of 3215 square miles, 2500 square miles are covered by forests. Total revenue from timber exceeds Rupees one crore. About 75,000 tons of timber are extracted every year. They are

generally on hills. Some of them rise to over 2,000 ft. The forests yield very valuable timber which is the main source of wealth for these islands. Houses made of timber are cheaply put up. There is a Government saw-mill at Port Blair which is the biggest in Asia. The climate of these islands is tropical and warm and is tempered by pleasant sea breeze.

Cellular Jail

The Cellular Jail is situated on the South Andaman island and consists of a central tower with seven three-storeyed wings. Three of these wings, where most of the political prisoners were confined, were pulled down by the Japanese. The front portion of the jail is now used as a maternity home and some of the wings are used as a prison for local convicts and for some Government offices. It is proposed to pull down all the wings except the central tower which will be kept as a memorial and the whole site will be used as a hospital.

It was for the first time in 1858 that the convicts of the Sepoy Mutiny were transported there. Later on all the political prisoners of India were sent there to serve their life sentences. The most notable political prisoners sent there from Bengal were Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Upendra Nath Banerjee, Hem Chandra Das Kanungo, Trailakya Nath Chakraverty, Ullaskar Dutta, Pulin Behary Das, Abinash Chandra Bhattacharjee, Ashutosh Das Gupta, Dr. Bhupal Bose, Dr. Narayan Roy, Amrita Hazra, Lokenath Bal, Ananta Lall Sing, Ganesh Chandra Ghosh, Jyotirmoy Roy, Bhupendra Nath Ghosh, Suresh Chandra Sen and Baren Ghosh.

It is unfortunate that of the above, three names only are imprinted on a board on the

Cellular Jail. It is an obvious duty of the West Bengal Government to make due arrangements in getting the names of other Bengalee patriots who were in the jail imprinted on its walls.

The complete list of all the political prisoners is not available in the Andamans at present as most of the records were destroyed by the Japanese. The cell where Sri Vir Savarkar was confined was on the first floor of the seventh wing in Room No. 42, the cell is 15'x9' with one small opening near the roof. In front of this cell, his name is painted as "*Vir Savarkar political prisoner was kept in this cell*" and a photograph is kept inside the cell.

The Jail Superintendent assured us when we visited the jail that he would be pleased to incorporate the names of other political prisoners if the names and the years were supplied to him.

There is a list of names of 9 political leaders who were confined in this jail with the year and the wing No. as follows :-

Name	Year	Wing No.
R. C. L. Sharma	1909	—
B. G. Tilak	1915	3
Bhai Parmanand	1921	3
Vir Savarkar	1921	7
Gurmukh Singh	1932	3
Lokenath Bal	1932	3
Deo Dutt	1932	5
Ananta Lal Sing	1932	3
Ganesh Chandra Ghosh	1932	3

Just after a century in the Marine Park near the Cellular Jail the Indian Government erected on the 15th August 1957 one Martyrs' Tomb to commemorate those who participated

in the Sepoy Mutiny and the following words are inscribed on it :—

To Hallowed Memory
of
The Heroes who participated
in the National Revolution
of 1857

From different states of India
and were incarcerated in

The Cellular Jail, Port Blair
By an alien Government.
15th August 1957.

After independence the Indian Government abolished the penal settlement and arranged for the rehabilitation of the Bengal refugees. The first batch of 202 refugee families from Bengal was settled in South Andaman in 1949. Uptil 1959, 9028 persons of 2644 agriculturist families have been rehabilitated there. Of these, 1148 families were settled in North Andaman, 931 in Middle Andaman and 565 in South Andaman.

About a mile from the Cellular Jail there is the small Ross Island. The Chief Commissioner of Andamans formerly lived on this island and many of the Government offices were also located there. But on account of an earthquake the island is sinking and the buildings were declared unsafe and now all the offices have been removed. This island presents a sad spectacle of decay. There is another small island Mount Harriett, just opposite Chatham Jetty in Port Blair where Lord Mayo, the Viceroy and Governor General of India was assassinated on the 8th February, 1872 by a Pathan convict. This island is now deserted except for a saw mill.

During the second World War Andamans were in the occupation of Japan for over three years. They committed beastly atrocities to the unarmed innocent inhabitants of the islands. As there was great scarcity of rice they drowned groups of people in the Havlock

Island to economise the supplies of rice. Sri Atul Chandra Chatterjee, the Treasurer, was brutally murdered, as he refused to give the key of the Treasury. To commemorate his memory "Atul Smrity Samity" was founded by his friends in 1946. The Samity has a home of its own, which is a venue for all cultural purposes.

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose formed the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on the 21st October, 1943 and he appeared as a liberator of our country on the 29th December, 1943 and delivered his address from the Port Blair Browning Hall and took charge of these islands on behalf of the Azad Hind Government from the Japanese and appointed Col. A. D. Lokenath as the Chief Commissioner of Andamans on the 8th January, 1944. After the occupation of the islands by the Azad Hind Government, massacre of the inhabitants of these islands was put to an end. The name of the Browning Hall was later changed to "Netaji Hall" to commemorate his arrival at Andamans.

This Hall is managed by a Board under the control of the Commissioner. It is now the only public or town hall in picturesque surroundings.

On an over-all and critical survey of the islands, I am convinced that from the points of view of scenic beauty, equability of climate, economic resources, especially paddy cultivation, etc. they constitute a very good home for the displaced persons who have settled there. There are yet plenty of lands where more persons can be rehabilitated. At present there is no unemployment. It is unfortunately a very happy hunting ground for Christian missionaries who are making converts.

I would appeal to the Central Government and the State Government of West Bengal to adopt energetic and well-planned measures at an early date to see that the islands are inhabited by a larger number of people and their economic resources are developed to the benefit of the vast massess of uprooted people.

Humanization of History

If history should stand, as it should stand, as the truly impartial record of Humanity, it must be purified from its disgraceful *nationalistic bias* and re-establishd on its only just and dignified basis—the basis of *internationalism*.

Dr. Kalidas Nag

in The Modern Review, February, 1923

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is entertained.

MUSSALMANS OF BENGAL by Maulavi Abul Hayat, S/Royal 8vo, Pp. 52; Publishers: Sri Zahed Ali, Bardhaman Bhaban, 4/A, Orient Row, Calcutta-17, Price Rs. 5.00; Foreword by Prof. Nirmal K. Bose and an Appreciation by Allama Jamil Muzhari, renowned Urdu poet and Professor, University of Patna.

Maulavi Abul Hayat comes of a line of Bangalee intellectuals—a specimen which has been growing increasingly rare since the days Mahommed Ali Jinnah assumed unrivalled leadership of, until then, a completely moribund Muslim League—who found no difficulty at all in reconciling their religious faith and life with their political beliefs and ideals. The family to which Abul Hayat belonged was one of considerable power and influence over the community (not the Muslim community alone, be it underlined) in the important district town of Burdwan and contributed an equal number of its members to both high offices under the Government and those who devotedly went on fighting the same Government for the political emancipation of their motherland. It was among the latter category of his family members that Abul Hayat belonged; his elder brother Abul Kasem, who was, for many years, a member first, of the old Imperial Legislative Council in Delhi and, later, with the enforcement of the Montford Reforms Act, of the Indian

Legislative Assembly, was a Secretary to the late Surendranath Banerjee during the heydays of the latter's political glory. Starting life as an official of the Government in the Co-operative Department, Hayat soon realised that he had no vocation for his job and resigned his appointment to join the late Maulavi Mujibar Rahman on the staff of his celebrated weekly newspaper, the *Mussalman*.

The politics of the *Mussalman* was not what later became the ardent, even the belligerent politics of Mahommed Ali Jinnah and of the Muslim League under his leadership. Its appeal was, primarily, to the Mussalman community of India which had remained comparatively backward in both intellectual development and political awareness and which, it was felt necessary, had to be brought upto comparable levels with the larger life of the community to enable it to participate more wholeheartedly and wholesomely in the aspirations and struggles of the nation. It believed, as Maulavi Abul Hayat still continues to steadfastly believe, that the *Mussalman*, like followers of other religious and faiths in this country, constitutes an important inseparable facet of the integrated personality of a composite Indian nationhood. That was the basic demographic pattern of the composite Indian society, a society which presented an integrated culture comprising the individual

cultures of diverse social and religious origin from diverse lands and which have, in the course of history, fused into an integrated Indian culture. The particular religious beliefs and faiths and their external formulas and observances are, as they should always remain, the personal concern of the individuals subscribing to these diverse religious faiths and the observance of their diverse external formulas. Their presence has to be accepted and recognized but should not be mixed up in and confused with the integrated social and political life of the community under pretext of so-called secularism or any other like pretext. That has been and still remains the basic social problem of the community, not merely of individual sectors of it identified by different religious persuasions.

Once an ardent subscriber to the ideals held forth by the Indian National Congress, a cause for which the author has suffered repeated incarceration, he has been unable to bring himself to accept or subscribe to the motives which eventually led the top leadership of the Congress to concede the demands of Mahommed Ali Jinnah and of the Muslim League under his leadership and trisect India into three separate and mutilated limbs. With clear-headed realism Māulavi Abul Hayat discovers the sinister hand of the British imperialist in guiding the vivisection of the nation when the forces of history compelled it,

at long last, to abrogate his power over this land. With equal clear-sighted forthrightness he realises that the motive which ultimately induced the Congress leadership to accept the operation was the anxiety to assume power under whatever auspices it may be within its own fast aging lifetime. The pretext that the process would help to wipe out communalism from the political and social life of the community for all times to come and create the environmental conditions for integrated social, political and economic growth of the two nations in their respective and separate spheres was merely eye-wash to hoodwink the gullible and the unlettered with. The eighteen years that have gone by since Indian independence and the creation of Pakistan have amply proved that the canker of communalism has not only not died out from the body politic, but has only assumed new and insidious aspects which is, perhaps, even more virulent in its intractability than ever before.

Maulavi Abul Hayat has addressed his book particularly to the Mussalmans of Bengal but it discusses problems of our society and politics with a clear-headedness and a sense of realism which all Indians should find it rewarding to study with care and diligence. For the problems are deep-seated and wide-flung enough to involve the future of not merely the Mussalman but of the whole Indian community.

KARUNA K. NANDI

Indian Periodicals

THE INDIAN MUSLIM AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Janab M. Mujeeb, writing under the above legend in the *NOW* of October 21, discusses a problem which every Indian to-day has been desperately trying constantly to conjure out of existence but which nevertheless contrives to remain with us with persistent insidiousness. Our leaders have been guilty, in their greed for personal power and glory—there were, perhaps, some among them who even coveted a niche for themselves in the pages of history—of committing the gravest social and political folly when they accepted Independence for India under the terms which comprised the provision for a division of the country and the community to raise a new political power called Pakistan. It is also a fact of indisputable history now that what the British were unable to achieve—the acceptance of the demand for Pakistan which under their imperial encouragement and patronage had assumed virulent proportions—through the persuasions of their more honest and forthright statesmen like the late Lord Wavell, was very adroitly managed by that very able, astute and wholly unscrupulous soldier, Lord Louis Mountbatten, who has been all but canonised by the leaders of the Indian National Congress as the greatest benefactor of India. If the truth were to be frankly acknowledged, he has done the greatest disservice to this country in recent history. But it is, perhaps, unfair to blame Lord Mountbatten and the British ; our own leaders, in their mad greed and lust for personal power and glory, have been willing parties to a stupendous historical folly which now seems destined to darken the lives of all Indian Muslims and Hindus alike

for many generations to come. Says Mr. Mujeeb :

At a party given during the UN General Assembly session in 1949, I had the pleasure of being placed next to the Turkish representative. He looked at my name card, saw that I was a Muslim and at once asked, 'Are there still any Muslims in India?' The impression then created in some countries does not seem to have been removed and it is believed that the subcontinent had been divided between Muslims and Hindus, with all Muslims on the one side and all Hindus on the other.

The reason why India was partitioned is a painful subject not only for the Hindus but a vast number of Muslims, both in India and Pakistan. It is necessary for outsiders to remember two facts, because of their consequences. The party which demanded the creation of Pakistan, 'a separate homeland for the Indian Muslims' was the Muslim League. In the 1946 election, which proved decisive, it secured 425 out of 492 seats reserved for Muslims in the Central and the different provincial legislatures. It could be said, therefore, that the Indian Muslims were overwhelmingly in favour of Pakistan. But the franchise was limited to the propertied classes, and those who voted for the League and its politics, did not know for what they were voting, because the League deliberately avoided defining what was meant by the creation of Pakistan..... The voting for Pakistan was, thus, a leap in the dark.

The other fact that needs to be remembered is that there was an uprooting of the populations in three Muslim majority and one Muslim minority provinces. Most of the Hindus in the North West Frontier Province and West Punjab, were forced to migrate to India and the Muslims in East Punjab to migrate to Pakistan. An incredible amount of rioting and bloodshed accompanied this partition and migration and the situation created by this has to be borne in mind when considering the position of the Indian Muslims who remained in India after the partition.

We still wonder what would have happened to them but for Mahatma Gandhi. But while his influence was enough to calm down the feelings of most Hindus and it was possible to help a large number of uprooted

Muslims to settle down, there were some who regarded him as a traitor to the Hindus and it was at the hands of one such person that Mahatma Gandhi lost his life. It is significant in this connection that no outstanding persons or groups in Pakistan made any effective attempt to ensure the security of the Hindus or to enable those who did not wish to migrate to stay on. If they had done so the lot of the Muslims immediately after partition would have been much easier. The decision regarding exchange of populations applied only to East and West Punjab. A large proportion of the Hindus in the North West Frontier Province and in Sind would have stayed in if they could. On the other hand, there would have been much less of immigration of the Hindus of East Pakistan into West Bengal and anti-Muslim sentiment in Eastern and Northern India would not have been periodically revived.

This is how the history of the Muslims in free India began. What has happened since?

As a preface to everything else, it has to be stated that the meaning of the formation of two independent States was not realised by the Muslims on either side of the frontier. They did not understand why there should be restriction on travels, why a person should not be able to hold property in both countries, why Muslims in India should have any objection to Muslims maintaining relationships as before with the members of their families who had migrated: in fact, why the establishment of Pakistan should be resented by non-Muslims in India. On the other side, while the vast majority of non-Muslims were willing and able to suppress their resentment there were also elements among them that were actively hostile and to them it seemed that the Congress Government and, above all, its leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, was objectionably pro-Muslim.

The security of Muslims in India has been endangered by these actively hostile elements and by the attitude of the Government of East Pakistan towards its Hindu citizens. The maintenance of law and order is the responsibility of the State Government, which have shown on occasions that they were not sufficiently alert... The war of September, last year has strengthened the position of the Muslims by showing that they are as patriotic Indians as any non-Muslim, and the problem of the security of the Indian Muslim has been solved. With the war has also come a full realisation of the fact that India and Pakistan are two different States, and not merely one country divided into two because of a quarrel that should be best forgotten.

Here, however, there will be a certain measure of difference with the writer of most people who are capable of thinking on the problem. It is not merely the attitude of indifference of the East Pakistan Government to their Hindu citizens, but the more fundamental one of the constitutionally inferior position in the Pakistani polity assigned to all non-Muslim citizens of that country and, above all, the attitude of the majority Muslim population which in thought and deed endorses this attitude of the Government, which must be acknowledged to be the root cause of the evil. Because, despite the apparent facade of the so-called "guided democracy" of Pakistan, the fact cannot be denied that Pakistan is frankly and overtly that anachronism, a *theocratic state* which assigns full rights of citizenship and the protection and the privileges associated therewith only to its Muslim citizens and to no one else. In such circumstances, the presence of the most substantial Hindu element in the Pakistani population is frankly resented, if not actively objected to by the dominant element in that country's population which finds expression in periodic outbursts of violence against the community. It is this, more than any thing else, that contributes materially and most importantly, to the persistent sense of resentment against the Muslim in India. The Government's attitude of the '*more favoured nation*' treatment accorded to the Indian Muslim has only been helping to fan this subterranean fire of resentment against the Muslim in India. But, to go on:

The problem of employment is closely linked with the problem of security, but is much more complicated.

The factor that has caused the greatest complication is the habit inculcated in the Indian Muslims by the British Government, in its own interest, of expecting considerations from the Government in the matter of service. After the establishment of the Congress in 1885 and the growth of its influence, British administrators began to patronise the Muslims of the upper classes and tried to wean them away from the national

movement with the offer of reservation of seats in municipal and legislative assemblies, separate electorates and employment under the Government. The tendency to complain that the Muslims have got less than their due was encouraged and, what was much more dangerous, the Muslims were made to believe that if it came to competition, they would have no chances against the Hindus. All the concessions made to the Muslims as a minority and supposedly backward community continued until 1947. Thereafter special consideration was shown only to the really backward communities, listed as Scheduled Castes, and the Muslims were left to get what they could on merit. This made the Muslims of the upper classes feel that they had been thrown to the wolves of unemployment and starvation.

A second factor was the policy of the Government of taking land away from the landlords and giving it to the peasants with full proprietary rights. The indication that these reforms would be carried out was given in 1937 when the Congress first came to power in a majority of the Indian provinces. The landlords were mainly Hindus, but there was a large number of Muslims also who depended as landlords on the rents they received from the tenants. The farsighted among the landlords either disposed of their lands or established large farms and gardens, and thus obtained exemption from the application of the law when it was enforced. But most of the Muslim landlords, especially the smaller ones, did nothing to save themselves. A large number of lawyers also, whose practice depended upon litigation among the landlords, lost the main source of their incomes.

The demand for Pakistan was made mainly by the upper class Muslims. The vast majority of Muslim officers in the Government who were given the choice of serving in India or Pakistan chose to go to Pakistan. A large number of business men also transferred their business to Pakistan. Those of the upper classes who did not migrate immediately after partition found an easy way out by migrating later in search of employment. In some services it caused a marked reduction in the number of Muslim applicants. For quite a number of years very few eligible Muslims appeared for competitions or selections for the administrative services, the army, navy and air force, and in the engineering services, because it was much simpler to migrate. This was a third factor complicating the problem of employment. But it is also true that in the first years after partition quite a number of Muslims, especially in the police services, were thrown out to restore the balance in favour of the

majority community, which had not been given its due share by the British administrators in order to provide jobs for the Muslims.

During the last ten years the situation has gradually changed. The number of Muslims recruited to the highest grades of the administrative services is still negligible, because that class from which the recruitment is made has mostly migrated to Pakistan. The number of Muslims in the armed forces and the police is slowly increasing. Overseers and engineers who formerly migrated are now looking for jobs and finding them in India. International business houses and industrial concerns, which formerly followed a policy of employing Muslims in Pakistan and non-Muslims in India are now throwing open their doors to Muslims in India. Old Muslim business houses in the main trading and industrial centres are now in a much better position and more and more enterprising Muslims are building up businesses of their own.

Employment is not an Indian Muslim problem only. It is an acute problem for all Indians because of the limited opportunities and the rapidly increasing population. It is inevitable that there should be a great pressure on the sources of employment that exist and, therefore, increase the suspicion of discrimination. It cannot be said that there is no discrimination. What can be said with assurance, however, is that Indian Muslims are not its only victims. Caste prejudices, linguistic and regional prejudices provide ample reason for practising discrimination. Discrimination is least in evidence in employment under the Central Government; in the States its pattern varies.

One important point to be remembered is that independence has brought about a social revolution, and sections of the population which were denied opportunities in the past are now coming up and demanding their rightful share. In Muslim society only people belonging to the upper classes were regarded as deserving interest and consideration. In the whole movement for education among Muslims during British rule there is hardly any reference to the needs of the poorer classes. It was considered improper, even ridiculous, for them to demand equality of opportunity in education and society looked askance at those who got education. At the present time, while remnants of the old upper classes may be complaining, the hitherto suppressed classes are coming up, in education and in economic life. Unless the Muslim interest is identified with the welfare and prosperity of the upper classes, an investigation would, perhaps, reveal, that the Muslims as a whole are better off than they were before.

But apart from the problem of economic

survival and prosperity for the Muslims in India, the most ticklish problem relating to the Indian Muslim is related to that of his so-called cultural and political survival. Says the writer :

The ideology of the Muslim League and the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims was based on the assumption that the whole Muslim community possesses a common political and economic interest. But even a superficial consideration of the distribution of the Muslim community in the country and of the many economic classes of which it is constituted, would at once disprove this theory. The Muslim landlord and the Muslim peasant could not possibly have the same economic interest, nor the Muslims in the free professions the same interest as the craftsman. But possibility of uniting the Muslims on the basis of a common allegiance to Islam, and creating the illusion that this allegiance required the rejection of all and especially the political relationships with non-Muslims, has been exploited to the full by the Muslim League because the Muslims were a separate electoral body and the franchise was limited. But now that there is no separate constituency for the Muslim or any other community, the question arises as to what the Indian Muslims should do to ensure their political survival.

There is still a Muslim League in a southern State, but anywhere else in India a purely Muslim political party would not be able to achieve anything and would only antagonise the other communities. But is there any risk, any fear of loss in the Indian Muslims not being organised as a separate political party? I do not see any. In a democracy, where the government has to be a government of the majority, a small party working for its own interest can serve no useful purpose, when these interests themselves are likely to be inconsistent with each other because the party has a religious and not an economic or political basis. On the other hand if we believe that democracy is an Islamic principle, that the organization of social welfare is an Islamic duty, the Indian Muslims can serve Islam and themselves most by associating themselves with persons and parties who aim at making democracy as real as possible and at achieving the maximum of social justice and social welfare through the legislative and administrative

actions of the State. It is impossible to believe that Muslims would sacrifice their own interests if they cooperated with and gave the lead to parties working genuinely for the highest human interests.

Indian Muslim culture would also derive enormous benefit if the Indian Muslims worked for common ideals in cooperation with others. There has, no doubt, been an element of cultural self-assertion in Hindu nationalism. There was a tendency to look at the remote past and incorporate its qualities in the image of new India and this revivalism was directed more against the Muslims than against the British, because the Muslims have been culturally dominant for a far longer period. The form of revivalism that has annoyed the Muslims most was the rejection of the Urdu language and the propagation of Hindi. Urdu had been built up as a literary and conversational language by the joint efforts of both Hindus and Muslims; its rejection in favour of Hindi made it seem that the whole contribution of Muslims to Indian culture was being rejected, and the culture of free India would be exclusively Hindi....The present-day reality is that the movement of revivalism among the Hindus has failed to lead anywhere. Hindi as defined in the Constitution would have been acceptable as national language almost without question, but the revivalist character given to it by certain dogmatic and reactionary advocates has produced a sharp reaction.

On the other hand there is no doubt that in certain vital areas, such as the State of Uttar Pradesh, where Muslims form a substantial minority, and in Delhi, administrative action has gone against professed policy and the teaching of Urdu in schools has been almost entirely stopped. But in some other States in India, Urdu is getting the official recognition and support to which it is entitled and there is ample evidence now of a reaction in favour of Urdu, which will gather force because of the attractive qualities and resilience of the language itself...More and more people are beginning to understand that unless Indians as a whole are to adopt a cheap imitation of European and American culture, there is no alternative to the revival of the culture created by themselves during the mediaval and early modern period, a culture that is distinctively their own. The cultural survival of the Indian Muslims is thus being promoted by the movement of events.

Foreign Periodicals

A NEW VOICE IN ASIA

The Philippines became, last month, the most important centre of both world attention and concern when the heads of a number of Far Eastern and Asian States met in that country under the leadership of U. S. President Johnson to consider the Viet Nam and allied Asian problems with especial reference to the problem of containment of the growing Communist menace in Asia. President Marcos of the Philippines offered to play host to the Conference and, thereby, helped to spearhead the effort for forging non-communist (it really meant anti-communist) Asian unity, mainly under U. S. leadership.

The escalation of the Viet Nam War over the last twelve months—and there does not seem to be any prospect of an early respite from the dynamics of this process if one were to go by the pronouncements of the U. S. Secretary Rusk—has made the world apprehensive lest this may not provide the ultimate spark for exploding yet another global holocaust, made the Manila conference of especially important moment. The *Time* narrative of the event under the above legend would, therefore, seem to be of especial interest at the moment :

The guerrillas struck at breakfast time, catching the American infantrymen unarmed and off guard. One U. S. sergeant was decapitated at the mess table : his head tumbled neatly into his plate of hash. Others fought back and were later found dead with bloody forks clenched in their fists. Of the 74 officers and men of C Company, 9th U. S. Infantry, only 26 survived. As one of them raged with tears in his eyes : "Damn the infernal Googoes !"

Googoes ? That was the contemptuous label which

American fighting men applied to an earlier enemy in South-east Asia, a guerrilla army as fierce and feisty as any elite Viet Cong unit, and twice as bloodthirsty. The ambush of C Company took place on Sept. 28 1901, on the Philippine island of Samar. The guerrillas were Filipino *insurrectos* inspired by General Emilio Aguinaldo, tough little "bolomen" whose razorsharp cane knives and captured Krag-Jorgensen rifles killed 4,165 Americans before the three-year insurrection was quelled. In turn, some 20,000 Filipinos died in the struggle.

Last week, 65 years after the slaughter on Samar Filipinos and Americans were the staunchest of Asian allies. Descendants of the bolomen—1,200 soldiers from the Philippine Civic Action Group—were setting up camp beside U. S. troops in the South Vietnamese jungles of Tay Ninh. American wounded airlifted from Saigon, were being treated at hospitals outside of Manila, and U. S. fighting ships—back on rotation from the Tonkin Gulf—lay at anchor in the palm-fringed Philippine harbor of Subic Bay. B-52 bombers from Guam swept past the Philippines before making their bomb runs over North and South Viet Nam.

More important than its value as a fighting ally and a site for American bases was the fact that—after 48 years of American occupation and two decades of independence—the Philippine Republic endures as Asia's freest democracy. It is no "showcase," to be sure but it stands as a model of hope for all of non-Communist Southeast Asia : from the introverted Burma of Neutralist General Ne Win to the bankrupt chaos of Suharto's Indonesia ; from royalist Thailand through Malaysia to trifurcated Laos ; and certainly to South Viet Nam itself.

The custodian of those hopes, and of 33 million Filipinos, is a short, perpetually grinning man who walks with a military spring, drives a golf ball with the tense fury of Ben Hogan, and spends 20 hours a day on the job. As the sixth President of the Philippine Republic, Ferdinand Edralin Marcos, 49, has been in office only ten months, but in that time he has taken significant steps toward providing the Philippines with the dynamic, selfless leadership it needs to cope with the Southeast Asian burdens of poverty, lawlessness

Communist insurgency and—most important—the quest for national identity after centuries of colonial domination.

Last week Marcos was busy with preparations for his first ambitious foreign-policy move to date: the seven-nation Manila Conference of Asia's non-Communist states, which opens next week. Marcos released 190,000 to patch Manila's perennially potholed roads, and the city throbbed to the passing of earth movers and dump trucks. Paintbrushes slapped and lawn mowers clattered up and down stately Roxas Boulevard and hotels and night-clubs indulged in a hasty face lifting. U. S. Presidential Press Secretary Bill D. Moyers bustled from airport to embassy to Malacanang Palace (the Filipino White House) making arrangements for everything from protocol dinners to a Lyndon-and-Lady Bird tour of nearby Corregidor. Marcos' aides wrote hurried position papers, while his First Lady, lovely Imelda Romualdez Marcos, supervised a hurry-up renovation of the palace itself. The twittering of sparrows in the upper reaches of the palace reception hall was drowned by the rattle of hammers and snarl of saws.

Though the Manila Conference will deal mainly with the war effort in Viet Nam, it symbolized the birth of a 15-year-old Asian desire for concerted unity at has long eluded the region. The Baguio Conference of 1950, called by Philippine President Elpidio Quirino and held in the craggy, cool highlands north of Manila, brought together such disparate neighbors as Australia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Thailand, and ended with agreement on joint action for the region. The principle of "Maphilindo," endorsed by Marcos' predecessor, Diosdado Macapagal, idealized the hope of Asia's Malay nations (Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia) to regroup ethnically after ages of European-imposed fragmentation. Marcos himself has led the Philippines into a new Asian grouping, the new-nation ASPAC* and simultaneously he has revived the long dormant Association of Southeast Asia (an economic union of Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines).

During his visit to Washington last month, Marcos articulated the ambivalence of many non-Communist colonials who now stand on their own. "The challenge to America is to extend to Asia the defensive shield of American power in forms consonant with Asian freedom and self-respect," Marcos told a joint session

of the U. S. Congress: "The challenge to Asia is to discard the dry, meatless bone of mysticism and fatalism."

The surge of new nationalism throughout Asia is aimed at precisely that second challenge. "The young Filipino looks around him," says one old Manila hand, "and remembers that his grandfather spoke Spanish; yet his parents and he speak English better than Tagalog. He sees the conglomeration of Spanish and native architecture, spruced up with American modern. His system of government is tailored after that of the U. S.; yet he does not feel truly American. So he stands there, bewildered, asking himself: 'What am I? Do I belong to Asia, the Pacific? Or am I closer to the West than either of these?'"

American colonialism in the Philippines was a novel exercise in "enlightened imperialism." When the former Spanish colony dropped suddenly into Admiral Dewey's hands on May 1, 1898, President William McKinley was so surprised that, as he later said, "I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance." He needed it, for the Aguinaldo bolomen would have tried the patience of the most saintly President. Like the Viet Cong, the Filipino terrorists were experts at ambush, using bamboo cannon loaded with scrap iron in place of Charley's captured Claymore mines.

Fortunately, that place of "civilization" gave way quickly to the foresighted civil rule of such Governors General as William Howard Taft and Francis B. Harrison. "Colonialists with a conscience," as they have been called, Taft and his successors brought the tools of self-government to the Philippines: literacy (72% of all Filipinos can read and write, the highest percentage in Southeast Asia), medicine (Filipino life expectancy in 1900 was 14 years, today it is 60), civil liberties (the Filipino press is the freest in Asia, if not the world). At the same time, the great experiment in self-liquidating colonialism was planting seeds that would sprout into the problems Marcos faces today.

The U. S. colonizers did nothing to alter the *compadre* system under which a Filipino bureaucrat was permitted to skim the cream from his tax collections and distribute it to his poor friends and relations; as a result graft and corruption are still the Manila way of life. Nor did the Americans break up the vast estates of the *principalia*, the Filipino elite; peasants today still pay up to 30% of their crop to absentee landlords, and the rest often goes to local loan sharks. By granting free tariffs to Philippine producers of sugar, lumber and hemp, the U. S. reinforced a backward primary-product economy; today, a major irritant between Washington

*The Asian & Pacific Council of Australia, Formosa, Japan, Malayasia, Newzealand, The Phillipines, South Korea and South Viet Nam.

and Manila is the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement of 1956, which perpetuates that error. Still, when the date came for Philippine independence, the U. S. kept its word. On July 4, 1946, for better or worse, the philophilic strains of the Filipino national anthem rang out over warbattered Luneta Park, and the child of America's great experiment walked free. /

Twenty years later, the Philippines are an odd melange of American, Spanish and Asian influence, all edged with a ferocity and fecundity that is uniquely Filipino. The crooning of a *tuko* lizard in the night forests of Cavite is counterpointed by the rattle of gunfire as a cigarette-smuggling speedboat runs a customs blockade offshore. The big beat of jukeboxes in Manila's waterfront dives does not quite drown out the clink of cocktail glasses at the opulent Army-Navy Club. Manila newspapers splash crime news in Hechtian hyperbole across their front pages.

The high-wheeled horse-drawn *calesas* of old Manila, with their tasseled canopies and courtly *cocheros*, have given way to the ubiquitous Jeepney, a freelance taxicab that typically sports a high-gloss enamel finish in rainbow hues, Playboy-bunny mudguards, pink-fringed roof, and a sign that reads "God Is My Copilot." Crammed with such passengers as pigs, chickens, guitarists and call girls, and plagued with an absence of brakes and springs, the Jeepney needs celestial guidance.

So does Manila (pop. 1,300,000), where the polarities of the nation are reflected in microcosm. Sprawled on both sides of the sluggish Pasig River, the city straddles a grey-green current that carries both sewage and water lilies into Manila Bay. Many of its streets are potholed; rats chitter behind the wainscoting of its finest restaurants; street urchins peddle everything from lottery tickets to fragrant *sampaguita* garlands—all at outrageous prices. The current craze requires shops to have a *D* apostrophe preceding the English names, as in D'Artland Gallery, D'Elegant Theater, D'Stag Cocktail Lounge and D'Best Furniture Store. Why? "It's classy," explains a Filipino. "It's French."

Forbes Park, in Manila's southern suburbs, is known as the "millionaires' barrio"; here curved streets wind gracefully beneath towering acacia trees, and deep-piled lawns run down to Rorschach-shaped swimming pools. Armed guards stop every car without a Forbes Park sticker, and the suburb's residents—mostly Americans and Filipinos who earn more than 500 pesos (\$1,250) a month—have their own golf course and popo club.

In stark contrast is the Tondo slum on Manila's northern waterfront—a maze of alleys, mud-floored huts, hovels built from packing cases. Some 8,000 pushcarts

roll through Tondo in search of trash and scrap part of the collection of which is the district's principal occupation. Tondo's kids are a combination of the worst American and Asian street gangs: the "Canto Boys" with their distinctive *madre* tattoos, would as soon knif a stranger as zip-gun a passing police car.

When Marcos entered the University of the Philippines in 1934, he had gained enough scholarship support to ensure his education without parental help. As a sophomore, he not only proved a top student, but found time to star on the wrestling, boxing and swimming teams, and become captain of the rifle and pistol squad as well as cadet battalion commander in the ROTC. He also got his first taste of political activism: Ferdie took to the soapbox to comment acidly on everything from the curriculum to the policies of the Philippines' first President, Manuel Quezon.

In September 1935 occurred an incident that still haunts Marcos' career. His father had been defeated in a congressional election by Julio Nalundasan, a sharp-tongued Nacionalista who had insulted Mariano fiercely during the course of the campaign. To Filipinos, insult cannot go unanswered. On a stormy, windwhipped night shortly after Pistol Champion Ferdie Marcos had returned to Ilocos on vacation, Nalundasan rose from his dinner table and walked to a washbasin. He was starkly silhouetted in the lighted window. A single 22-cal. bullet cracked in the banana tree outside, and Nalundasan dropped dead, shot through the heart. The shadow of suspicion was heavy: Mariano had been defeated and insulted; Ferdie was the best small-arm shot in the Philippines.

Justice works slowly in the islands, and not until Dec. 7, 1939, was Marcos arrested for the murder. It was then within five months of graduating with honors from law school. From his jail cell, Marcos successfully petitioned for his release on bail, then succeeded in winning his degree (two cops accompanied him at graduation). In the subsequent bar examination, he scored the highest average ever (98.01%). When the puzzled judges accused him of cheating on the exam, Marcos demanded that he be tested orally—and scored 92.35%, the second highest average in history. Then, clad in a white sharkskin suit and white shoes to emphasize his innocence, Marcos pleaded his own case before the Supreme Court on the murder charge. He was exonerated on grounds of conflicting evidence.

Years later, however, his guilt or innocence was to be raised again—both by political opponents and his own son. "Little boys have amazing minds." Marcos said recently. "Just the other day our nine year old

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Bong-bong came to me and said: 'Hey, Dad, what's about you having murdered a man once?' And I said: 'Well, if that had been so, I wouldn't be standing here with you now, would I?' Bong-bong said: 'A.K., who did kill him then?' We just left it there."

When the Japanese invaded the Philippines after Pearl Harbor, the stage was set for another leap in the Marcos legend. Called to duty as an intelligence officer, 2nd Lieut. Marcos required only a few weeks to become a hero. His idea of intelligence duty was to prowl behind the Japanese lines—often in his personal Oldsmobile sedan—probing for weak spots. He found one on Bataan's Mount Natib: a Japanese military battery that was lobbing 70 mm. shells into U.S. General Jonathan Wainwright's beleaguered defenders. Marcos and three privates scouted the battery, trailing two bearded Japanese artillerymen to it, then cut loose. They killed more than 50 Japanese, spiked the guns, and escaped with only one casualty. Marcos won the first of a brace of Silver Stars for the operation, and a few weeks later was recommended for the U. S. Medal of Honor for his part in the defense of the Saliang River. But the recommendation was never filed with Washington, and Marcos failed in becoming the only Filipino to win America's highest military award.

Hit by shrapnel and rifle fire in the last days of Bataan's defense, Marcos was captured by the Japanese and began the infamous Death March half dead already. He was imprisoned at Camp O'Donnell, where Filipinos and Americans died at the rate of 300 a day. There, he says, "I learned to hate." At Manila's Fort Santiago, where the Japanese Kempei Tai (secret service) tortured him in the hope that he would reveal the whereabouts of Filipino guerrilla groups, Marcos refused to talk. The Japanese pumped him full of water and jumped on his stomach. After eight days of "the water cure," he agreed to lead a patrol to a suspected guerrilla camp south of Manila. In the course of the march, he led the Japanese into a pre-arranged ambush—his captors died and he escaped into the hills.

Marcos' guerrillas were among the most effective in the islands. When Douglas MacArthur made good his promise to return to the Philippines, Marcos won his second Silver Star. Singlehanded, he stood off a 50-man Japanese patrol: when his submachine-gun fire drove them off, Marcos pursued them alone for two miles—despite the fact that he had taken a bullet in the leg.

Fortunately for the Philippines, a hero arrived in the form of Ramon Magsaysay, a tall (5ft. 11 in.), tough blacksmith's son from Zambales province, who took over as Defense Secretary in 1950. A principal backer

in the Cabinet reshuffle: Freshman Congressman Ferdinand Marcos. Magsaysay tackled the Huks with double-barreled dynamism: his green-clad, rubber-booted troops rooted them out of the Luzon jungles and killed them without quarter; defectors were offered land in islands not infested by Huks. By 1954 Magsaysay had quelled the Huks, and won himself the presidency. Then in 1957, Magsaysay died in a plane crash, and the government passed into the hands of yet another weakling, Carlos Garcia.

Magsaysay had gone a long way towards curing the Philippines' ills before his untimely death. His successors, however, were either uninterested in putting an end to graft and lawlessness or simply did not have the strength to cope. Ferdinand Marcos did. As the youngest Liberty Party Congressman ever elected, his name was attached to legislation that ranged from civil rights to land reform. Off the floor, Bachelor Marcos had a reputation as a sportsman and Lothario: when he wasn't blasting quail and ducks with his 20 gauge Browning over-under, he was breaking hearts in Forbes Park. That ended one day in 1954 when he wooed and won the daughter of one of the islands' wealthiest families. Sugar-rich Imelda Romualdez, cousin of House Speaker Daniel Z. Romualdez, was crunching watermelon seeds as she listened to Marcos orate in the House. When Marcos finished, he went up to the erstwhile Miss Manila (a proudly packaged 36-23-35) and asked: "Would you mind standing up, please?" Back to back, Marcos determined that Imelda was an inch shorter than his 5 ft. 7 in., then turned to an onlooker and said: "Fine. I'm getting married." Eleven days later, he was.

After Magsaysay's death, Marcos felt that he was in line for the vice-presidency on the Liberal ticket. It went instead to Diosdado Macapagal, who won the presidency in 1961. Embittered and disgusted with Macapagal's inability to cope with the nation's ills, Marcos in 1964 decided to shift his loyalty from the Liberal Party to the opposition Nacionalistas—a maneuver common in Philippine politics. The Nacionalistas could not have found a better man to lead their party against Macapagal in the 1965 elections.

Tuberculosis and pneumonia still kill the bulk of Filipinos; teachers are in surplus in Manila, in short supply in the countryside. With 70% of the population engaged in subsistence, peasant-style farming, the average annual income is a scant \$140 a year—far less than that of Japan and Formosa. Population growth is among the world's highest: Catholic dominated Filipinos add 1,000,000 mouths a year to the rice bowl (3.2%). Simultaneously, the economic-growth rate is a minimal 4.2%. The rice yield is scandalously low. Of the

world's top 20 major rice-producing nations, the Philippines rank ahead of only Cambodia, Laos and Nepal.

Marcos has taken the first steps toward defining and defeating these problems. His new Four-Year Plan, which won \$21 million worth of support from Washington last month, envisions self-sufficiency in rice and corn production by 1969. His expedients: a combination of improved irrigation systems and more fertilizer plus such superior strains of rice as the rugged IR-8, developed by the Rockefeller Foundation at the rice institute at Los Banos.

The Washington visit also managed to quell some of the voices from the Philippine left, which argues against further U. S. involvement in the Philippines. Marcos won a pledge from the U. S. to cut its lease on bases (Clark Field and Subic Bay) from 99 years to only another 25. The complex demands of parity and tariff arrangements set up by the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement have provoked dissension among Filipinos and Americans engaged in developing the country: Marcos reached one of the first accommodations on that thorny issue in a decade. Lyndon Johnson agreed to open negotiations for a new trade instrument that would ease both Filipino fears and American appetites.

As for the Huks, who remain in small but noisy numbers around the U. S. bases and in the ricelands of central Luzon, Marcos ignores them. He is more

concerned with such Red-backed outfits as Masaka (Free Federation of Farmers), which provoke vociferous demonstrations and pose a long-range threat to the government. Of the thousands of armed Huks who once terrorized the islands, only a few hundred remain. Bandits with a profit motive, on the other hand, still thrive. Pirates roam at will through the Sulu Sea and even in Manila Bay itself. The U. S. promises to equip ten Filipino battalions (at a cost of \$20 million) may help to cut bandit operations over the next two years—or so Marcos hopes.

No one in Washington considers Marcos a lackey; indeed his words before the cheering throngs at Manila airport on his return from Washington still ring clear in State Department ears. "America must realize," he said, "there are conditions she must accept in Asia. The first is a diversity of Asian cultures, governments, economic and political systems; the second, that to run against the tide of Asian nationalism is worse than impractical—it is also highly dangerous."

In a nation that never had to win its independence by force of arms, there is a perennial need for heroes. With his unmatched war record, his dazzling political success, and his stern insistence on an Asian solution to Asian problems, Marcos—with luck—could meet that need. "It's all there," says a Washington admirer. Whether the full potential is ever realized depends on Marcos.

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